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RIVISTA MILITARE

JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856

ON A MISSION FOR LIBERTY

**Security evolves with
the changing threat**

**Carlisle
moulder of commanders**

The "Nato Response Force"

**At Monte Lungo
all started anew**

ENGLISH EDITION



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RIVISTA MILITARE



THE ITALIAN ARMY AND THE FUNCTION OF STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

**LECTURE BY THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY
AT THE INSTITUTE FOR HIGH DEFENCE STUDIES
(Rome, March 18, 2004)**

The cycle of seminars and conferences which every year characterizes the development of the academic year at the Institute for High Defence Studies represents a unique occasion to take stock of the major themes of topical interest for the military world, to raise problems and suggest solutions on particular issues concerning the tasks that our Armed Forces are increasingly called to perform at home and in the – by now numerous – operational Theatres abroad.

The goal is to stimulate the reflections and the contributions of such a qualified audience.

The seminar on “Joint and Multinational Operations” follows this tradition, since these operations are – I dare say – a mandatory characteristic of the modern missions, whose components are rapidly changing. It is therefore necessary to adapt the instruments through a continuous process of transformation.

It is no more a matter of opposing a single threat whose features are moreover sufficiently known, but that of preparing the forces necessary to face threats or risks that cannot be clearly foreseen, which have extremely variable quantitative and qualitative capabilities that could materialize at undetermined times, with different and generally asymmetric operational forms.

Last but not least, the terrorist phenomenon which, as was proved by the recent events, particularly those of the last days, has come to the forefront of the political, economic, military and media scene.

It is an unforeseeable enemy, silent and multiform, to which I will go back later in the course of my presentation, in order to better specify the implications of the phenomenon from the military viewpoint.

This evolution of the geo-strategic reference picture has compelled the Italian Armed Forces, and particularly the Army, like those of the Allied Countries, to start a radical transformation aimed at adapting the organization and the capabilities of the military instruments to the new challenges that are appearing one after another; this change includes also interventions of “Stabilization and Reconstruction”.

The Army, in the wider context of the joint instrument, has already started an evolutionary process towards the acquisition of the capabilities that are today necessary to face the emerging operational challenges.

As a matter of fact, the radical revolution of the strategic context entailed a radical revolution in the military capabilities, structures and doctrines. From the static tasks of territorial defence, typical of the bipolar period (in particular for the

Europeans), we had to move to the dynamic employment of the interventions abroad, very different in their contents, since they go from humanitarian missions to high-intensity operations, covering the whole range of possible conflicts.

It was a question of moving, in a short time, from a "static" organization, essentially anchored to the national territory, to a capability system based on rapidly projectable forces fully integrable into joint and multinational environments.

The rhythm of this evolution is marked by the development of the politico-military initiatives emerging both within NATO (as outcome of the New Strategic Concept and, more recently, with the HRF-NRF concepts) and inside the EU, within the framework of the construction process of a common Force of intervention.

The above remarks outline a dynamic context, where the Service is undergoing a full evolution along the following directions:

- from *in-fieri* and mainly static force to projectable instrument with rapid-deployment capabilities;
- from single-Service outlook to that of a component of a joint and multinational instrument;
- from conscription to professional Army;
- from mass force to a qualitatively and technologically advanced force;
- from garrison Army to an Army "in and for" Society.

This process of reorganization, which started some years ago and is still going on, has already reached a high degree of development: the final target is to build an Army completely renewed in terms of doctrine, personnel, structures and equipment.

In practice, the Service has been suddenly called to regenerate almost all its operational capabilities, and is completing this complex transformation under the banner of the quality of its components, reducing its strength from 290,000 in 1991 to the 115,000 of today and the 112,000 of 2006: a 60% cut, as compared to 15 years ago.

The land instrument just outlined envisages that the defence of the territory and of the national interests be realized by employing all the available forces, while the participation in operations of collective defence, within the Atlantic Alliance, should be implemented with the national component of the Rapid Reaction Force and two complete Division-level force packages, each of them formed by a Division-level HQ, four manoeuvre Brigades and the necessary tactical-logistic support.

These two Division-level force packages are respectively assigned to the ARRC HQ at Rheindahlen and to the Rapid Reaction HQ (HRF-L), with an Italian framework, based at Solbiate Olona, near Milan. In due time, it will be possible to project outside the national territory about 45,000 man in "one shot", for a maximum period of 6 months.

As regards the participation in out-of-area operations, which are generally long-term Crisis Response Operations conducted by multinational forces, our contribution consists of a Task Force made up of a Corps- or Division-level C 2 framework structure, two Brigades and one Regiment, with up to a maximum of 13,000 men continuously in operations.

If we refer to the present base-four rotation, the requirement is of 52,000 men.

If, on the contrary, we apply the turnover system pointed out by the "NATO usability concept", i.e. base-five, the requirement for the continual sustenance of the abovementioned 13,000 men rises to 65,000 men.

In terms of capability, the forces have been organized in different types (light, medium and heavy Brigades, plus the Airmobile Brigade and FOS (Special Ops Forces) which, as a whole, constitute a harmonic, well balanced and flexible manoeuvre component, adequately suited to the new scenarios.

As concerns the Command and Control of the operational forces, today it is based on a Command for the Land Forces, responsible for the preparation, the operational readiness and the C2 functions. As is known, under this Command there are:

- three Intermediate Operational Commands (2 FOD and one TA) responsible, in peacetime, for the preparation and the level of readiness of the forces directly subordinate to them, and able to exercise the Division-level Command and Control;
- the C4-IEW Command;
- Brigades/combat units and tactical-logistic support formations.

As for the projectable Commands, the Command-and-Control chain is based on the recently validated HQ HRF-L and on three Division-level HQs, two of which are rapidly projectable, while the third one has a low operational readiness.

In the near future, after the approval of the relevant laws, the Command-and-Control chain of the Operational Forces will be revised as follows:

- dissolution of the two FOD Commands;
- establishment of a fourth Division HQ, the "Legnano," in Florence, through the reconfiguration of the Inspectorate for Recruitment and Completion Forces (ISPERFC).

Thanks to this process of transformation undertaken by the Service, it was possible to ensure the remarkable participation of our units in the operations in Kosovo, Albania, Bosnia, Afghanistan and Iraq, with a current engagement of about 6500 servicemen.

But even more significant is the daily average of personnel employed outside the national borders in the last six years, which amounts to approximately 8000 men, i.e. 80% of the entire national military instrument.

Besides, we should not forget the Army's operational engagements on the national territory since 2001: the surveillance of sensitive points, known as "Operation Domino" has been employing an average of 4000 men, controlling about 150 sensitive sites in 88 provinces.

Altogether, in the year just gone by, the Italian Army was employed in operational Theatres with 16,500 men and in "Operation Domino" with 10,000 men, for a yearly total of 26,500, equal to 33% of the entire operational component.

As often happens, the activities carried out made us learn many useful lessons, not only from national experiences but also from those made by other Armies.

As a common factor, the international crises of the last decade (from the Balkans to the most recent ones in Afghanistan and Iraq) confirmed the central role and the decisive character of the land component for the achievement on the ground of the politically decided strategic targets.

In particular, these "indications" came from the experience gained in missions with the highest probability of occurrence, i.e. crisis management (CROs) and peace support (PSOs).

As a matter of fact, in these operations the conflicts appear in the most populated areas and this requires a widespread presence of the land instrument, which proved to be decisive for the settlement of critical situations.

Moreover, these operations emphasized further elements, extremely important in view of the continuous update of the Service's capabilities.

In particular:

- the borderline between high-intensity operations and PSOs is very vague and at times even undefined, so that the military force employed must be able, if worse comes to worst, to carry out a wide range of simultaneous operational activities: I refer to the concept of the "Three-Block War" which in the same area envisages:
 - to conduct combat actions against remaining hotbeds of enemy forces or against terrorist activities;
 - to guarantee the security of the AoR with patrols and control of the territory;
 - to carry out activities of peace support, humanitarian assistance and restoration of the infrastructure needed to get back to normal.

As I said, all these activities can become necessary at the same time within the same AoR, therefore the same Task Force must be in a position to conduct all of them;

- the modern technologies, the application of the concepts of the Network Centric Operations and the employment of new operational methods, permit to carry out high-intensity operations in very short periods of time; this translates into a global and absolute superiority over an enemy who does not have these capabilities at his disposal;
- the recent conflict in Iraq has confirmed the importance of planning and foreseeing the "post-conflict." In fact, it becomes very clear that, in order to transform a military victory into a political one, i.e. in something really positive, it is necessary, as our Anglo-Saxon friends say, to have the presence of "boots on the ground" and a civilian military (CIMIC) organization with an adequate operational capability;
- the management of the post-conflict phase is a long and complex undertaking, and must be aimed at gaining "Hearts and Minds" of the civilian population, helping them to restore acceptable living conditions, rebuild the main infrastructure and reactivate the medical service.

In short we have been confirmed that a land military instrument, in order to be able to face the prospective challenges, must have at its disposal an ample set of capabilities and complementary assets, particularly specialized ones, suitable for employment in all CRO activities, including the management of the Stabilization and Reconstruction (S & R) activities typical of the post conflict phase.

The specialized capabilities necessary for managing the post-conflict operations are only a part of those needed by a military instrument which must first of all keep a credible "Combat" capability, which is also a leading capability for the Service.

Having defined this point, let us take a closer look at the range of S & R interventions.

The modern operations of response to the crises (CROs) have taken on new and different features in comparison with those of the past, following an evolution synthetically characterized by the following steps:

- interventions in conflicts between States, distinguished by the performance of limited tasks, mostly consisting in enforcing ceasefires;

- interventions in conflicts within a State, characterized by the deployment of forces on territories involved in civil wars, often prey of anarchy, with great suffering and losses among the civilian population, putting therefore in the foreground the humanitarian operations led by the various international Organizations – UN, WEU, etc. – and their deep involvement in the political and social life of the State where the force is deployed.

From the operational/sequential viewpoint, in the present scenarios, we can schematically envision the following phases:

- a phase of introduction and deployment of the forces, which on certain occasions can be sufficient to defuse the crisis;
- a phase marked by intense conflicts, usually short, where the employment of “combat capable” forces is pre-eminent. This phase could be absent (as, for example, in peacekeeping operations);
- a phase of Stabilization and Reconstruction of the civilian infrastructure, to restore normal living conditions.

The evolution from the high-conflict phase to that of stabilization can envisage a more or less long transition, where one must confront complex situations, including humanitarian emergencies, guerrilla warfare and/or large-scale terrorist attacks. Therefore the military activities following the high-intensity combat phase will continue to require a significant presence of manoeuvre forces, in order to guarantee the necessary security framework within which the units specialized in restoring normality have to operate.

In this sense, also the forces employed in the S & R phase must have at their disposal assets with a degree of operational readiness very similar to that of the forces employed in the combat phase, and must include capabilities of security, self-defence and support.

The complexity of the objectives to be achieved and the tasks to be performed in CROs and S & R, makes it necessary for the forces of intervention to have the capability of carrying out, together with their strictly military function, also a wider range of activities which can regard, albeit in a rudimentary form, the economic sector and that of the life and democratic institutions of the Nation concerned.

In fact, the success of the operation does not depend only on the military aspects in the proper sense of the word, but also on the degree of achievement of the wider objectives typical of the S & R phase, functional to the primary needs of a civil society, i.e. the economic, cultural, social and political aspects.

In terms of assets the forces necessary to accomplish such a wide range of missions, reducing to a minimum the operational risks, can be schematically grouped in three types of formations.

The first, capable of expressing a real and significant Combat Capability, indispensable also in this S & R phase, in order to face the highest level of foreseeable risk, graduate the “responses” in a flexible and proportionate manner and, at the same time, constitute a strong deterrent power.

The second complex – generally no lower than Brigade and capable of controlling large areas and precluding a part of them – suitable for operations in an environment as insidious as the urban one, in a position to perform the whole range of tasks (multidimensional control of the urban area and its main roads, control of social order, surveillance of sensitive points, activation of fixed or mobile checkpoints) also accepting close combat in case of anti-guerrilla or anti-terrorism activities.

Finally, a third complex made up of specialized assets, indispensable elements in the S & R phase of a CRO, such as intelligence, CIMIC, PSYOPS, NBC, Engineers, Medical Service and Transport.

All these forces express peculiar capabilities and are certainly useful and necessary in order to complete the ample range of those expressed by the land component.

In short, the organization of a Task Force for S & R operations is based on 3 different “formations”, whose precise qualitative and quantitative composition depends on the task and on the characteristics of the environment. In particular they are:

- a complex of “Combat” Assets (tanks, attack helicopters, armoured cars, etc.) including Special Operations Forces;
- a complex of assets for area security, which comprise units trained and equipped also for anti-guerrilla and anti-terrorism operations;
- a complex of specialist assets (CIMIC, NBC, Engineer, etc.);
- other components, depending on the situation and the operational environment.

Each formation gives its contribution to the achievement of the “end state” within a framework of “military” security which however must be assured as a prerequisite of the stabilization activity and during its development.

From the operational viewpoint, in the past the S & R operations were started by almost entirely “Combat” formations, with the addition of CIMIC/Civil Affairs, Engineers, Medical Service and others, which entered or were fully systematically activated only when the combat operations were really concluded.

This operational attitude was the outcome of an employment concept which assumed a low evolutionary rhythm and a massive engagement of assets, in order to meet both the combat and the stabilization requirements.

Today this kind of approach needs to be revised, in the light of the cost/effectiveness of the formations to be projected and sustained, and also in consideration of the lessons learned so far, which pointed out that the levels of criticality between the "Combat" and the "Stabilization" phases are not very different.

In fact, the modern operations of Stabilization ought to be started without interrupting the operational cycle.

This means that the planning of the Combat and S & R activities must proceed simultaneously, as an integrant part of a single and wider operations plan. The key operational concept for a complete scenario is to employ the S & R forces in synergy and adherence with the Combat ones, tasking the former with the control and security of the area, while the latter complete the combat action. This would facilitate the approach to the inevitable situation of anarchy and social disintegration, a state which persists also during the operations of Stabilization and Reconstruction.

In brief, during an S & R operation, the Command of the intervention force could be called to perform the dual function of key "manager" of the S & R activities and of "director" of all the in-Theatre forces, directing and controlling also the minor combat operations, should it become necessary.

For these reasons one should envisage the inclusion of the necessary "expertise" in the command structure, particularly at the beginning of the "post-conflict" phase, as a prerequisite for the successive gradual return to the normal activities of the civilian structures, within the larger intervention project of the "Nation System".

The capabilities that are deemed necessary in order to carry out S & R operations are not an absolute novelty for the Italian Army.

As a matter of fact, many of them are already included within the Service's structure, and were widely employed in the operations in which we participated.

I refer to the capabilities such as CIMIC, PSYOPS, NBC, EOD, Engineers, which enabled us to operate successfully and with unanimous international appreciation during the CROs in which we took part.

Somehow, this potential not only places us in the vanguard of the multinational environment, but also fits perfectly in the recent European initiatives dealing with the Capability of Rapid Response (European Rapid Reaction Force – ERRF) within the framework of the Petersberg missions.

I am talking about the project for the constitution of a pool of land forces made up of Regiment-level units (7 or 8 Battle Groups with approximately 1500 men each) to be employed in Chapter VII UN missions, with the coordination of the "Peace-keeping International Department of the United Nations".

These Battle Groups can operate both within the NRF (following the common NATO/EU procedures) and as Follow-on Forces of SHIRBRIG-type units.

Italy is interested in this initiative and the terms of our participation are being evaluated; in this regard, the Italian Army is ready.

On the other hand, also the American planners, on the basis of the lessons learned after Operation "Iraqi Freedom", have become aware of the importance and sensitivity of the phase following the actual combat.

In fact, at the US Department of Defence there are studies and investigations in view of the constitution of two "multiservice units of Stabilization and Reconstruction" (one on active duty and one in reserve) for preferential employment in post-conflict operations.

Coming back to our national environment, we can say that the optimization and streamlining process of the Service's capabilities has already started and is still in progress.

Actually, the operational conditions of the possible modern scenarios are always new and changing, and this occurs just in a historical moment marked by the appearance of a troubling phenomenon such as terrorism.

The military events occurred on the international scene (Afghanistan and Iraq) after the attack of 9/11, changed terrorism from what was mainly an internal issue of law enforcement into a problem of international security. In order to be adequately confronted, today's terror requires a wide range of political, economic and financial measures, as well as the engagement of suitable forces, capable of neutralizing and fighting this threat, which is also characterized by the "militaristic" nature of its organizational and operational parameters.

We found ourselves before a transnational threat which required an equally far-reaching response to which the military instrument is giving – and will likely continue to give – an important contribution.

As a matter of fact, on the military plane, also NATO, at the meeting of the Chiefs of State and Government held in Prague on November 21-22, 2002, took a very clear and firm stand, recognizing that transnational terrorism must be fought also "militarily".

In view of this, the Alliance decided to procure effective and balanced means, in order to face the whole range of possible risks, including the "terrorist threat from any side" preparing forces "capable of moving rapidly wherever it is necessary to conduct operations over distance and time (NATO Response Force – NRF).

In practice, today the fight against terrorism can be carried out also through military operations characterized by much

wider functions than the traditional ones, implying the simultaneous employment of the military potential, both to keep or enforce peace and to fight the terror organizations on the field, when they assume a significant military visibility.

The operational organization typical of the employment of military contingents within the "Peace Support Operations" made so far – marked neutrality, restrained interventions, always well-anchored to the principle of "self-defence" – is now being based on the capability of active interventions through an increasingly selective and well weighed use of force. The primary goal of this use is to guarantee the security of the territory, protect the civilian population interdicting at the same time every form of support to the terrorist activity and, finally, prevent or thwart the execution of terrorist actions.

In order to fight guerrillas and "militarily organized" terrorism, one should have forces capable of conducting direct actions, Force Protection, armed escorts and patrols, as well as specialized units in charge of the operational information activity (tactical-level EW, surveillance, HUMINT), NBC defence, search and clearing of explosives (EOD teams), PSYOPS, Civil affairs. Moreover, the recent terrorist attacks against the civilian population and the units/structures of the military contingents in Iraq and Afghanistan show that terrorism exploits to its own advantage the urban infrastructure not only to cause devastating effects on the civilian population, but also to provoke considerable repercussions on the military, political and economic plane. In view of this, one should strengthen and, better still, specialize the capabilities suitable for facing and neutralizing the asymmetric and terrorist threat in every environment, including the urban one.

The Army has taken several initiatives in this direction, particularly in the training sector, through specific cycles aimed at acquiring the ability to operate in asymmetric contexts and in every dimension of an urbanized environment, including underground locations.

Another sector that needs strengthening is that of protection and equipment of the individual fighter.

In this field the main programme is the "Future Soldier" project, which will enable our Service to acquire the characteristics and equipment needed to operate in urban centres, including a multi-calibre weapon, light and easily employable in limited spaces, and a number of different sensors like thermic-infrared telecameras, movement detectors, precision-aiming laser systems directly connected with the individual weapon, and so on.

Finally, as regards organization and structure, the Army envisages to strengthen the FOS "pool" and complete that of the RISTA-EW, within the general framework of the tactical Intelligence capabilities, with particular regard to the units designed for surveillance and intelligence, including tactical HUMINT.

Last but not least, and clearly not aimed only at the "Stabilization and Reconstruction" phase, is the creation of a pool of intermediate Forces, particularly suitable for operations in complex environments, thanks to their balance among mobility, protection and firepower.

The development of the operational scenarios imposes a process of transformation and adjustment of the land instrument, which ought to acquire and keep all the capabilities necessary to successfully confront every operational situation in the whole range of the military operations, which are less and less separable "a priori".

Proceeding as we said, we shall have an instrument suitable for keeping international stability by exercising a sufficient deterrent action, or for fighting if necessary.

It is a matter of being ready to operate more also in particular environments and situations, such as, for example, urbanized areas.

The presence of the Army becomes as much necessary in conflict situations of medium-high intensity as in peace-support and peace-keeping situations, as well as in circumstances of humanitarian emergency or internal security.

In carrying out the CROs we have noticed that the Army has the experience, assets and capability to accomplish almost all the tasks envisaged by the Stabilization and Reconstruction operations, also the long-term ones. Actually, it is precisely thanks to the direct interaction with the adversary, the opposing sides and the civilian population, that one can obtain a sufficient control of the situation, which is indispensable for accomplishing the mission also, and above all, in intricate operational scenarios.

If one considers that the operational role of the land component is implemented through a substantial presence on the field for long periods of time, also after the conclusion of the high-intensity operations, one realizes the heaviness of the burden that the Service has to bear in relation to the turnover of personnel and the wear-and-tear of equipment and materials.

I would like to conclude underlining that the Army, which was in the past an expression of "potential capability", is today a "Force in action", that operates efficiently on the field and is able to give a decisive contribution to the Italian policy in favour of national and international security.

The gratifying results achieved during the many activities at home and abroad have proved the quality of our choices.

We must continue on the road we have undertaken in order to give ever more timely and effective answers, fulfilling the commitments that await us in a more and more complex and unforeseeable future.



Lieutenant General Giulio Fraticelli



Dedication, spirit of sacrifice and high sense of duty characterize our personnel. The men and women of the Italian Army serve with honour, at home and abroad, to bring peace and liberty in a framework of security. A new year opens to the history of the world, and our soldiers, with their silent and diligent daily work, continue to give to many peoples the possibility of enjoying the precious good of democracy.

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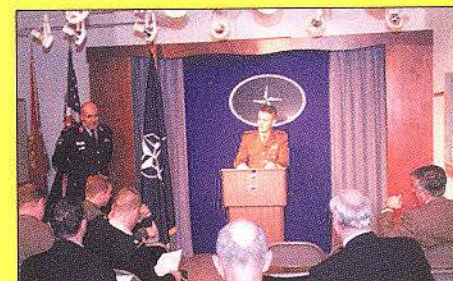
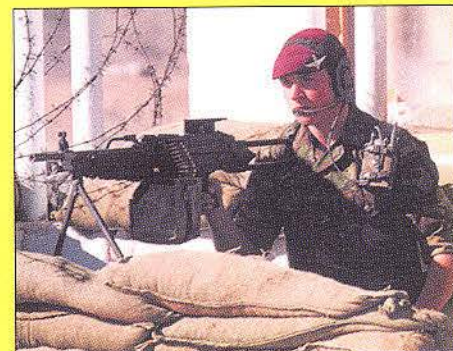
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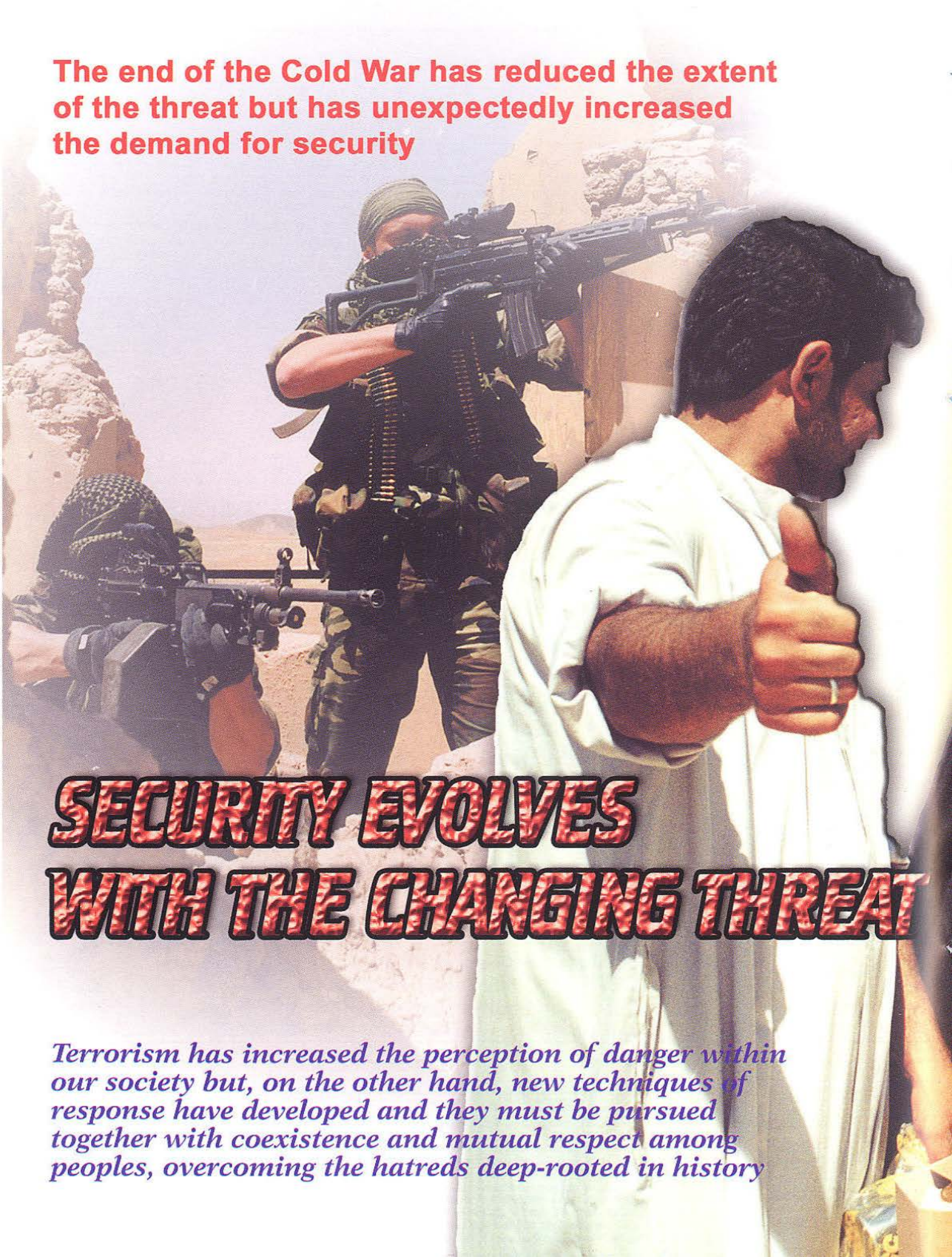
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The end of the Cold War has reduced the extent of the threat but has unexpectedly increased the demand for security



SECURITY EVOLVES WITH THE CHANGING THREAT

Terrorism has increased the perception of danger within our society but, on the other hand, new techniques of response have developed and they must be pursued together with coexistence and mutual respect among peoples, overcoming the hatreds deep-rooted in history

Unfortunately the roots of evil come up with every generation. The threat is the expectation of a real and imminent danger, caused by hostile entities. Security is a situation where a person lives without risks, leading a peaceful private and public life. As never before, the Armed Forces are on the frontline and, in order to achieve their objectives, are following various lines: reduction of military and civilian casualties, containment of enemy losses and limited destructions, also because the damages would be paid by the winner.

by Maurizio Coccia *

The level of protection from violence and grief that can be enjoyed directly by a Country, and indirectly by mankind, depends on the relation between needs and possibilities.

In the past, even very recently, this relation was enclosed in a military dimension and was mainly reduced to a comparison between two opposing technical terms. They were, broadly speaking, "threat" and "response".

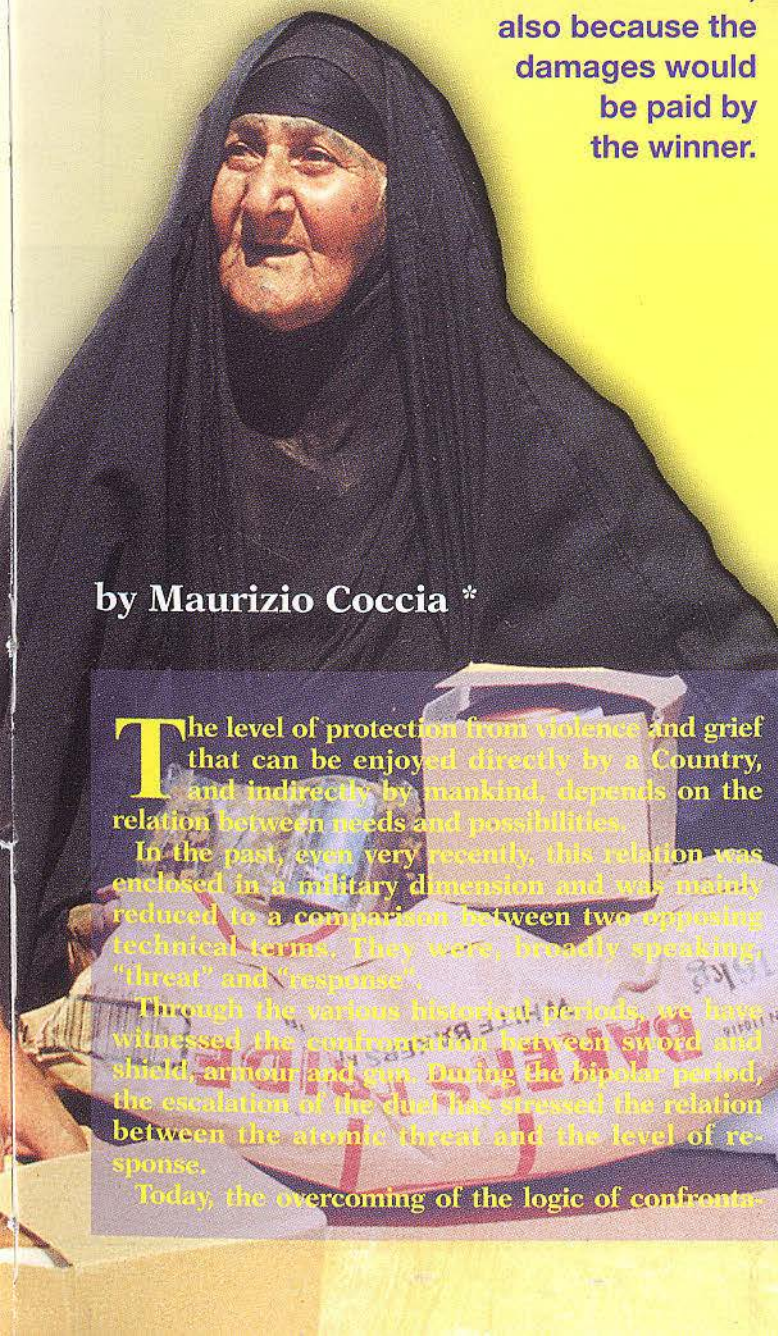
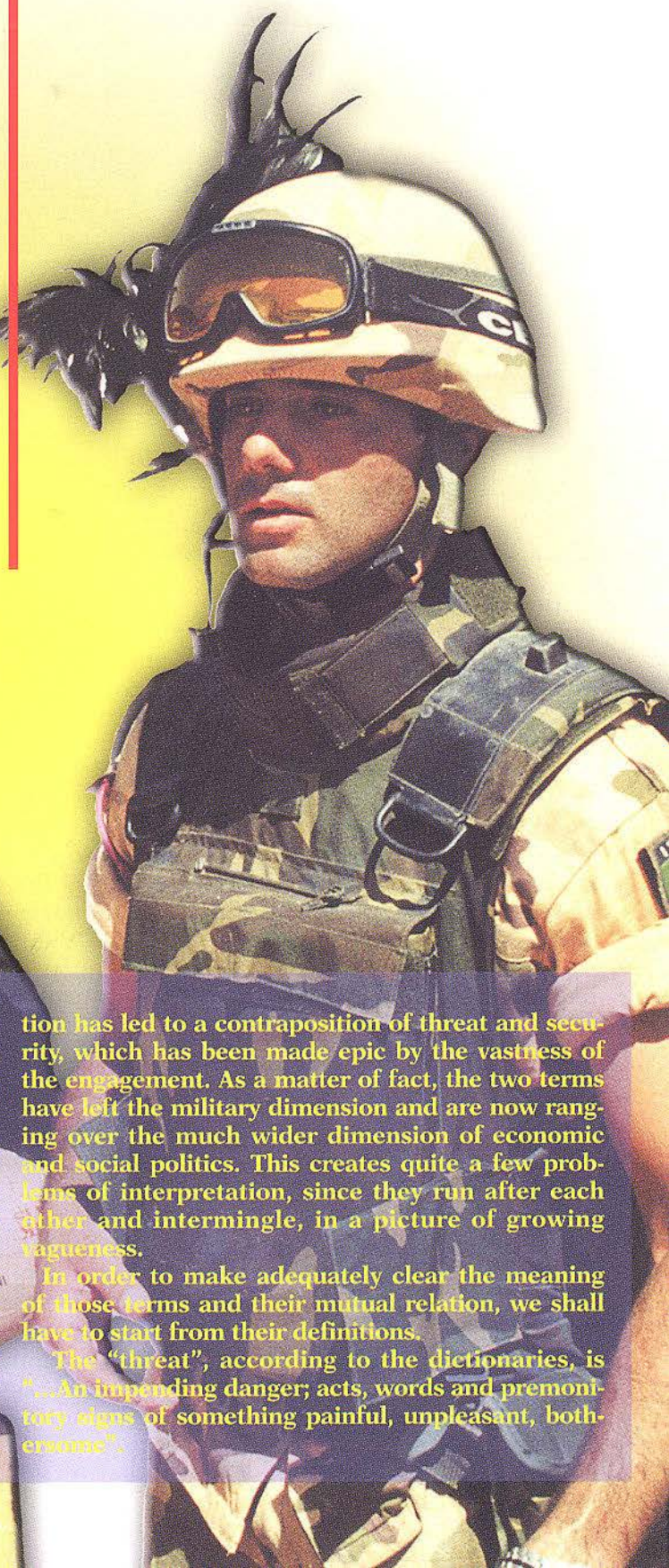
Through the various historical periods, we have witnessed the confrontation between sword and shield, armour and gun. During the bipolar period, the escalation of the duel has stressed the relation between the atomic threat and the level of response.

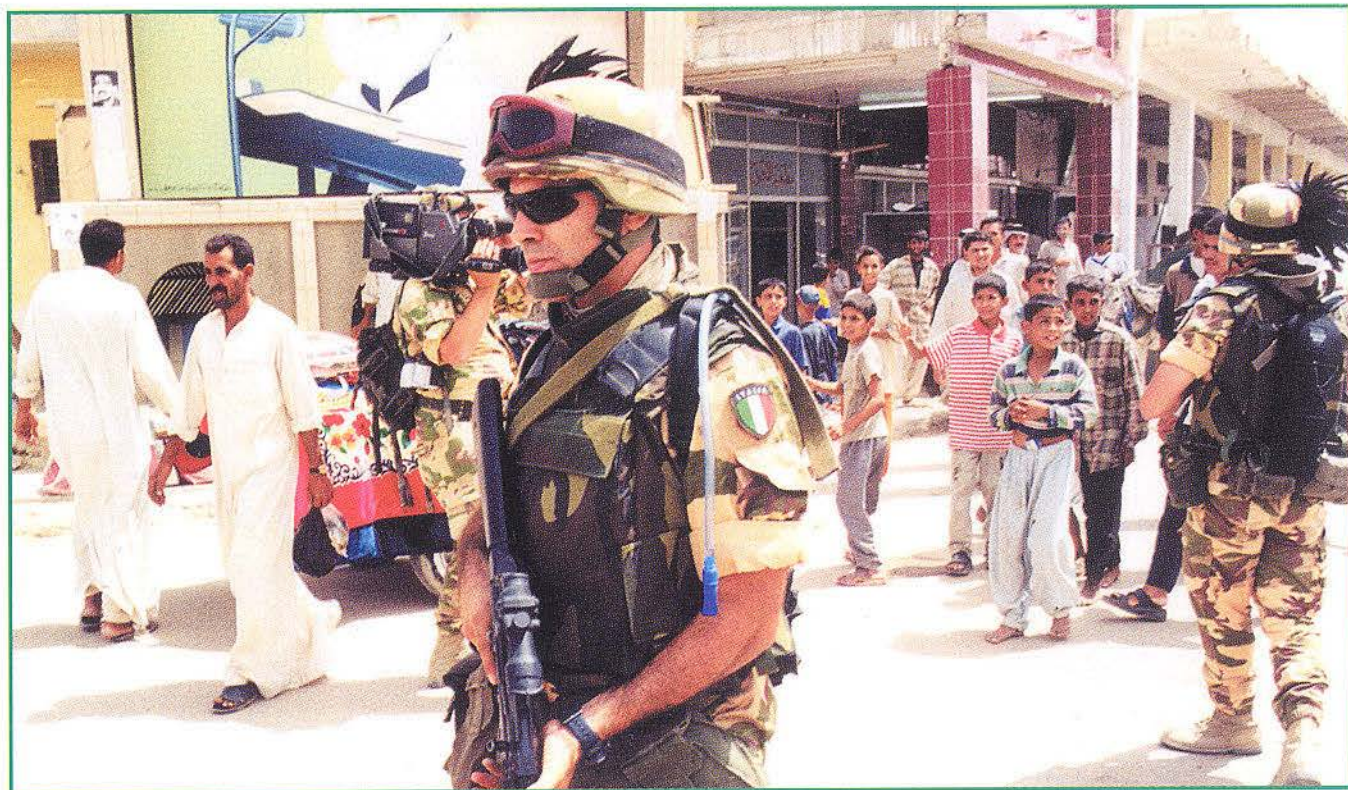
Today, the overcoming of the logic of confronta-

tion has led to a contraposition of threat and security, which has been made epic by the vastness of the engagement. As a matter of fact, the two terms have left the military dimension and are now ranging over the much wider dimension of economic and social politics. This creates quite a few problems of interpretation, since they run after each other and intermingle, in a picture of growing vagueness.

In order to make adequately clear the meaning of those terms and their mutual relation, we shall have to start from their definitions.

The "threat", according to the dictionaries, is "...An impending danger; acts, words and premonitory signs of something painful, unpleasant, bothersome".





They are all implicit, immanent and identifiable hostile subjects and acts, ready to go into action, and their imaginable dimension is vast and frightful. The way to a plausible reaction leads to coalitions, utmost commitment and union of all forces, in order not to succumb.

"Security", instead, "... implies a situation where persons are not in danger, not even at risk; on the contrary, they are adequately protected and in a position to carry out their social and working activity".

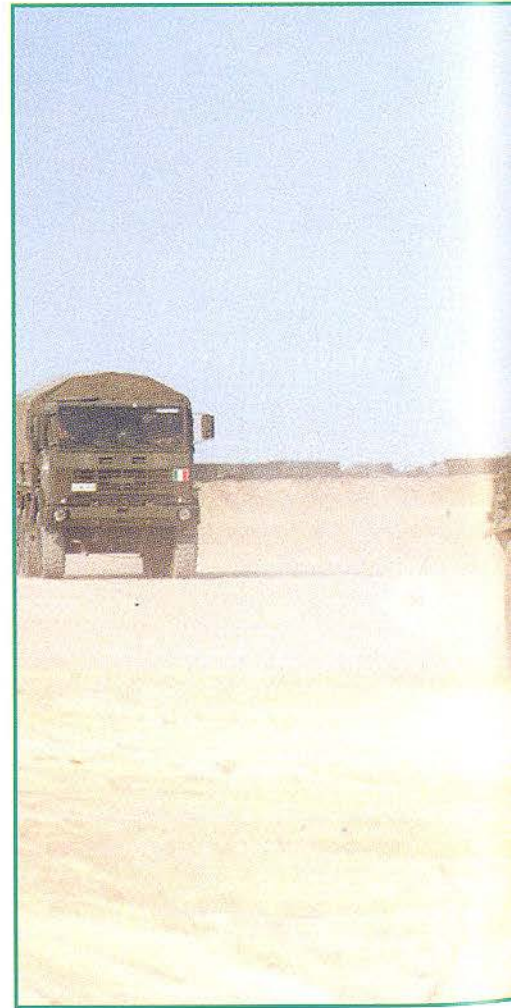
The will/intention of protecting/being protected is clear. We see a pacified and controlled situation, in keeping with the brightest and most particular personal expectations.

The individual, rather than the whole Country, seems to be the subject of security and the authorized author of any claim in this regard.

Having taken note of the meanings, we can observe that in the present general scenario there is a remarkable difference in the specific weight of the terms.

The threat has become milder, moving from the dramatically imminent and clear situations of the past to the partially risky and dangerous scenarios which impress and mobilize neither the individual nor public opinion. Furthermore, what remains visible, or at least perceptible, is confined to the periphery of our attention by the growth of a precise, conscious and circumstantial demand for security which, rather than a direct consequence of the awareness of the threat, seems to be an autonomous aspiration.

In point of fact, the bipolar period, when arms, men, open intentions, official statements and widely flaunted ideologies provided it with dramatic substance, has been overcome. During the present evolutionary process, the classical threats, such as the armies of the Warsaw Pact, the extent and perception of the contrasting national interests, high-risk endemic situations, misinformation, ideological confrontations, religious fanaticism, hunger, crime and ignorance



have decreased or even disappeared. At first sight. – but only at first sight – many of these threats seem to have inexorably and – one could add – even too easily been levelled by the long wave of globalization, the West's resoluteness and the liberalization of the movement of people and ideas.

The complex system of actions and reactions previously described has not produced – and continues not to produce – only positive results for the improvement of peace and development. The growing demand for security has not expanded in a geographical sense only, but has reached sectors of collective life which were unthinkable till yesterday. Moreover, it is a demand that does not vary so much from Country to Country.

It is true that now the threat is



less visible, but its potentiality is not reduced; it has only taken on mimetic configurations and adapted to the scenario of the moment, becoming planetary, transverse and diffused inside the social fabric. It has gained strength from ethic and moral references, from the extent and firmness of the opposed beliefs; it relies on customs, on the evolutionary processes of genetics and on environmental issues.

The demand for security originates from different situations, either stable or under development.

If we want to substantiate what we have just stated, we can observe that the response to a seismic event clearly denotes the extent of the expectations and the gap existing in the various Countries as regards the measures for the safeguard of life and goods of the various communities. If we consider the two earthquakes, of similar magnitude, in Japan and Algeria, we can see that the former ended in a big scare while the latter caused great destructions and loss of lives.

To those who, vis-à-vis such an extensive investigation, ask what could the military's direct informative and cognitive interest and what could be their future level of involvement, we can answer that, at the present time, the tasks of peace and war, police and monitoring, assistance, reclamation and reconstruction, both in Italy and worldwide, have been assigned, without too much hesitation, to the defence sector. In fact this compartment is organized for facing the classic threats of the past and, in its continuous evolution, aims at conforming to the present heavy demand for security.

With regard to this aspect, which only yesterday could be considered as pertaining to a distant future and now involves us more and more directly and on a growing scale, we are going to discuss the merits of these two synergic situations.

THE VISIBLE THREAT

The residual visible threat continues to be classic and direct, originates from the existing differences and is made visible by the declarations of intent and the preparations made by the opponents. It is partially managed by the western Countries through their choices in internal and foreign policy.

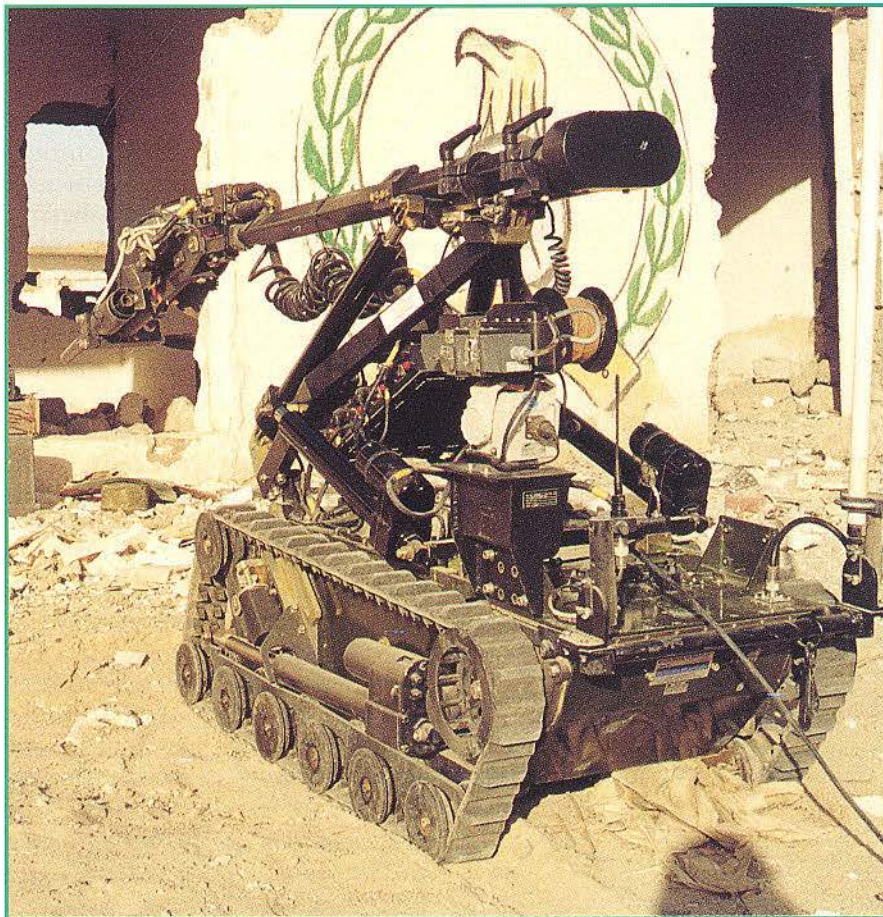
As we pointed out, the threat is reduced but, in practice, the causes that may produce it are unchanged.

The scenarios that can threaten a peaceful coexistence are numerous and go from the **crisis of the reference model** before the fall of the Berlin Wall to the collapse of the Communist Pact. The scope of the investigation is not only political, economic and social. For example, just think about the wrecks of the Cold War armies and the pollution they cause where sensitive materials,



such as radioactive waste, are stocked, and the risk deriving from the criminal sale of nuclear, biological and chemical substances and other dangerous stuff.

It is also possible to examine the **development of the democratization process**. Democratic values play an important role in human development, since they promote commitment and change at public-opinion level, involving people directly. Although imperfect and contradictory, these values have succeeded in attracting the general attention, gaining a vast consent and influencing more and more the





political choices and decisions of the governments.

Today their credibility still has trouble when directly facing the logics of other ideologies. Their weak points derive from the continuing evident lack of harmony between ethics and market, and from the wide differences in role and specific weight among the Countries of the world.

The difference in the distribution of resources among peoples gives rise to expectations and yearnings that can take violent forms and are triggering many conflicts of the present time.

The commitment to the cooperation for development is often



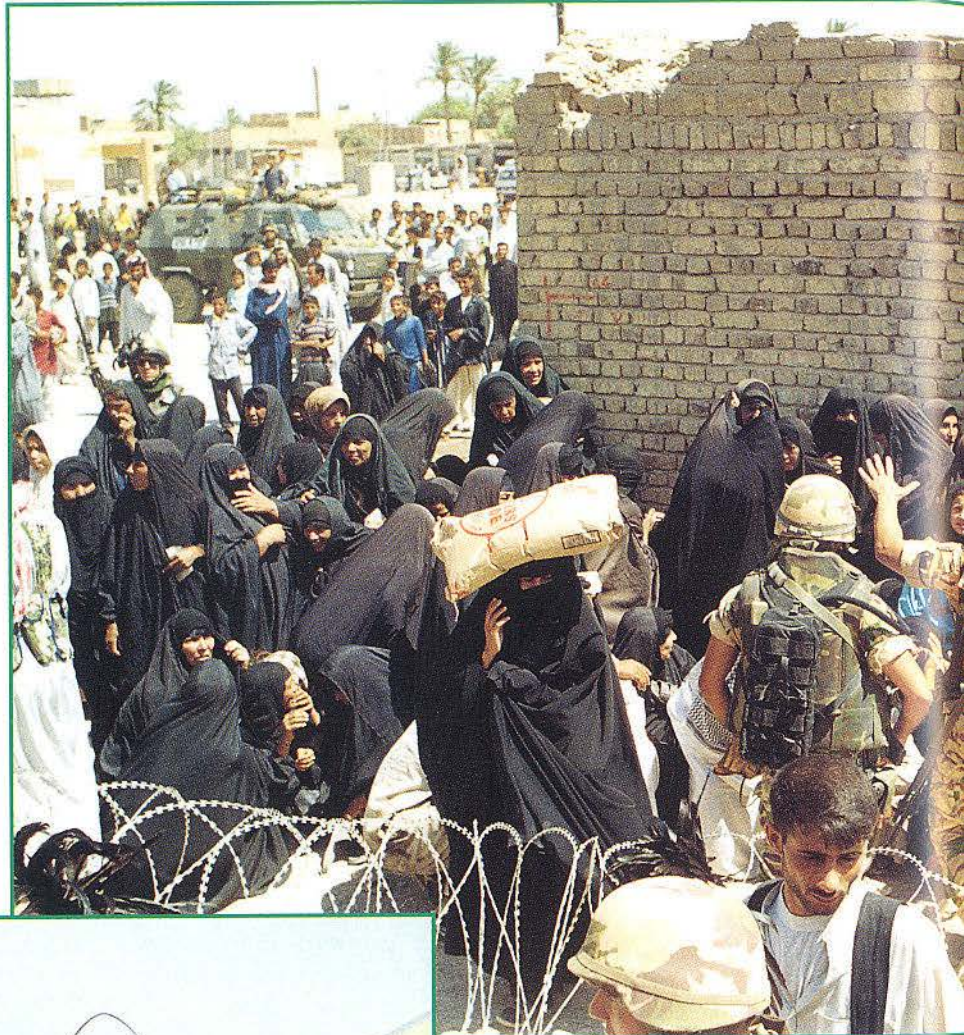
considered insufficient, and this creates an evolutionary situation in which it is increasingly difficult to manage changes according to the various individual expectations.

The instability existing inside and outside the Euro-Atlantic zone can degenerate into crises and conflicts.

Many Countries in Europe or in its periphery face serious social and economic problems, with ethnic and religious territorial disputes.

The efforts made to implement democratic reforms and increase the level of development have often been inadequate or have failed straightaway.

In order to better define the admittedly theoretical scenarios where the threat could materialize again, we can refer to the **present problems of Africa**. There, at times, local policies marked by authoritarianism or open anarchy prevail, with a rigid defence



smaller. Lack of transports. Internal discrimination. Women conditions. Draught, aridity, advancing deserts, problems in water distribution.

These are all vigorous shoves towards political failure, coups d'état, civil war, corruption, genocide. These tragedies lead to exodus, a phenomenon which, more than any other, shows the disintegrating effect of so much injustice on individuals, families and small communities.

The reaction to this general ruin is a massive dose of hate, which naturally flows into the vast field of those who, for any reason, are against the development of democracy.

The resistance of a large coalition of wills is already evident. In such a situation we can foresee a hysterical and jerky future for the

of *status quo* and ultra-conservatism. Oil problems, territorial disputes, racial clashes and xenophobia dominate those areas. Wars and violence. Terrorism, crime and drug trafficking. Injustice, corruption, passivity. State-centralization and abandonment

of the cities. Irresponsible population growth. Poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment, migration, child mortality, epidemics and Aids. Urbanization /ghettoization, and its contrary, i.e. persisting nomadism in areas which have become smaller and



new terrorism of the 21st Century which, also for this reason, is more dangerous and harder to fight.

Moving on to the motives and ensuing behaviours, the most worrisome seems to be the clash/coexistence with other ethical and development models.

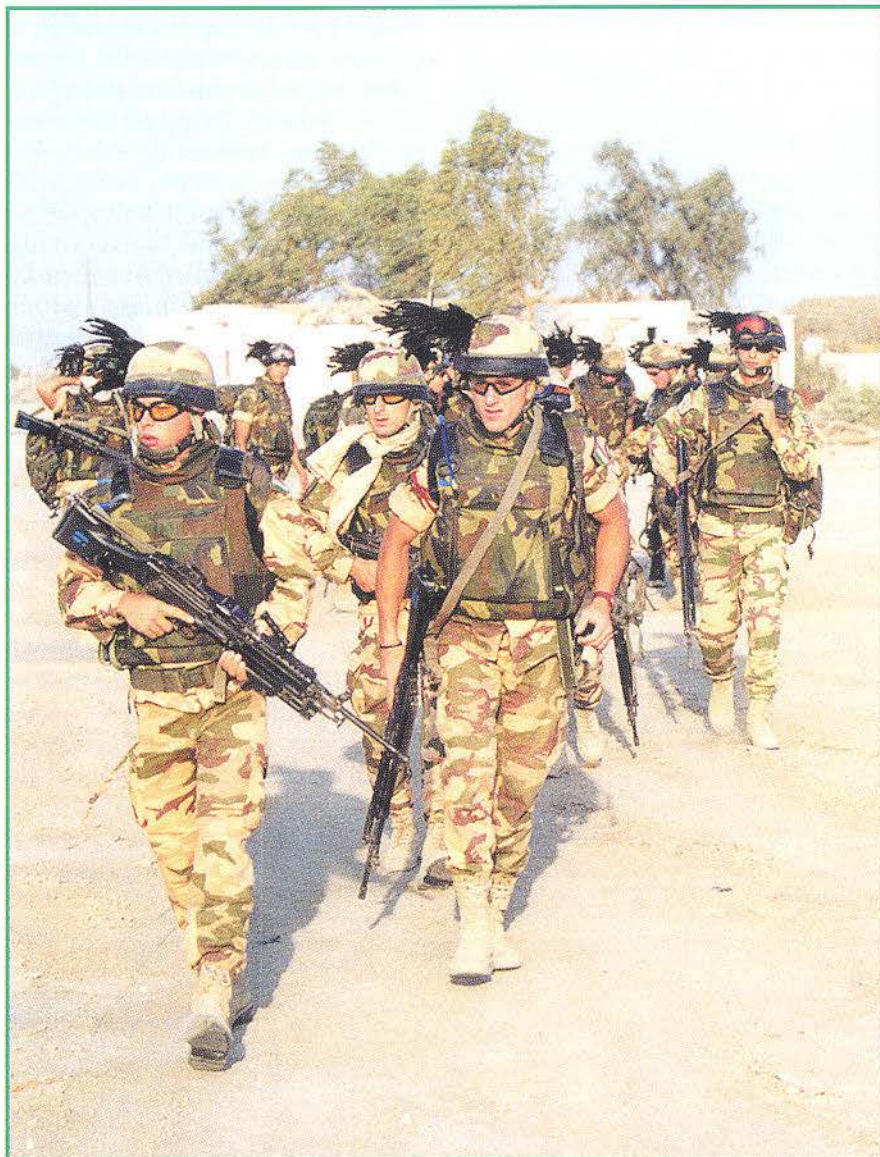
The threats to collective security have changed following the change in the relative balance of the States' relations.

The lack of alternatives has increased tensions, also because the European and the American ways have progressively become closer, to the point of almost coinciding. The radicalization of refusal has become more marked and so, while on the one hand there was a progress in democratization and cooperation under the aegis of US, EU, UN, OSCE and any other international Organization concerned with collective recognition and aid to development, on the other there were cases of rebellion by some States

which tried to oppose the rules of general development with the intention of maintaining and possibly increasing their relative power. We can mention the Gulf War and Iraq, the internal struggle in Somalia, Milosevitch's despotism in the Balkans and the recrudescence of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, which has visibly exceeded the schemes of compromise and tolerance which lately had succeeded in containing violence.

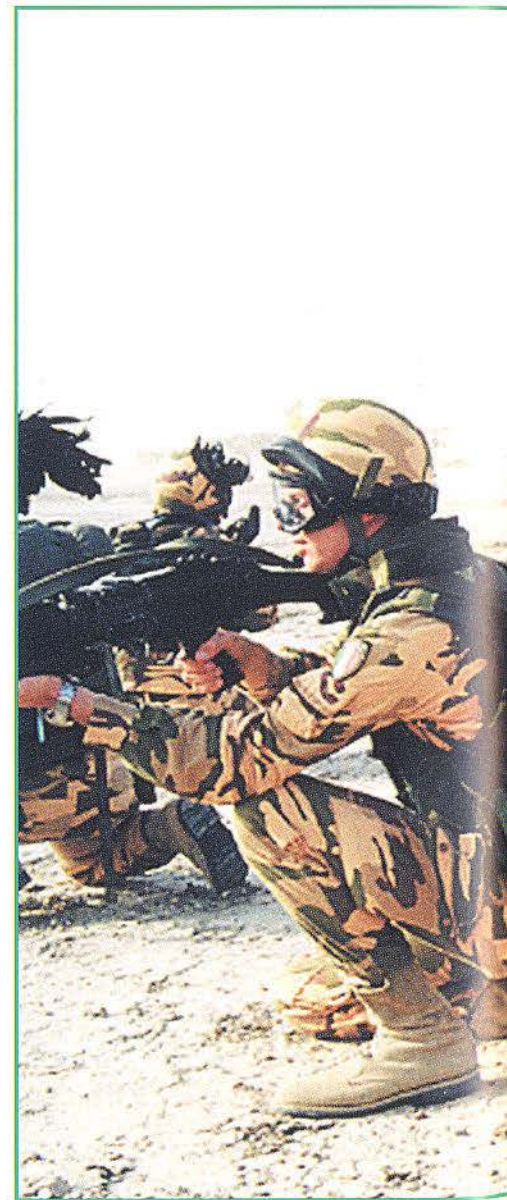
One should also remember that within the system of Western values there are different positions, that go from agnostic behaviour to one committed to change, or to another endorsing overthrowing, according to micro-political, pressure-group, nationalistic, or even global, perspectives. This dangerous diversity/divergence could be caused by a cultural incompatibility, by a different individual choice about the model of growth vis-à-vis the one accepted by one's Country, or result from a





In view of this, the terrorist actions carried out are the visible tip of a much larger iceberg, on which it is necessary to take action in every possible way if we want to get rid of the collective fear and rebuild a climate of confidence and freedom.

Elsewhere, poverty, marginalization and alienation funnel individual rebellions into organized crime. This is now global and has much more incisive effects than those achieved by the various States, to the point of becoming an invisible State of remarkable economic weight. Crime is interconnected with every kind of terrorism, owing to



simple power clash.

The deep root of the contrast seems to be that the various Countries have a different conception of freedom of action and thought, and a different way of understanding and governing it.

The confrontation of the past, an unusual liberty at all levels and, most of all, the opening of information and communications, have fostered the old terrorism and brought about a new one, combining their different patterns in a communicating system.

The worst case we can envisage is that in which manifold and diverse forces join together under the anti-American and anti-Western banner.

Terrorism as a whole, in its diversified totality, has grown to become the most serious threat to the reference values and to freedom, territory and lives. It can no more be ascribed to a single Nation, Government or leader, but rather to a tough opposition which has gained strength in the bipolar scenario.

A far-reaching opposition, just as far-reaching are the contradictions of a very imperfect world, so we can and must imagine that, if the countermeasures implemented are inadequate, the already large number of militants is destined to grow, together with that of the instigators.

their similarities and mutual needs as regards invisibility, complicity and illegality. It is in a position to exert considerable multidirectional pressures on the single Nations and on the international context.

The reason for its present effervescence and for the widening of its modalities and instruments is connected with the most negative effects of the global economic interaction, but also with an act of conceit of the enemy. Crime has already tried to come out at State level (Narconation) and probably feels strong enough – or considers us weak enough – for a further visibility leap.

SOLICITED SECURITY

In the West, the evolution of the security contents has taken giant steps in the last hundred years, to the point that we can say that the protagonist of our time is security rather than threat.

Furthermore, the nuclear component favoured those who pursued their own security by keeping alive and credible the threat of inflicting an apocalyptic punishment on the rival.

Now everything is under discussion, and it was not enough to confine the atomic weapons to a limbo with no (plausible) return,

move on to smart weapons, prevent rather than repress, protect the civilian communities in the war zones, face the ferocity of some by applying the good manners demanded by the democratic and advanced Countries' public opinions.

It is like saying that the reaction has exceeded all foreseeable levels of common sense and concreteness, becoming a utopian concept driven by hysteria and frustration in the face of the fact that mankind is unable to live in peace. While the asymmetry between intents and instruments, between the available and the employable tools becomes nor-





mal, the wave of collective resentment against the employment of force keeps growing. Against any type of force. And this gives rise to many problems, but only for us and among us.

The ethic and social resentment is flanked by the coming on in the advanced societies of a kind of political realism, according to which it is not necessary to feign sympathy for "unfortunate Africa" in order to defend one's income.

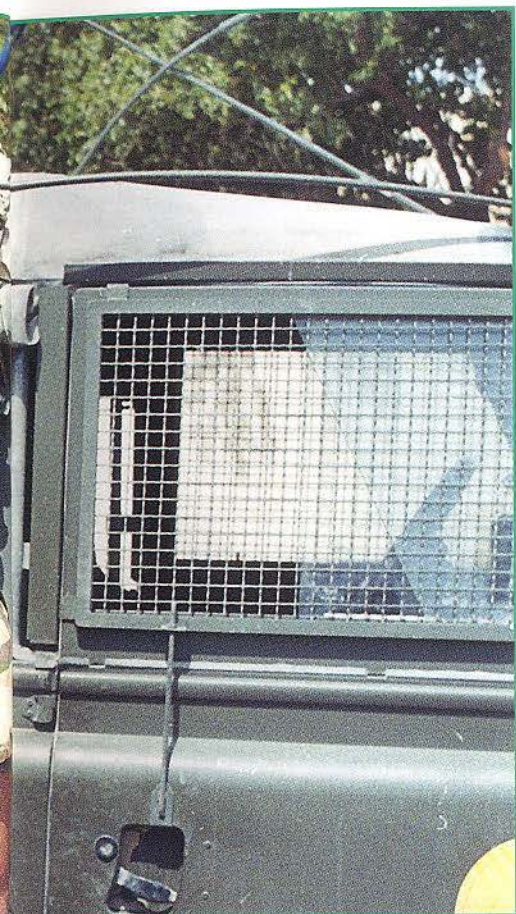
Nowadays, cynicism stifles enthusiasms to the detriment of collective security. As a matter of fact, violent reactions are on the increase, somehow spurred by

the disengagement trend, whose negative effects fall mostly on civilian populations.

The drop in collective security is mostly ascribable to the difference of attention between economic and social development. In particular it can be attributed to the quantitative and qualitative modesty of the defence strategies which should have protected the way to development. The project was obviously considered too exacting and not sufficiently involving. The fact is that we still cannot speak of security strategies.

This vulnerability has been immediately detected and hit.

To the sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the classic threats and, more generally, vis-à-vis the continuing and numerous conflicts, we must add the new awareness of individuals and public opinions of the fact that there has not been an adequate will to prevent and curb the other insecurities coming from every side, which endanger the physical and mental health of the citizens. Today's wide-ranging information acquaints us with a series of serious and imminent, old and new dangers which besiege us more and more directly: the still incurable or new diseases, epidemics, drugs, dangerous (or considered



hazardous) experiments, environment, earthquakes, cloudbursts, landslides, the green-house effect and consequent climatic changes, traffic, savings protection, justice, security and personal safety.

The list becomes longer with every passing day and people have the impression of having been abandoned in a scenario which gets more and more hostile due to somebody else's fault.

NEW POTENTIALS AND NEW STRATEGIES

The demand for security is growing, the visible threat is decreasing and, for various reasons, the human and material resources which should ensure a new optimal picture are dwindling. The potential threat of the intentions and the availability of instruments for carrying it out remain high.

In any case, the scenario seems to be a positive one if we compare it with the conflict potentiality of the Cold War. So much so that an ample, American-led interventionism is now taking shape, characterized by measures taken with courage and large resources, and supported by the participating Countries' public opinions.

Nevertheless the real size of the threat seems to be able to escape the effects of so much effervescence in the security sector. The achieved, and achievable, results, are not the invoked ones and often not even those declared.

The origins of this malaise, and of this hysteresis, are historical, economic and political. Their roots are in the typical misdemeanours typical of mankind, in the reasons that have induced the Supreme Maker to create Paradise, but also Purgatory and Hell.

There is no farsightedness, no great design of coexistence, no grand strategy.





Every creed is continuously revised. Commanding becomes even more difficult. There is a decline in transparency, personal credibility, national cohesion, international synergy. The tendency is to limit decisions and commitment within an ever shorter and

narrower present time.

Besides, one should not forget the existence of a close net of treaties, accords, praxes and customs which produces advantages, but also conditionings.

The residual opening is shut by the mass-media information and



by its rather questionable initiatives that spread through everybody else's province.

If all these constructions had led to the desired model of coexistence there would be nothing to complain about. But unfortunately matters do not stand that way.

The security that we have to build must be constructed in an integrated and cooperative form among Countries and peoples, without conditionings dictated by fear and selfishness, but rather with the conviction that only a very great commitment can strengthen the development achieved and pave the way to further goals.

It is a matter of giving depth to every aspect of the evolution, avoiding to return to the dawn of coexistence, to the Middle Ages, the towers and the fortified enclosure walls.

It is a matter of paying attention to the thousand aspects of security, assembling them in a single strategy of management,



the democratic institutions and communities must be wider, clearer and more involving than the flaunted claims which, on the media and in the operational response strategy, should be incessantly played down.

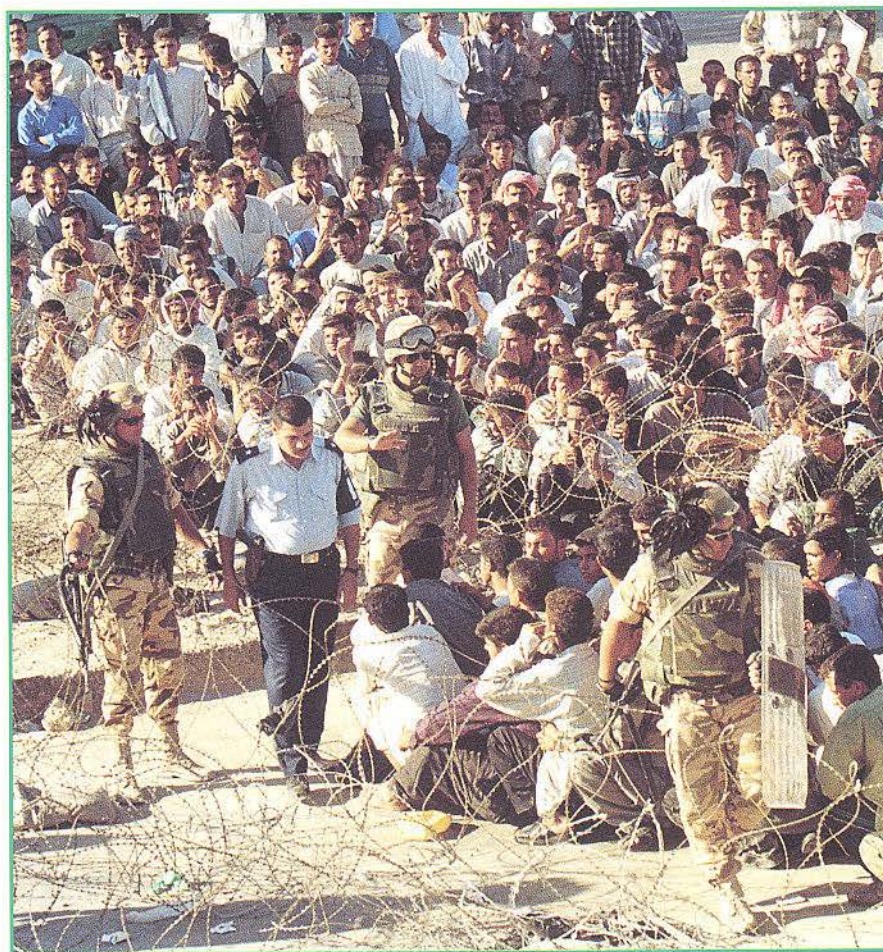
Terrorism strikes everybody, both within and without the circle of national interests. Victory over terror will be won only through a new type of relation between peoples freed from the false problems of coexistence originated by national perspectives.

Democracy, with its ample involvement and consensus, beats any terrorist logic and seems to be the best medicine against all types of violence. The democratic process is under way and is far from being completed, so much so that when politics is not capable of making itself adequately understood and appreciated, violent reactions re-emerge, even in

getting rid of the logic of threat, of defence, of the peripheral soldierliness of the past, extending the involvement as much as possible and giving great space to investigations, combining experience and innovation with the courage of a lion. Old and new governing instruments must be coordinated.

The reaction to terrorism, for instance, is not a new experience. In the past, the most common mistakes were the underestimation of the phenomenon and a reaction centred on the particular event, paying attention only to the visible part of the iceberg. Also common was the excess of reaction-repression, which tried to obtain a result equal or higher than that achieved by the terrorists. It was also a mistake to indulge in the demoralization that the non-achievement of the objective may have brought about.

Against terrorism, the fundamental conceptual aspect springs precisely from the opening of the confrontation. The reaction of



the most emancipated Countries.

Therefore, the whole world and every individual must be involved in the democratic process but, meanwhile, both must be protected. Globalization looked like a good answer, since it was potentially able to equalize welfare and reduce the injustice on which terrorism grows and thrives, but also terror became global, by choosing the fighting forms typical of an open and intercommunicating society.

In view of this, we must under-

line two potentially very strong characteristics of the present historical period, consisting of the possibility of cooperation of yesterday's enemies and the new role played by individuals, pressure groups and public opinions, which have often become co-protagonists, together with the various Countries and international Organizations.

A new international osmosis is just around the corner.

Fervour and good will are plentiful and visible, and this particu-

lar period encourages to take initiatives that until yesterday were considered unscrupulous. In such a scenario, the most significant result to be obtained should be that every individual, all over the world, should be aware that, as regards terrorism, the limits of any acceptable compromise have been crossed. An epoch is over and a new one is beginning, a time of war in which all human beings are called to the frontline. The first objective of this war should be precisely the demoli-





tion – or at least an ample and visible regression – of compromise, followed by a similar action against ambiguity, at all levels and everywhere.

The ethical and moral education of our personnel and of those with whom we cooperate is fundamental, even more than **technological training**, also because in a democratic world where freedom of opinion, of values and behaviours has long been considered inalienable, one could run the risk of unpleasant surprises. Furthermore, a new value is attached to the weapons which penetrate intentions, looking for the capabilities, weaknesses, structural limits of the enemy, giving a new visibility to the mimetic threat, highlighting it in its most plausible substance, avoiding equally dangerous exaggerations and underestimations. **Espionage, psywar, intelligence.**

In the security sector, professionalism is emphasized by the

magnitude of the demand. The professional components are reevaluated, together with those that were wrongly considered “mercenary” but were actually tinged with ancient glory, idealism, motivation and romanticism. These were drives that were aimed at finding a turning point in life, an occasion of redemption for ethically and morally motivated individuals.

The group strength has always turned out to be all-important in emphasizing the power of the **religious and ideological alliances**. Nowadays an alliance entails an intense relationship and mutual respect. As such it cannot meet only contingent or occasional requirements, nor can it be programmed on paper.

War as collective violence has by now been memorized at genetic level. Precedents are countless. Right of ownership, concept of territory, revenge for directly suffered wrongs. In the near fu-

ture it could be possible to make this behavioural error just out of bellicosity and group solidarity, even without a serious and just reason.

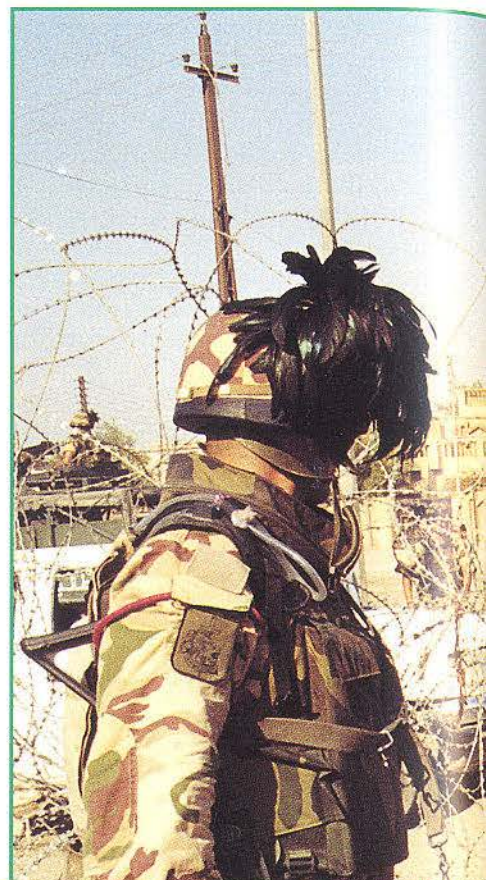
Every day we can witness the deviation of groups into packs when boredom, irresponsibility, boldness, arrival of deviant leaders, or any other contingent situation change the objectivity of the social relations with the other groups. The lack of a visual contact with the adversary, caused by the technological evolution, makes the recourse to war and the perpetration of unnecessary atrocities much easier than before.

The resort to war must be regulated with limits corresponding to the level of development achieved. Atrocities must be banned, emphasizing, at the same time, the **socio-economic significance of war**, meant as the highest point of contraposi-

tion and dissent within the possibilities of reaction available to enlightened, advanced and conscious people.

The security effort will have to be extended to the utmost. One of the many possible examples of the vastness of the research is given by the observation that, in the past, epidemics were the cause of decline of many empires and this could happen again.

The first epidemic we can remember ravaged Athens, four centuries before Christ. It killed one person out of three, undermining the bases of the Greek supremacy. There was the plague of 1347-52, during which Europe lost between one half and one third of its population and moved the centre of its commerce from South to North. The cholera epidemic of 1830 contributed to the disintegration of the great empires, particularly the Hapsburg's, paving the way





for the European democracies. After WWI the "Spanish influenza" infected more than a billion people and killed over 40 million.

The field in which security can be achieved is wide and, luckily, **the possibilities of response are growing.**

The potentially interesting innovations are ample and range over every field of knowledge. They require non-stop, detailed and future-oriented monitoring.

In general, **the highest effort can be noticed in the technological field**, which makes a comment of strategic valence necessary. As a matter of fact, technolo-

gy does not only define the continuous pursuit of improvement but highlights also the short duration of materials. Two aspects which produce an equal number of requirements: adaptation and operation. The macrosystems become heavy and vulnerable. Those who are not loaded with these burdens can move with less predictability and more fantasy, at times with surprising results.

In the technological field, in any case, astonishing goals have been achieved and are now well established. Some examples:

- potential of outer space. Not only the search for extraterres-

trial life, with the connected new resources and profits, but also the monitoring of the planet. An information network is being realized; suffice it to think of the satellite security system, now installed even on private cars. This allows us to anticipate the near future: less privacy and more security;

- study of unpredictable events according to the dynamics of chaos, which move between science and geometry. Trying to understand the concrete complications of reality, from the whimsicality of meteorology, to the vortices of a stream or to

masses' behaviour vis-à-vis an emotion;

- progress on the way to invisibility (more and more sophisticated camouflages and exploitation of the present weaknesses of the electromagnetic equipment for surveillance and detection). At the same time, development of a technology focused on the infinitely small, capable of increasing the technological advantage of those who can afford it;
- artificial intelligence and its applications in coordination and control;
- robots and their capability of substituting for men, particularly for fighting men;
- electronics and its foreseeable developments. Very probably

it will be possible to build and miniaturize everything, widening the capabilities of the individual to incredible limits;

- advantages and disadvantages of a world without attrition. Speed against endurance. A flywheel with no attrition could replace a petrol engine with only a modest starting impulse. According to Jack Bitterly, inventor at the "US Flywheel", 12 Euros worth of electricity could suffice to travel 500 kilometres. The way to ridding ourselves of the strategic dependence on oil is undoubtedly open;
- sound and its capability of turning into light, with high probability of getting unlimited energy;

- ultra wide band. The new wireless single-impulse transmissions (Fullerton and Petroff) have exceeded the limits of the continuous waves, which often bounced against obstacles, causing interferences that weakened the signal. Today, signals are always loud and clear; obstacles are passed through and this provides a new capability of vision through position detectors.

- light beam computer. Cables are replaced by lasers and mirrors, thus increasing mobility, surprise and manoeuvre;
- the role of hands and particularly of fingers in digital communication, for memorizing and transferring bits using the natural electric current of the human body.





CONCLUSIONS

Technology by itself will be unable to contain the threats within narrower and more easily controllable limits.

The first great force capable of promoting the mutual recognition of peoples is **coexistence**. It is a long way, difficult to travel, where one can easily lose his direction.

While the world rallies around the victims of terror, we discover that the universal recognition fostered by globalization, the free transit of information and the awareness of the world problems in real time, has not removed hatred and craving for destruction.

The roots of evil outlive every generation. Everyone has done something wrong. People have often resorted to violence. Hate has bred hate and this process has led to an increasingly critical and probably hopeless situation.

In this climate of diffused rancor and mistrust, the aid that one is able, and intends, to give, can hurt feelings and become

poisonous. Just as the punishment for those guilty of unacceptable acts of violence can become an alibi for further revenge.

As one can see, problems increase, answers become more extensive, far-reaching and sophisticated and call for a cultural, technological and cognitive process which is in itself a prerequisite for survival.

Meanwhile, also **the military have raised the threshold of their security**. The first objective is to avoid death. The second is to win and achieve the target without killing. The third objective is to avoid causing damages, since they would be paid by the winner.

How will it end? It is difficult to say.

If it is true, as recent studies report, that in the whole universe at least 20,000 planets could be inhabited, the Saga of Man is just beginning.

□

* Major General (ret.)

The challenge of the future does not consist in the shape of the upcoming geopolitical arrangements, but rather in our best possible adaptation to unforeseen scenario transformations

TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ORDER

The future universal projects will have to take into account unforeseen and unexpected consequences, but the solutions will arise from within the different civilizations

The bipolar world has left a legacy which still exists, and must be known and understood in order to build a new world order. The economic choices of the '70s and '80s brought about decisive consequences for vast areas of our planet. The process of adjustment is still in progress. The coming years will be crucial for establishing at last a new international stability, provided that the Nations and the international Organizations tackle the problems of resources and human rights. Our hope is for a real opportunity of growth for the whole world, in a framework of stability and general security.

Our memory ought to go back to the crisis of 1971-1975, which led to the establishment of a real world-board with the creation, at first, of the so-called "Library group" and then of the "G5", which was soon to become "G7". This board was actually the outcome of the economic, financial and monetary instability caused by the U.S. decision to dismantle the GATT system (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) signed in 1947, on the initiative of the U.S., by the representatives of 23 Nations. Its objective was to reduce trade barriers and customs duties, opening the old colonial empires to international commerce. This was the accord on which the economic system of the post-WWII period was built.

In 1975 the economic-industrial world opens to new hopes, since the G7 (group of the most industrialized Countries: U.S.,



U.K., France, Germany, Japan, Italy and Canada) should be the arena through which its members could find the possibility of re-stabilizing the economic-financial system through the creation of a new monetary and financial architecture, capable of relaunching the economic recovery and development. Therefore, 1975 is to be considered a year of justified hopes, from the viewpoint of a new economic order (also thanks to the results of the Helsinki Conference) as well as from that of political détente and East-West collaboration. The 1975-79 quinquennium is that in which the aspiration to

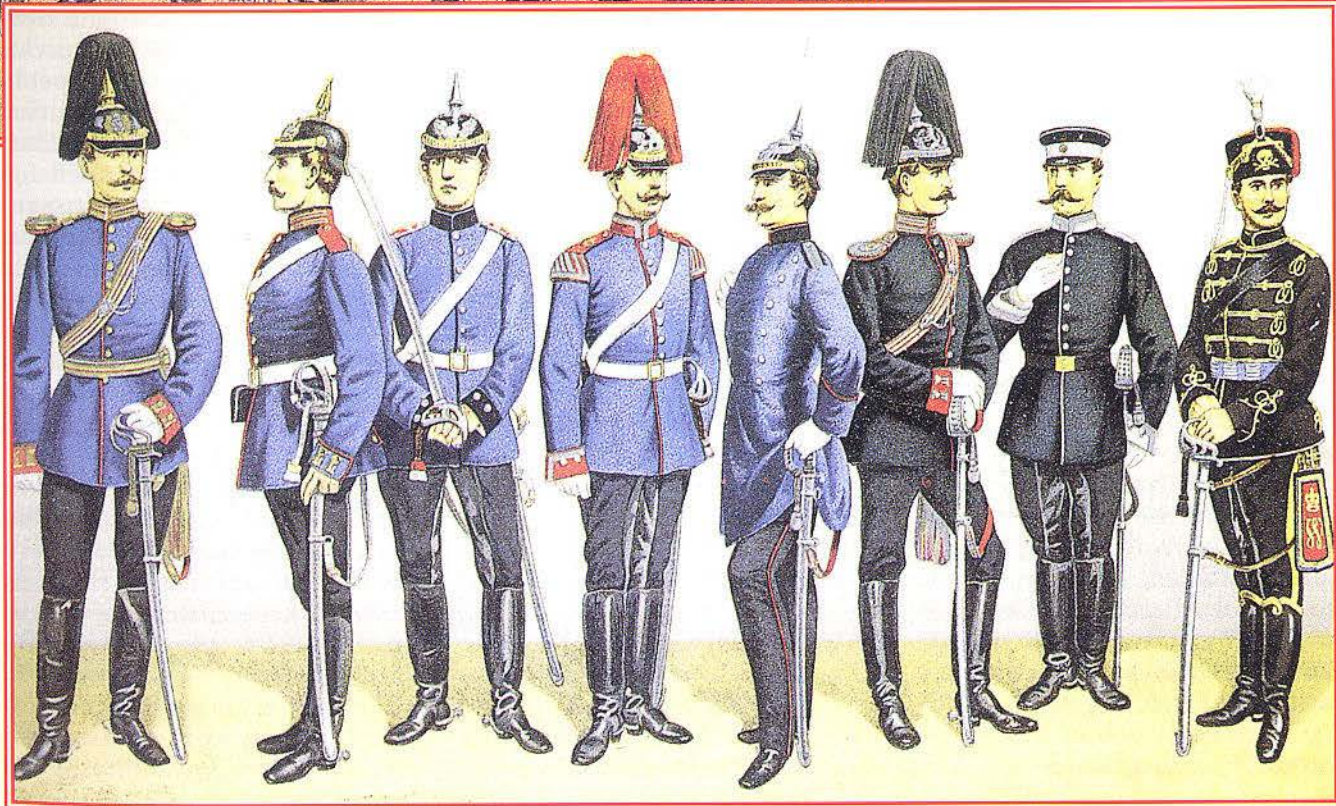
by Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi *



collaboration makes its appearance and must be considered a transition period, waiting for a serious relaunching.

These expectations vanish in the successive period, 1979-1989. The decade begins with the second oil-crisis, because of the formation of two factions, a radical and a moderate one, within OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries). The former believes that the producing Countries are entitled to impose high prices in order to counter the price increases of the goods produced by the industrialized Countries, posing as protagonists of a kind of world socialism, as if this could lead to the redistribution of wealth and a worldwide redressing of inequities.

Particularly the Countries where the Islamic fundamentalism is present show the aspira-





tion to carry out a politico-ideological mission. The radical current is for increasing oil prices without worrying about possible consequences, not only in the industrialized Countries, but also in the developing ones. Within the latter, there is a split between those which own energy sources, since they are also oil producers, and those which do not.

The other current within OPEC is the moderate one. Unlike the radical Countries, it is in favour of cooperation with the industrialized Countries and therefore takes into account their economic-financial requirements. On the other hand, the moderate current makes this cooperation conditional on a reconsideration of the political problems afflicting the Middle East and, in particular, the Palestinians. All this gives a chance to influence the industri-

alized Countries, prompting them to look for a solution of the crisis between Israel and Palestine which is, at the same time, also a problem for the relations within the Arab world. As a consequence, the fracture within OPEC is the same existing in the entire Middle East, i.e. a rift between progressive and moderate Countries. The consequences of this situation are evident and the crisis in the East-West dialogue only makes things worse.

THE CRISIS IN THE EAST-WEST DIALOGUE

The Helsinki Conference (whose final Act was drawn up between July 1973 and August 1975) gives rise to expectations caused by the new economic order. The East-West dialogue en-

ters a new difficult phase, to the point of being called "the new Cold War". Its repercussions can be noticed also in the appeals that the industrialized Countries keep on addressing to the East (to COMECON, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, created in Moscow in response to the European Common Market) asking those Nations to contribute to the aid-policy for the development of the so-called developing Countries. The dialogue breaks off because the Soviet Union fails to comply with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Considering also the strong imperialistic drive which characterized the last phase of Leonid Brezhnev's era, we can say that after the Czechoslovak crisis (where he launched the "limited sovereignty" doctrine, in order to restore the strength and stability of the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe)



the USSR begins to get ahead with a policy of expansion involving the Far East, Africa and Latin America (the central republics in particular). We remember also the crisis in Angola and Mozambique and the support given to Fidel Castro and his policy of penetration in Africa.

With Brezhnev the Soviet Union reaches the top of its imperialistic thrust but, at the same time, shows its economic and financial weakness.

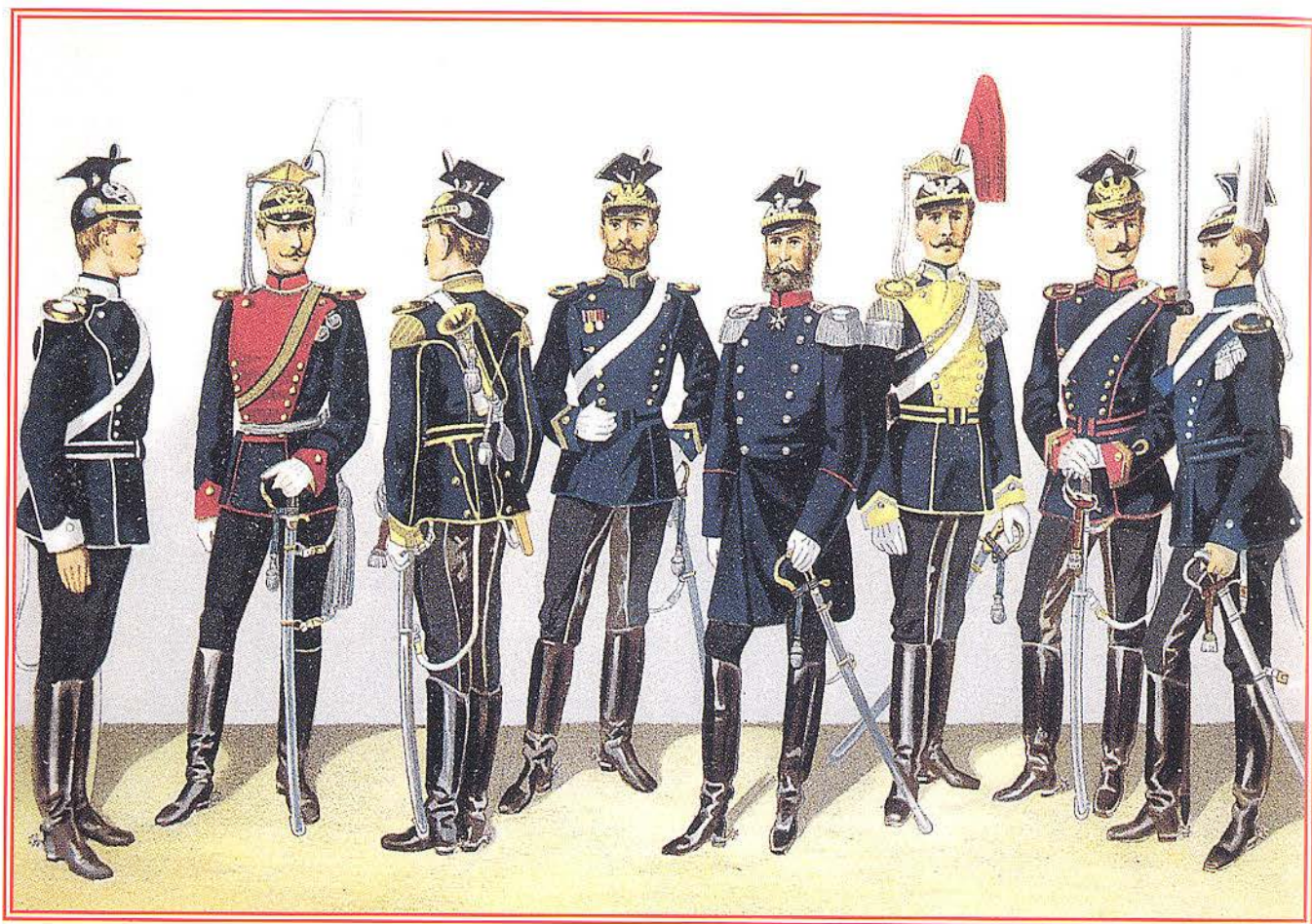
The East-West dialogue comes to a crisis whose most critical period is that from the end of the '70s to 1984-85, the beginning of Michail Gorbachev's presidency. But what causes this crisis? With the "Act" of the Helsinki Conference, the Soviets pocket the recognition of the borders established at the end of WWII. Then they undertake to proceed

to a dual liberalization process: one concerning the modalities of the relations and the other which should lead to the cooperation between East and West. On the other hand, the so-called "human rights basket" is disregarded by Moscow, since it considers the West's support to the opposition movements in Eastern Europe as "interferences" in the internal affairs of the USSR. This leads to the deployment of the SS20s, the European-range missiles, with the aim of not only dividing the Western Countries but also compelling the Americans to declare their willingness to intervene in Europe. There is a debate not devoid of tensions on the prospect of deploying new missile bases in Europe. In short we go back to a "Cold War" climate: the accords on nuclear balance vanish; SALT 2 is not ratified by the US; on the

economic and financial plane, aid to Eastern Europe is blocked, in particular as regards Poland, which is coming to grips with "Solidarity", the first free Polish labour-union of the post-WWII period.

THE NEW COLD WAR

In the '80s the winds of a new cold war start blowing again, with the engagement of the two Superpowers in the armaments race and the deployment of the SS20s. It is a race to rearmament that the Soviets try to avoid, since they are not able to sustain a new confrontation in this field. It should be noted that in Moscow there is a war going on between the power centres: the Party on one side and, on the other, the military and the KGB (*Komitet Gosudarstvennoj Bezopasnostj* – State



Defence Committee), the political Police established in 1954, tasked with internal and external counterespionage. In the first phase, the military old guard prevails. President Andropov and President Cernenko are representatives of this class and, on the rearmament plane, they support a confrontation. The US take this confrontation to the extreme, up to the strategic design devised by President Ronald Reagan of a "space shield". Moreover, Europe blocks the aid promised with the "Helsinki Act"; thus the Soviet "ship", without the resumption of a policy of dialogue and cooperation, is certainly doomed to sink. As a consequence, the relations with the developing Countries become a second priority. The North-South dialogue comes to a standstill, at the expense of the emergent Countries.

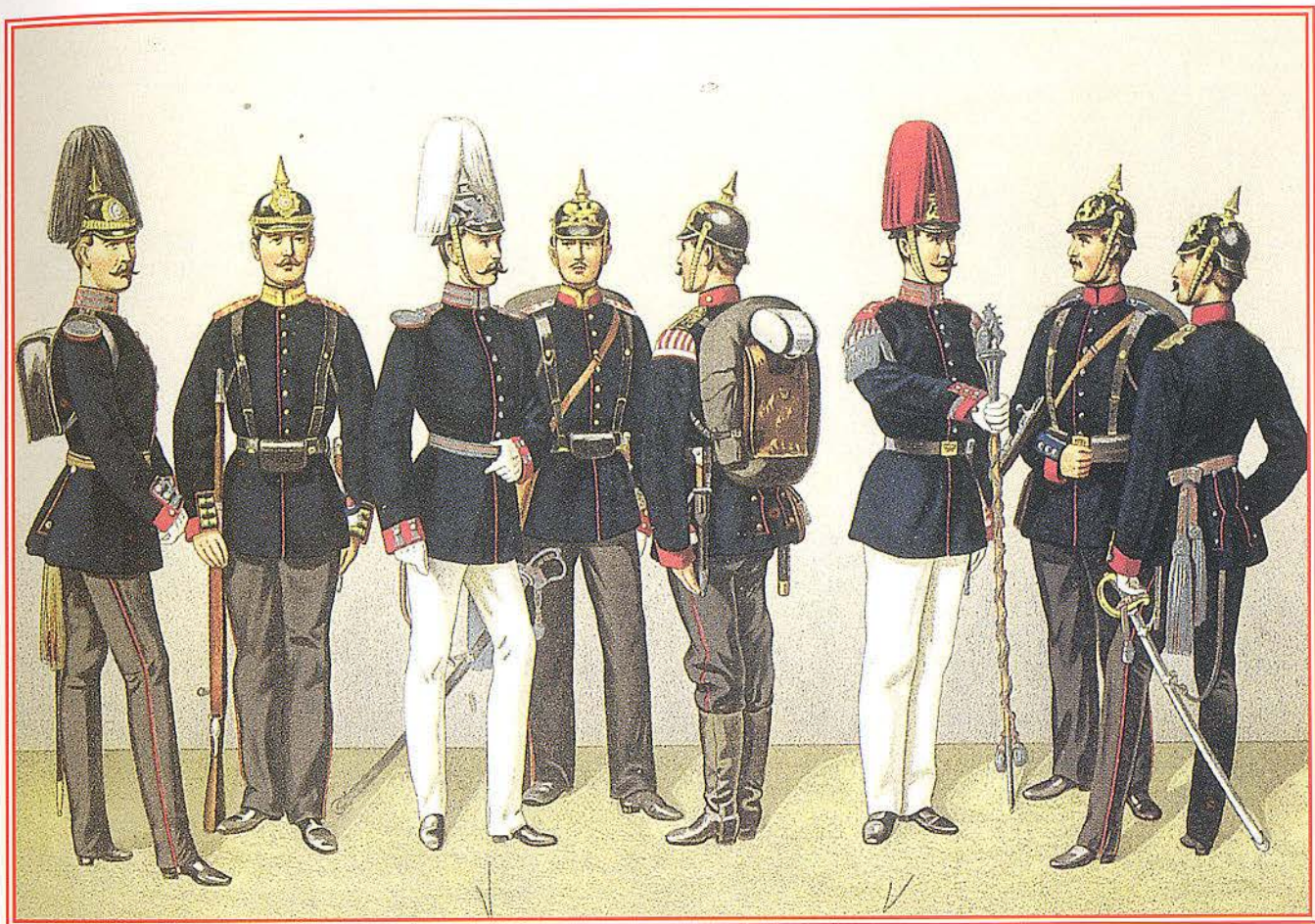
THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Another reason weighing heavily on the development of this dialogue is the new explosion of the Middle East question, in addition to the second oil crisis, the crisis in the East-West relations and the new Cold War. In 1979 a peace treaty is signed at Camp David (USA) as a premise for the pacification of the Middle East. Instead, not only is the treaty refused by some Arab Countries but becomes the cause of a dispute on East Jerusalem, which has been annexed by Israel. Successively the Lebanese crisis begins, Khomeini, in Iran, fosters Islamic fundamentalism and the Iran-Iraq war breaks out.

The Middle East question has repercussions on OPEC. The industrialized Countries promote a policy of assistance, but with a

political strategy of cooperation. In the late '70s a new cooperation strategy takes shape, which envisages that the beneficiaries are to take their responsibilities so that the aid does not fall on barren soil but becomes a source of wealth. OPEC creates a common fund for the developing Countries, transferring 1% of the oil proceeds, conditional on their political support, particularly on the Middle East question. The COMECON Countries are called to cooperate but, not being able to match the industrialized Countries, end up by competing with the emerging Countries for the acquisition of new markets. In order to justify the scarcity of its aid, the USSR declares that, having nothing to do with colonialism, it is not in debt with those Countries.

Thus the industrialized Nations are left alone, while the contrasts between the U.S. and



the European partners continue to be high. The G7, successively G8 with the admission of Russia, cannot be considered a directorship for the attainment of common decisions but an arena on which the economic powers clash while they try to cope with the situation as best as they can, in order to avoid a crisis of their economic-financial system.

THE BRANDT COMMITTEE

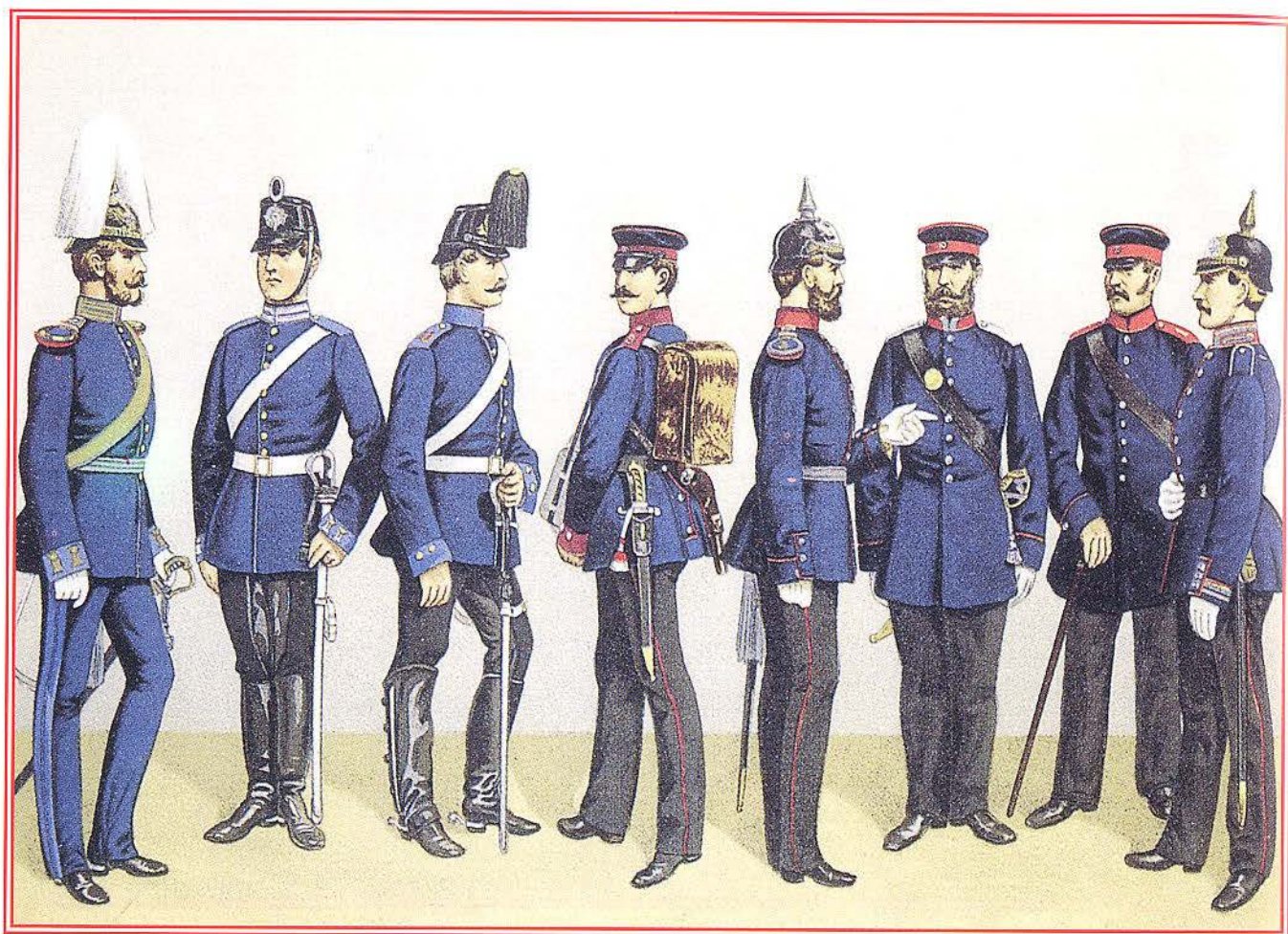
The only voice which foresees scenarios of conflict between North and South is the report published by the "Brandt Committee", a board, named after the former German Chancellor, created on the initiative of the World Bank. On 1980 and 1983 the Committee issues two reports with the description of a reality very similar to the present one. In 1980 Brandt pro-

poses an emergency plan for the period 1980-1985, in order to take care in good time of the problem of hunger and that of the energy sources, which are affecting the emerging Countries, including those that have their own sources of energy.

There are two interesting proposals. The first is a greater involvement and expansion of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, besides a larger participation of the developing Countries. This should be done in order to face the crisis in a better way, also considering that the Committee insists that a strict monetary policy does not suffice but also the political and social problems must be taken into account. The second proposal is the introduction of an *automatic* international taxation on some incomes (e.g. sea freights) to be

employed for the implementation of the assistance plans for the developing Countries. These two proposals are included in the global context of a dialogue which should take place between North and South, within the UN Organization, in order to guarantee contractual parity.

What does the G7 answer? Officially it agrees, but in practice there are frictions, not so much over the Brandt Report's proposals, but rather on the way to overcome the economic/financial crisis. President Reagan tackles these problems with a rigid monetarism, compelling the European Countries – particularly the EEC members – to take a resolute action, especially on the financial plane, through the foundation of SME (European Monetary System). This is done to avoid that the dollar's instability should cause continuous fluctuations of the exchange



rates, with serious consequences for the European Countries (and possible financial competition among them). As a matter of fact, the G7 does not give many positive answers, neither to the Brandt Plan nor to the problem of the debts incurred by the developing Countries. The U.S. tries to find a solution by favouring the exports of the indebted Countries, in order to enable them to acquire the resources necessary to pay their debt. This is due to the fact that many American banks are creditors and want their money back. The European Nations and Japan, on the contrary, are not willing to favour exports beyond a certain limit, fearing negative repercussions on their productive system.

Therefore, tensions increase. The U.S. believes that the discussions on the aid to develop-

ment could, on the one hand exert a strong pressure on those Countries, and on the other reduce them to a minority.

THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

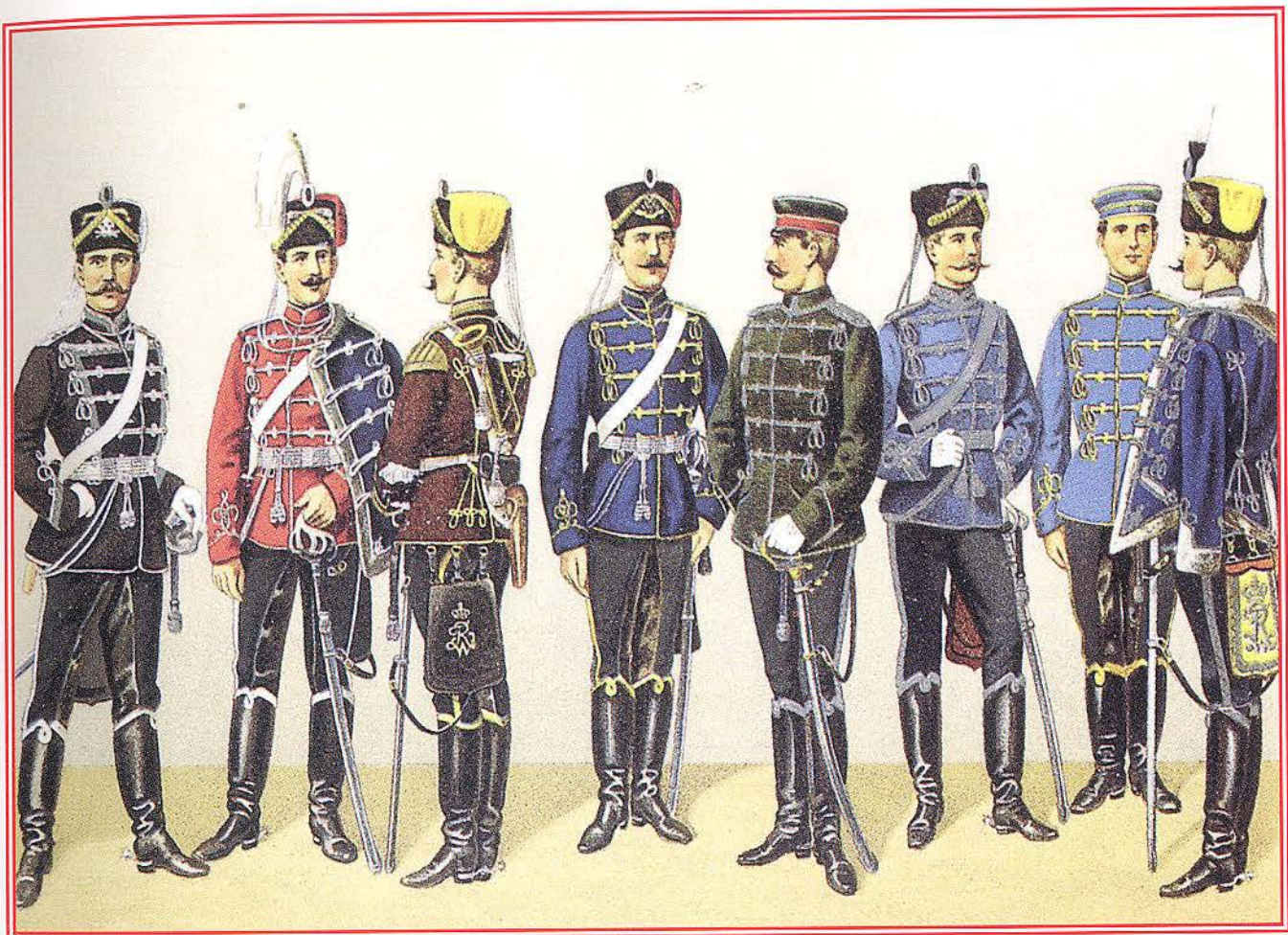
The North-South dialogue continues outside the UN, in the economic and financial arenas created after WWII, i.e. within organizations like the "International Monetary Fund" (IMF) and the "International Bank for Reconstruction and Development" (IBRD). For some years it has become an established procedure for the major powers to invite, before the G7 summit, the representatives of Countries from different continental areas, in order to show the existence of a consultation policy. Thus there are now talks of G15, G18 and

G22. Actually this is not sufficient, since today the discussion is not only about cooperation but about a "partnership" based on the principle of solidarity.

This could be seen as a positive evolution. Actually a partnership based on solidarity implies that the emerging Countries enjoy the financial support of the international financial institutions, provided that they guarantee internal democracy and global economic reforms.

The developing Countries cannot foster a rapid democratization process owing to the difficulties deriving from historical legacies and the new situations which prevailed after their independence.

In the developing Countries democracy cannot be established all at once, but must result from a maturation which requires time and sacrifices.



On the economic plane, the main difficulty is that of introducing global reforms in Countries where critical economic situations are still prevalent. For example, they must deal with and solve the problem of product differentiation. This process must be encouraged, together with industrialization and construction of new infrastructure. But then one can ask how they can succeed if they cannot give guarantees.

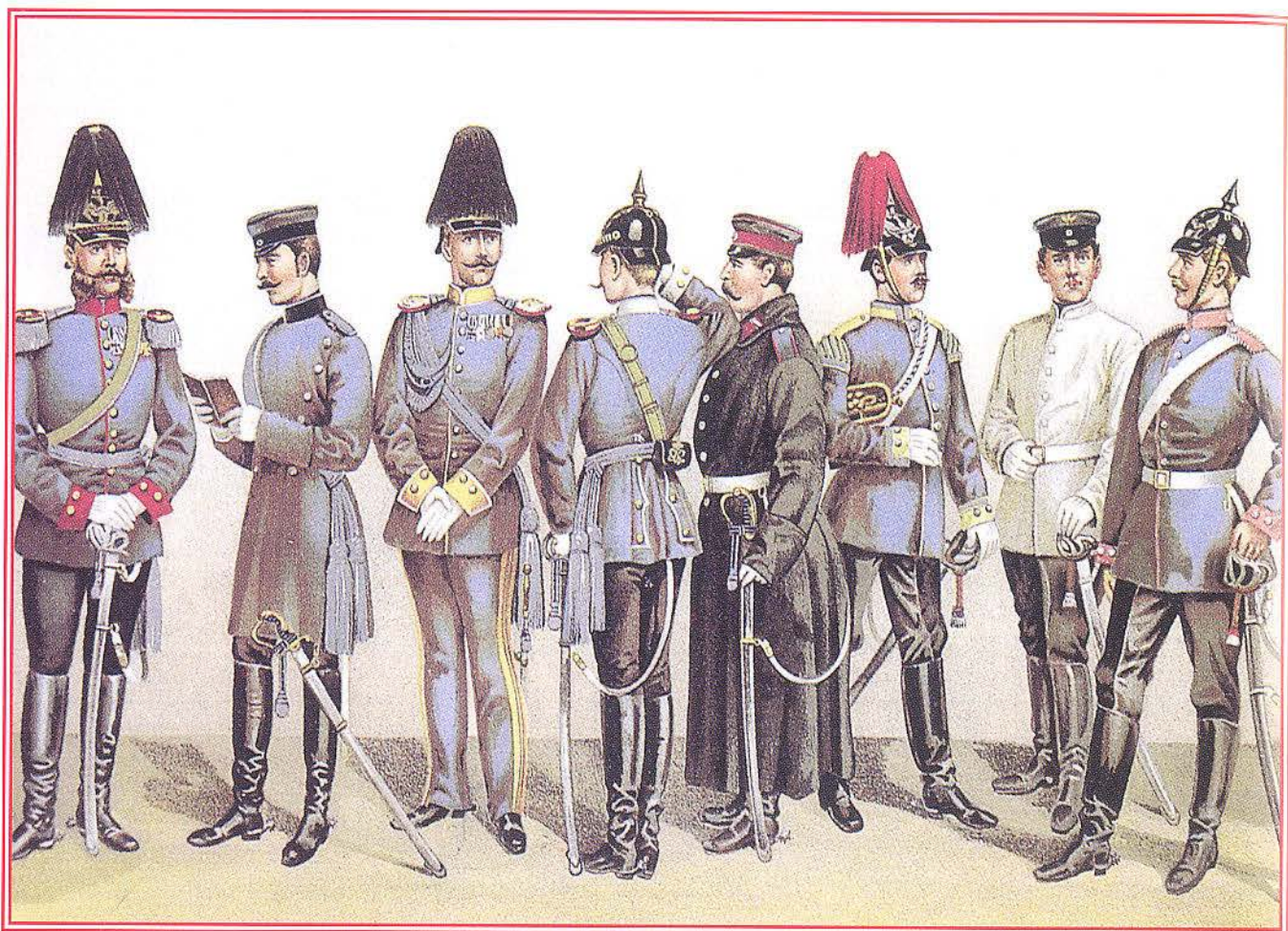
Thus the dialogue enters into a vicious circle. Today there is a strong desire for a new Bretton Woods, the place in New Hampshire where the agreements on the reform of the IMF was signed. The new international economic order is far from a solution, but it must also be said that, in parallel, also the political order suffers the consequences of this situation. We

have seen this in the years that go from 1989 to this day, after the fall of the Soviet empire.

THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL

The fall of the Wall brings about some hope of getting over the divisions of the past and of starting the construction of a new international order. Fifteen years have gone by, but we are still far from finding the instruments for its realization. The fall of the Berlin wall is not only a return to the "Helsinki Act" (the "Common European Home"), but also a reference to another historical moment: Yalta (in the Crimean peninsula). There Iosif Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill not only signed the Charter of the new-born United

Nations (the organization in defence of common peace and security), but also a declaration on the liberated part of Europe: the three great powers pledged to favour, in the freed Countries, the establishment of democratic governments based on free elections. The declaration was largely disregarded, and this is at the root of the Cold War. Helsinki reopens the door on Yalta and as the Soviets undertake to foster a process of liberalization, they also return to the spirit of the declaration. Therefore it cannot be said that in Yalta the Big Three divided Europe among themselves, because in that case there wouldn't have been any reason for a Cold War. On the contrary, precisely because at Yalta there is some hope of overcoming this division, the situation, vis-à-vis the non-enforcement of the declara-



tion, remains highly destabilized. Helsinki is the moment when the USSR resumes the spirit of Yalta, which leads to a liberalization that, in its turn, challenges the political, economic and social system on which the Soviet Union has built its empire. Helsinki becomes then a fundamental test, in the face of which the Soviets are compelled to surrender. The crisis of 1989, and the opportunities given to the East European Countries to make political choices based on free elections, represent a return to Helsinki and Yalta.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER

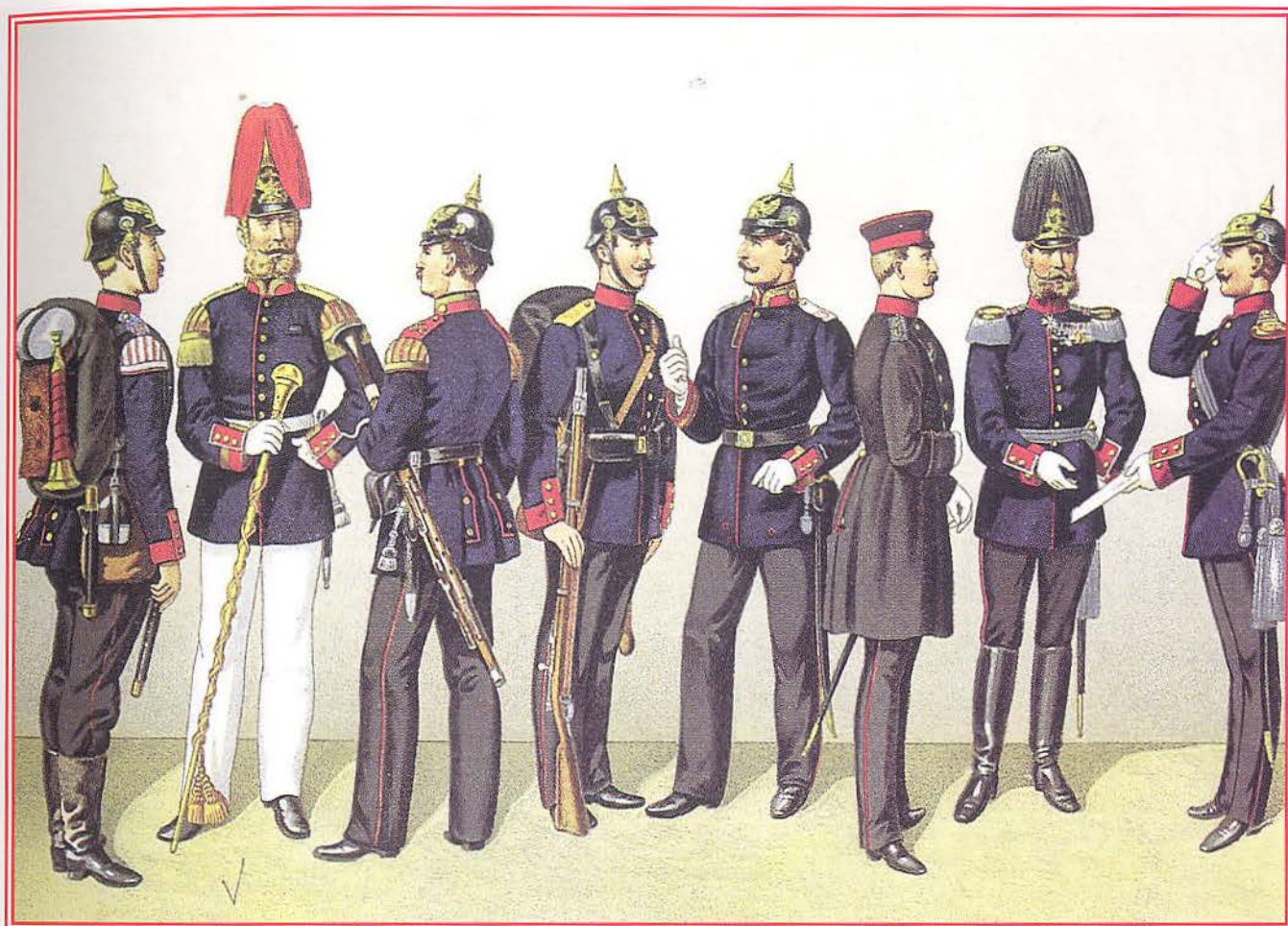
After 1989 we really enter a new international order, in that the world set-up does no more

depend on the consequences of WWII. Europe and the victorious powers get rid of the old bipolarity but other unsolved problems re-emerge. Today we witness two irrefutable realities: on the one hand a globalization process, on the other a fragmentation. This makes us understand that the new world order should be reconstructed from its foundations, trying to tackle the problems that are historically unsolved.

We have entered a new century which appears to have a very dramatic tonality but, on the other hand, can also be very interesting. There could be the historical opportunity for a change based on a partnership characterized by the principle of solidarity, which is the challenge facing this generation. A solution should be found for the centuries-old problems

which were not solved precisely because certain values were never acquired at universal level. Hence the proposals for the reformation of the UN and particularly of the Security Council.

In any case, the fact that there are no (and there have never been) global institutions with powers comparable to those possessed by the national governments within their territories does not mean that the incentives to cooperation are nonexistent. Neither it implies that the regulating effect of the bipolar structure prevailing at the time of the Cold War and nuclear weapons has been the only restraint on the Nations' ambitions since 1945. On the contrary, since they constantly follow the rules of the international institutions, they show their willingness to follow the cooper-



ation models and, as never before, they tend to strengthen the prospects of stability.

In relation to these points, we should avoid making dogmatic statements on the emerging political and structural policies. Today we need new global conditions. In the present world the main concern is that of discouraging any tendency to isolationism and disintegration of the state entities, because this could turn out to be very dangerous for the collective security and development. Nowadays the dividing line between a Country's foreign and home policy has dissolved, therefore any choice in one sector contributes in determining another.

If it is true, as it seems, that one of the post-war world's central dilemmas is the tension among global interests, then the coordination between these two

levels is a fundamental prerequisite for global stability.

CONCLUSIONS

The challenge for the West is not only that of managing a difficult integration of new Countries in a world order, but also that of imagining a new self-conception within the international context and along the economic guidelines. The challenge of the future is not on how to shape the events but on how to adapt to them as best as possible.

The order of the world will never be completely static. The prospective structure, in a certain sense, will be a representation in which there will be some productive areas and some violent ones. The solution will have to come mainly from within the cultures concerned.

An era is closing and a new one begins, where the universal projects will always have to take into account unexpected consequences. Therefore they will never be really universal. There is a reality where it is possible to live in a better or worse way, but this can only be learned from experience and not once and for all, because reality is very intricate and it is impossible to reproduce the exact circumstances in which a specific line of conduct was successful.

We cannot take for granted that either barbarity or civilization are rooted in the human nature in an exclusive manner. Whether or not we learn to face the new emergencies and proceed towards a better future will depend, after all, only on our own behaviour. □

** Expert in Strategic Sciences*

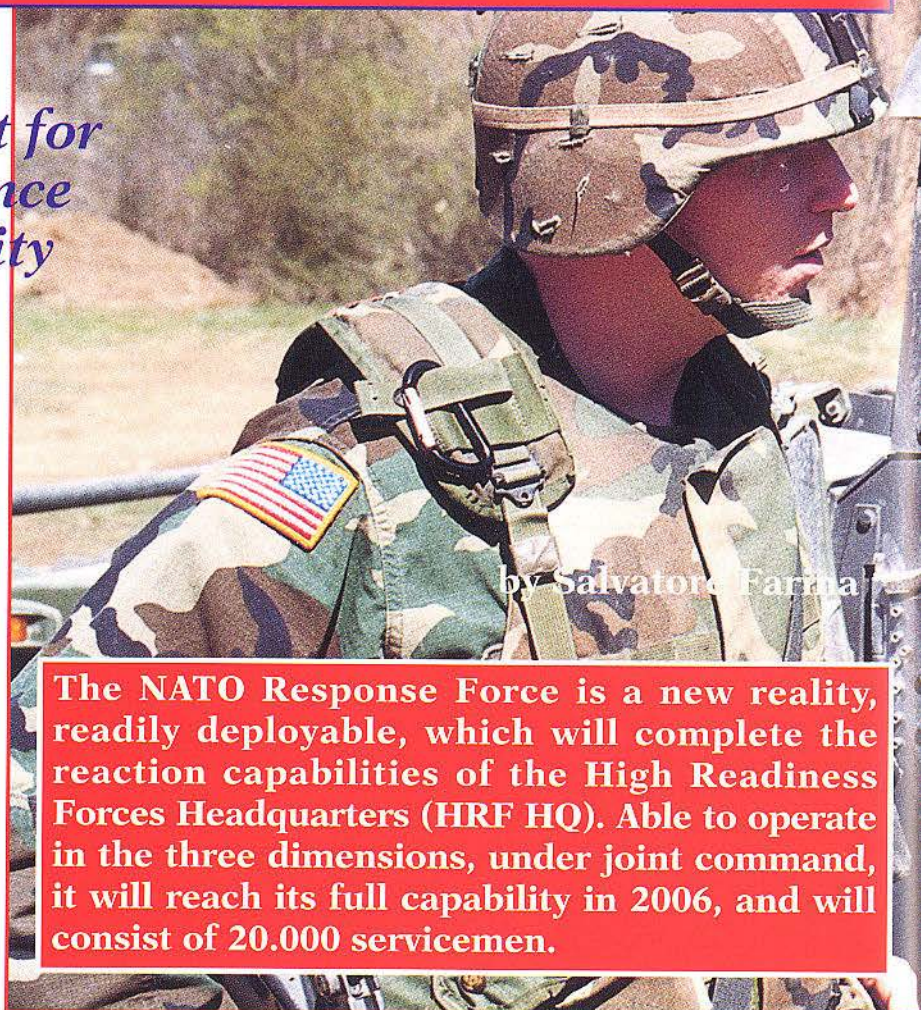
THE «NATO RESPONSE FORCE»

A new instrument for the Atlantic Alliance and an opportunity for the national Armed Forces

For the first time in its history, NATO has provided itself with an integrated rapid reaction Force able to operate by land, sea and air: the "NATO Response Force" (NRF). This force will be under a single joint force command and will be kept in a steady rotation, through the contribution in turns of the member Countries of the Alliance.

Approved in November 2002 during the Prague Summit, the plan is already an operative reality and its completion is expected by 2006.

Some observers consider this new capability the most important change since NATO was established in Washington 55 years ago. Other military experts look carefully at the goals which could be reached with this new instrument. It can certainly be said that the NATO Response Force will give the Alliance a new military capability: the more rapid insertion of units in deteriorating situations and during crises, with a wider projection-range deployment and increasing effectiveness.



by Salvatore Farina

The NATO Response Force is a new reality, readily deployable, which will complete the reaction capabilities of the High Readiness Forces Headquarters (HRF HQ). Able to operate in the three dimensions, under joint command, it will reach its full capability in 2006, and will consist of 20.000 servicemen.

FUNCTIONS AND MILITARY CONCEPT

The NRF concept refers to a whole of highly operational and well trained units from the various national Armed Forces.

The plan, which has been given high priority by the Atlantic Alliance, answers two distinct yet complementary purposes. The first one is the availability of a high-readiness force, made up of joint forces which can be activated at very short notice. In view of

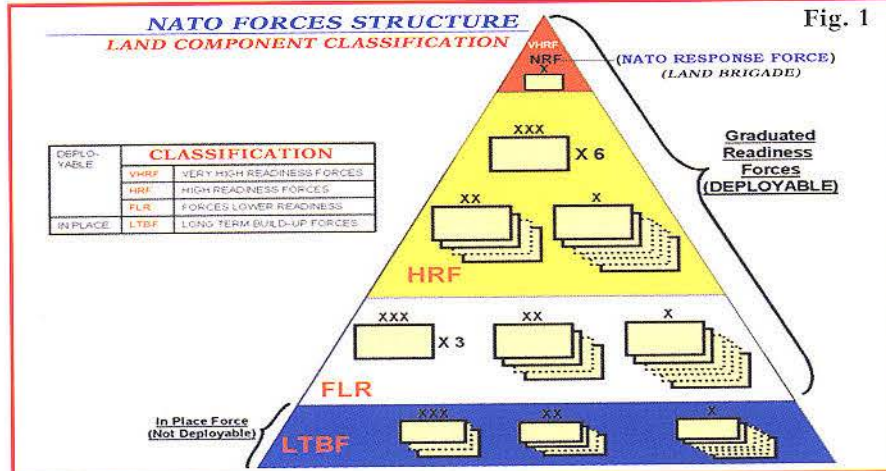
this, the NRF stands at the top of the ideal pyramid which sees the allocation of the Alliance forces according to their readiness level and degree of projectability (fig. 1).

The second aim consists in setting up a mechanism aimed at promoting the indispensable improvements of the military capabilities and the constant transformation of the Alliance, in order to cope with the new threats, including those coming from terrorism. In practice, the NATO



Response Force is going to be considered the real catalyst of this change. And, from this point of view, the Alliance wants to establish a specific link between the qualifications requested of the forces to be allocated and the modernization of the Units, according to the criteria set during the mentioned Prague Summit (Prague Capability Commitment - PCC).

Moreover, the military concept refers to two fundamental aspects: multinationality and inter-





COMMAND AND CONTROL

It being understood that the employment of the NRF is subordinate to the decisions of the Atlantic Council, a chain of Command and Control has been set up, which assigns different responsibilities in the preparation of the forces and the conduct of the operation.

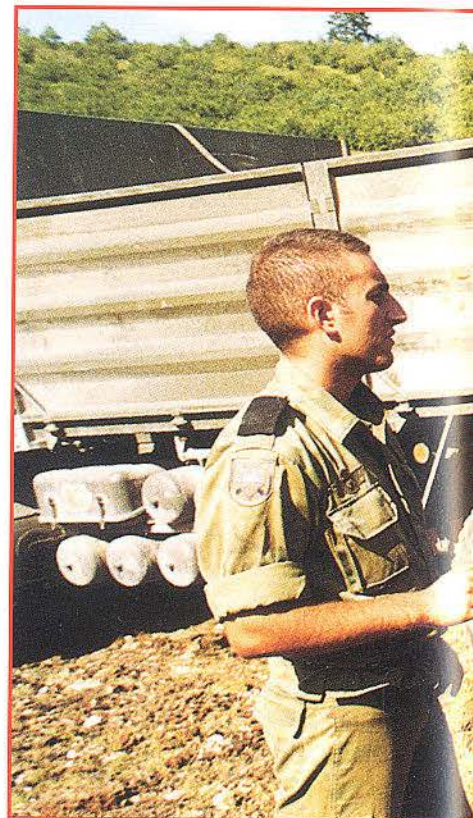
SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) is responsible for defining the validation proce-

Left.

American sappers in Kosovo.

Below.

Italian and Spanish soldiers unloading a heavy motor vehicle.



operability. Both are key factors which must be pursued with appropriate criteria: an adequate (but not excessive) degree of multinationality, in order to maximize the value pertaining to a coalition force without invalidating its operational effectiveness, which could decline in the event of an excessive multinationalization; a growing level of interoperability in order to guarantee the gradual attainment of total integration among the forces of the Alliance.

As regards the missions that could be entrusted to the NRF, they have to take into account the Force's task, i.e. to assure a

ready response, and must be sustainable according to the principle "first in first out" (i.e. the first force deployed must be the first rotated).

More specifically, the force might be deployed: for the evacuation of civilians and personnel in danger; to deal with humanitarian emergencies or situations due to NBC risks; to support anti-terrorist operations; in crisis management operations (CRO) and/or peacekeeping operations; as an entry force, in order to facilitate the incorporation of the main body of the contingent; for tasks in support of diplomatic actions.

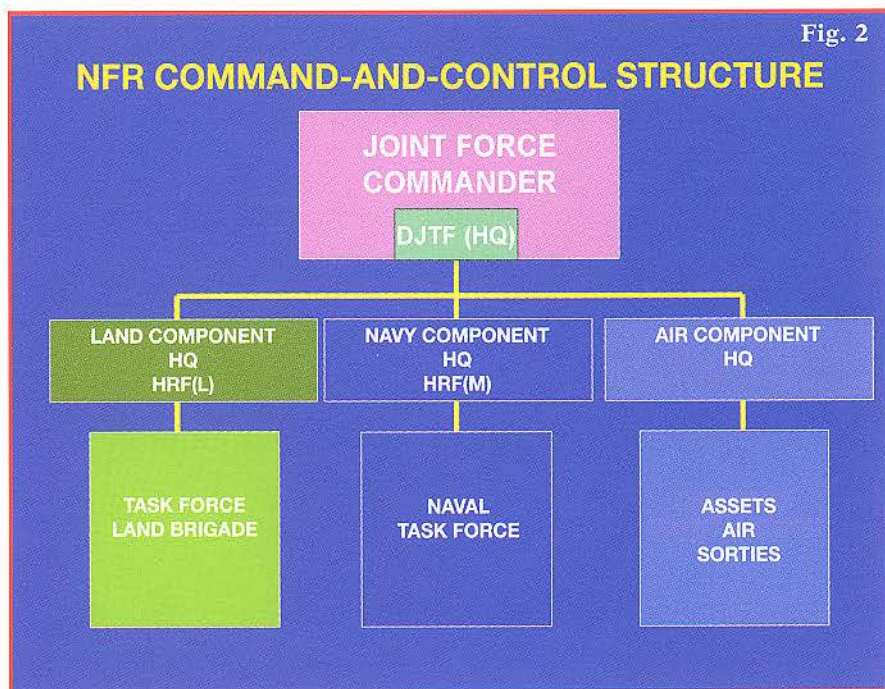
dures and for the joint military exercises; after the national political authorities give their assent to the Transfer of Authority (ToA), SACEUR will hold the authority of Operational Command.

The newly established Allied Command for Transformation,

stationed at Norfolk (USA), is the body responsible for defining the necessary capabilities and developing the relevant doctrine; it utilizes the NRF as a focal factor to modernize the Forces of the Alliance and to increase its interoperability in a joint and multinational sense.

When deployed, the NATO Response Force will be directed through the Operations Control (OPCON) of a Joint Force Commander, who can avail himself of one of the Regional Headquarters (AFNORTH in Brunsum, AF-SOUTH in Naples or AFWEST in Madrid) and conduct the operations with a Deployable Joint Task Force HQ.

A very important role will be played by the newly established



High Readiness Force Headquarters (HRF HQs), among which the NATO Rapid Deployable Corps – IT (NRDC – IT) of Solbiate Olona. This Headquarters will be involved in the certification phase of the detailed forces and in handling the deployment, as

well as in the direction of the conduct phase of the operation.

COMPONENTS OF THE NRF

As mentioned above, the NRF has at its disposal land, navy and

air forces. In 2006 it will achieve its full capability, and will consist of about 21,000 men, but already in 2004 there will be over 15,000. All the forces assigned to the NRF will have to be deployable in a CBRN environment (Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear).

As regards the Special Operations Forces (FOS) and the NBC-CBRN units, there will be two dedicated Headquarters, directly under the authority of the Joint Force Commander.

The naval component will be formed by a Task Force, and the air element will have as many aircraft of different types so as to ensure a fixed number of sorties per day.

The land Brigade, a fundamental pawn of the NRF, will be under the authority of the Land Component Commander (LCC) who in his turn will be subordinate to a Joint Force Commander, who could be deployed in the Theatre with a Deployable Joint Task Force HQ (DJTFHQ) (fig. 2).

The types of manoeuvre and support units envisaged for the Brigade-level land component has been fixed by specific requirements and include motor-



ized units, light infantry and paratroops, plus various combat support units and logistic support units (helicopters, artillery, target acquisition, engineers, Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC), psychological operations units (PSYOPS), supplies and transport). That is, they answer the concept of setting up a reservoir of forces, among which one could select, in case of need, the most suitable ones, as regards nature and typology, for performing a specific mission.

In order to ensure consistency, the Brigade has to be organized with a well defined Framework including the Brigade Headquarters, the Headquarters Command, at least one manoeuvre Regiment of its own, plus most of the tactical and logistic support units. Within such framework it is possible to incorporate other manoeuvre troops, after an appropriate training, in order to complete the group of forces, including multinational units.

In case of emergency, the most suitable organization of the NRF will be decided depending on the

specific tasks and the particular operational environment.

ROTATION CYCLE

A rotation cycle has been scheduled for the NRF in order to achieve a fair allocation of tasks and to spread the experiences among the Countries of the Alliance. Therefore a detailed cycle has been worked out, based on six-month periods: six months on joint training and six months on stand by. In other words, every force complex assigned to the NATO Response Force will be engaged for a year (fig.3).

Since an NRF able to perform the whole range of fixed missions will not be available before October 2006, the expressible capabilities will be gradually increased, keeping up with the raising standards of the national offers.

As far as Italy is concerned, the Armed Forces are taking part in NRF 1 and 2 (October 2002 – July 2004) with limited assets, while the land component will concentrate its efforts on NRF 3 (July 2004 – January 2005), and the



navy component on NRF 5 and 6 (July 2005 – July 2006). The land component for the NRF 3 will be formed by a group of forces based on the "Taurinense" Brigade, with the contribution of at least four Allied Countries. More specifically, starting from the month of January 2004, the joint training

activities will be carried out together with the NATO validations needed to certify the operational levels required for the successive possible employment.

The Corps Headquarter (NRDC-IT) at Solbiate Olona will also be fully involved in the NRF 3 cycle led by Italy, and will be, as we said, the Land Component Command.

CONCLUSIONS

The NATO Response Force represents the natural development

Left.

An AB-205 helicopter of the Italian Army.

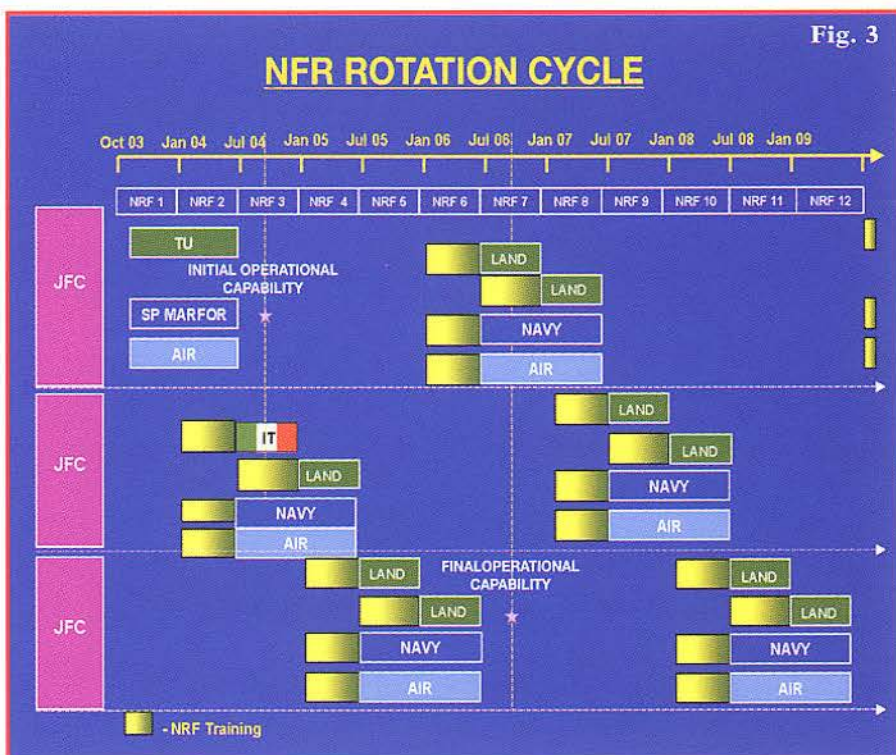
Below.

M-109 L self-propelled guns in Kosovo.



in the transformation process started by the Atlantic Alliance a few years ago.

This new capability is the cutting edge, highly trained, at the top of the rapidly deployable forces and is not a separate unit, detached from the rest of the Forces structure. On the



distinguishing features come out very clearly. They are the high-readiness operational levels required and the great value of the joint and multinational forces.

Because of the latter aspect, the national commitments to the NATO Response Force will have to guide the transformation process of the national instruments also in the joint field. Moreover, we can consider that the NRF creates the preconditions for proceeding to the complete integration of the European armies and Armed Forces.

And it is precisely from this point of view that we can see the "value added" brought in by the NATO Response Force. This is the direction that should be followed in our training efforts and in the allotment of our human and financial resources, in order to achieve the longed for synergy among allied military instruments.

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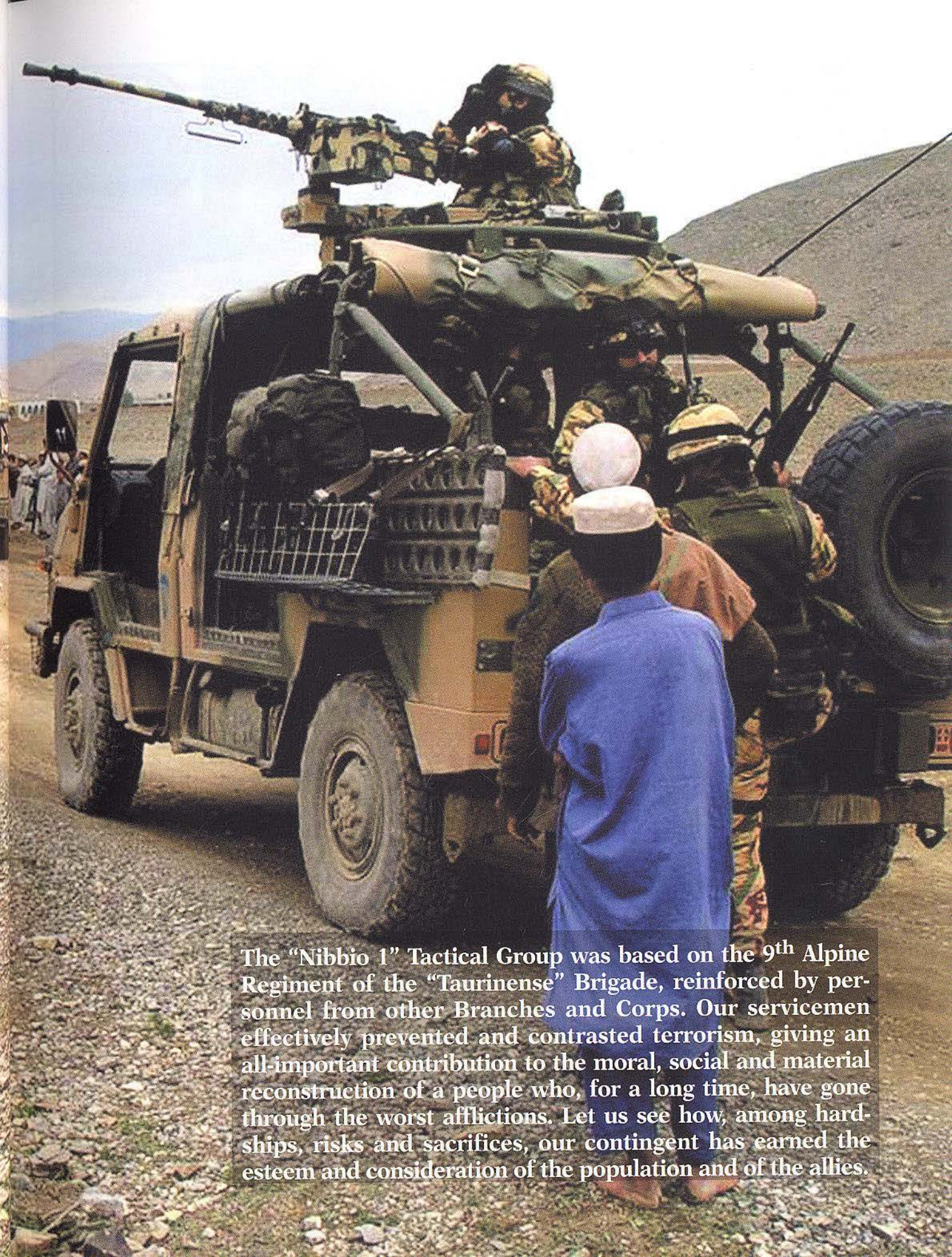
* Colonel,
Chief, Plans Office,
Army General Staff

A general picture of mission “Enduring Freedom”, its complex training and employment standards, the daily work and risks, collected in a comprehensive and engaging analysis

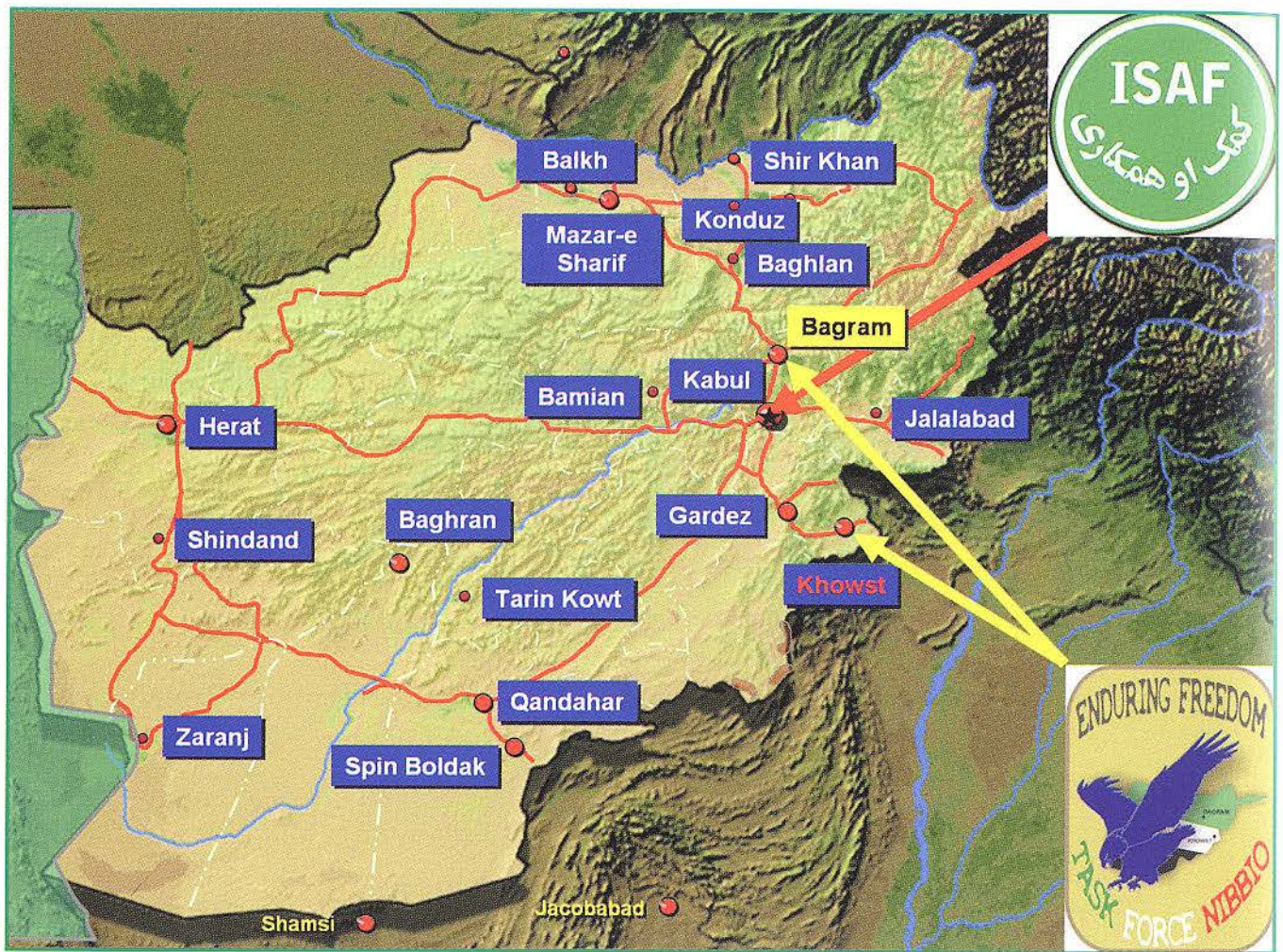
THE RESOLUTE FLIGHT OF «NIBBIO 1»

by Giorgio Battisti *

Owing to its extreme operational and environmental conditions, the first Italian mission in Afghanistan represented the most complex and risky operation carried out by the Italian Armed Forces since the end of the Second World War



The "Nibbio 1" Tactical Group was based on the 9th Alpine Regiment of the "Taurinense" Brigade, reinforced by personnel from other Branches and Corps. Our servicemen effectively prevented and contrasted terrorism, giving an all-important contribution to the moral, social and material reconstruction of a people who, for a long time, have gone through the worst afflictions. Let us see how, among hardships, risks and sacrifices, our contingent has earned the esteem and consideration of the population and of the allies.



Italy participated in the land operations against international terrorism in Afghanistan, within Operation "Enduring Freedom", with a contingent, the "Nibbio" (buzzard), of 1000 men (and women) from February to September 2003.

The duration of the mission was 180 days from the ToA (Transfer of Authority) – which took place on March 15, 2003 – with a mid-term turnover.

"Nibbio 1", centred on the "Taurinense" Alpine Brigade, was replaced by "Nibbio 2", based on the "Folgore" Paratroop Brigade.

The "Nibbio 1" returned home at the end of June 2003, after four months in Afghanistan, three of which were spent in surveillance operations in Khost, a very turbulent province bordering on Pakistan.

Above.

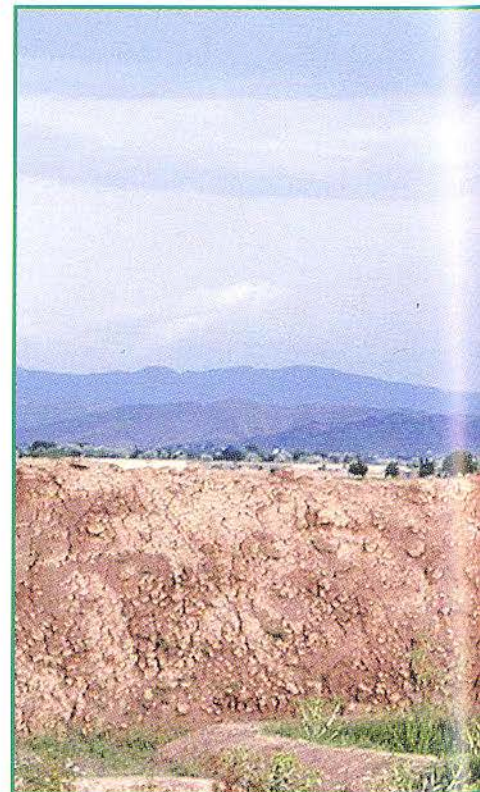
Map of Afghanistan with the indication of the bases of the "Nibbio" military Contingent.

Right.

An observation turret near a base of the Italian Contingent.

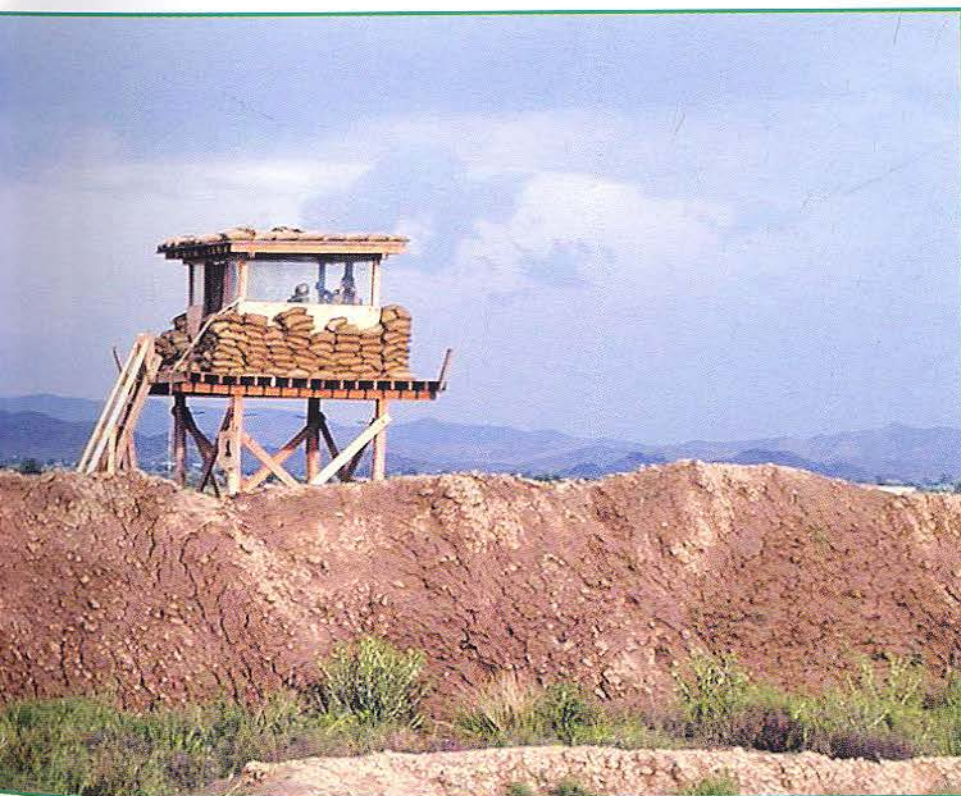
It was a type of mission where the results are not measured on the number of enemies neutralized or the quantity of weapons seized, but rather on the number of negative events which did not occur in the area controlled by the "Nibbio 1" Task Force, since this indicates the level of stabilization achieved.

The Contingent had to face and overcome the hardships inevitably connected with a new Theatre of Operations, where the men had to continuously keep their attention at the highest level





A surveillance patrol in Afghanistan.



in order to deal with a constant climate of real threat, living through a situation of high psychological stress.

The servicemen of "Nibbio 1" carried out their mission against international terrorism in the best possible way, particularly in relation with the reconstruction of Afghanistan, a Country which had just emerged from more than twenty years of wars.

Their strength came from the determination and serenity, always devoid of presumption and arrogance, shown in the performance of the numerous operational and humanitarian tasks.

They experienced strong emotions and had to face an environment which was hostile not only for the rigours of the weather

and roughness of the ground but also, and mainly, because of the situations that had to be confronted, which required physical courage, strength of character and inner moderation.

The instruments available to deal with these difficulties were professionalism, resolute commitment, willpower, the pride of contributing to the rebirth of a Nation and the honour of representing Italy on the international scene.

ORIGIN OF THE MISSION

Operation "Enduring Freedom" was started by the U.S. in October 2001, following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, on the basis of a series of Resolutions issued by the UN Security Council (1), which fixed the goals of the mission on the stabilization and reconstruction of Afghanistan under its legitimate Government.

The Operation, which is part of the "Global War Against Terrorism" (GWAT) and engages a Coalition of more than 70 Countries, envisages the following four phases:

- PHASE I: planning and development of the forces in the USCENTCOM responsibility area (2) (*concluded*);
- PHASE II: air campaign in Afghanistan against particular targets; humanitarian aid, support to the Northern Alliance and surrender of the Taliban regime (*concluded*);
- PHASE III: employment of land units (to prevent the use of Afghanistan as a sanctuary for terrorists), declaration of a ceasefire and beginning of the Country's pacification and stabilization (*concluded*);
- PHASE IV: definition, in agreement with the other Countries of the Coalition, of the instruments necessary to prevent the re-emergence of terrorism and to support the humanitarian operations which have a

greater significance in this phase (*in progress*).

The Command of the Operation is entrusted to USCENTCOM in Tampa, Florida (USA), where about 40 of the 70 partners of the Coalition are represented, while 20 more are present with troops or other assets in the Area of Responsibility (AoR) of CENTCOM.

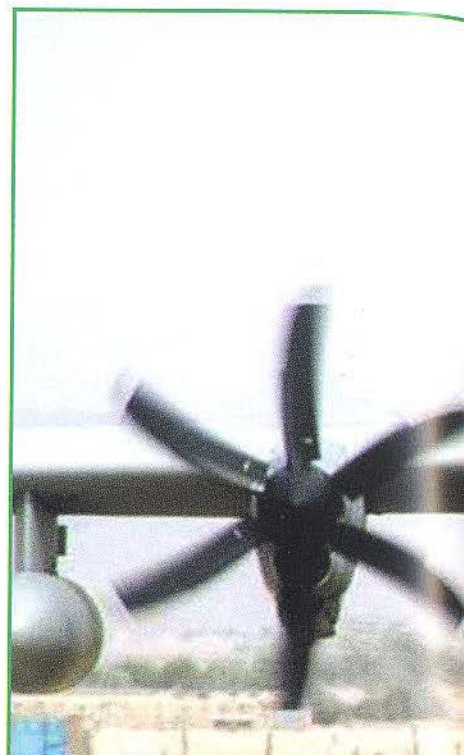
In Afghanistan the US established a Corps-level Theatre Command, located in Bagram, called

Right.

The C-130 J transport aircraft provides the Contingent with the necessary supplies for the performance of the mission.

Below.

A look-out post seen through a snooperscope.



"Combined Joint Task Force 180".

The Italian forces arrived during the transition between the III and IV phase of the Operation.

Phase IV, currently under way, provides for the employment of land units, creation of a stable

and safe environment, definition – in agreement with the other Coalition members – of the instruments necessary to prevent the re-emergence of terrorism and to support the humanitarian operations, as well as for training the Afghan National Army (ANA).



in the eastern part of the Country, bordering on Pakistan, the so-called "Sanctuary denial area", with the assignment of neutralizing the terrorist formations, their possible logistic bases and the remaining recruitment centres.

The transfer to the Theatre was carried out only by air and started on January 9, with an Advance Party tasked with the organization of the area in view of the successive arrival of the main body of the Contingent.

The deployment, supported by the US strategic air transport, was concluded on February 27 (16 missions of Italian C130 Js and 68 missions of USAF C 17s).

On March 15, 2003 the Contingent, after about a month for acclimation to the new environment and familiarization with the US operational procedures, undertook the responsibility for the Khost province, replacing a US paratroop battalion, and passed under the operational leadership of the American Commander of the CJTF 180.

Phase IV was declared open on May 1, 2003 by the US Secretary of Defence who, on the same occasion, declared formally that the war in Afghanistan had ended.

In Afghanistan, besides the Contingents engaged in "Enduring Freedom", there is a Multinational Force of about 5600 men of the "International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) which, in compliance with the UN Resolutions (3), was deployed in the Kabul area (4).

The "Nibbio" Contingent has been operating in the Khost area,



Italian soldiers controlling a village from a mortar emplacement.

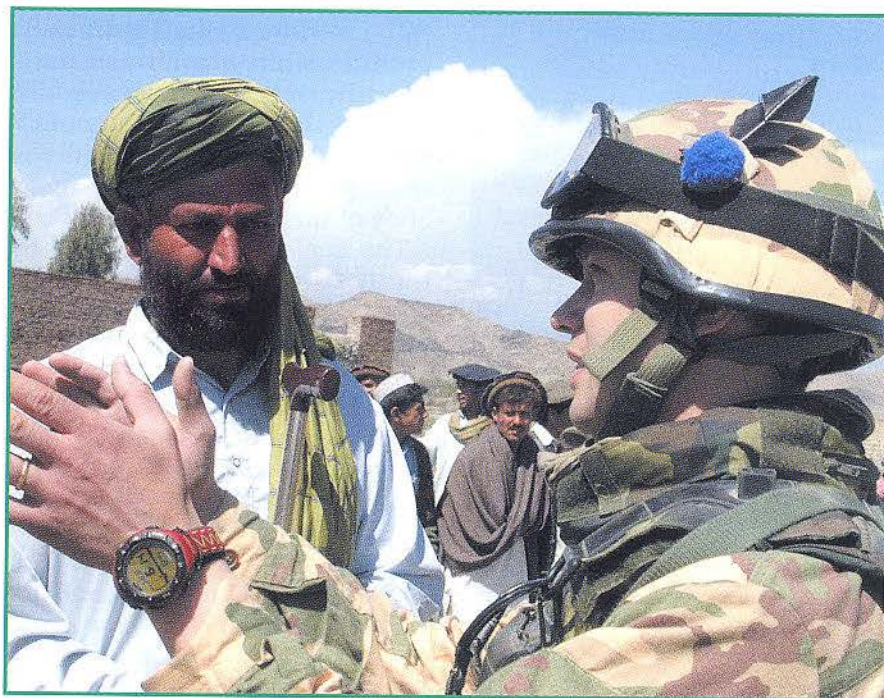
THE OPERATIONS AREA

The Headquarters of the Contingent was located at Bagram, approximately 69km north of Kabul, at one of the main US bases (the other was Kandahar,

The region is characterized by two intermountain basins located at different heights (Gardez, at 2300m and Khost, at 1200m), divided by a deep mountainous barrier with some reliefs higher than 3000m (the average height

Bagram, via Gardez – Kabul, by a single carriageway which is difficult to travel due to its limited capacity, particularly in winter, and to its course which runs along the bottom of valleys or is cut into the hillsides, making its use risky for military columns, also for the risk of ambushes.

At the time of the Soviet occupation, the province of Khost was the scene of long and violent battles, and the Russian garrison



Above.

During a mission the relations with the local population are of primary importance.

Right.

An Army dog-team controlling a truck's load.

in the South) with a logistic-support component and a small operational reserve, while the operational component – the “Nibbio” Task Force – was stationed in Khost.

The Area of Responsibility (AoR) of the “Nibbio” TF included the province of Khost and most of the Paktya province (5), with an area of about 9000 square metres (equal to the Italian region of Marche) and approximately 506,000 inhabitants.

The AoR was remarkably complex because of the rough ground, long distances and the very bad road conditions, which caused a marked compartmentalization of the region.

The Khost Province is a mainly mountainous and very large area, which was a base of important al-Qaeda training centres and, being on the border of Pakistan, was suitable for giving shelter to the fugitive leaders.

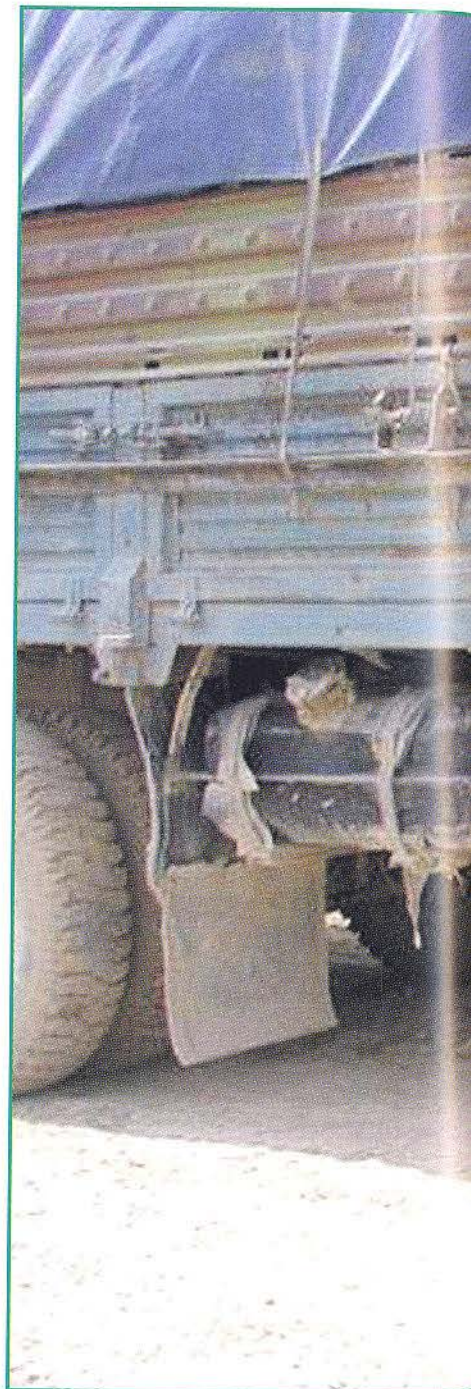
is 2270m), narrow valleys and very bad roads.

The area is crossed by the routes to Pakistan, alternative to the main ones, which are to the north of the valley of Kabul (Jalalabad – Khyber pass).

The mountain roads can be locally very steep and narrow and many gorges and passages are right under the heights.

The climate is continental, dry, with hot summers and very cold winters.

Khost (also called Matun in the local language) is connected with



was practically cut off by the Afghan guerrillas. Furthermore, the road to Gardez was almost constantly impracticable, due to the frequent interruptions made by the Mujhaeddin.

STRUCTURE OF THE CONTINGENT

The "Nibbio" was organized as follows:

- National Contingent Commander (NCC), who was the highest national authority for the entire Afghan Operations Theatre; the NCC had under his command the Italian Forces deployed for Operation "Nibbio" as well as those for ISAF;
- National Contingent HQ, based on the "Taurinense" Brig. HQ;
- "Nibbio 1" TF, hinged on the 9th Alpini Regt "Aquila" of the "Taurinense" Alpini Brig., with

diverse operational capabilities, thanks to various specialist assets.

The "Nibbio 1" TF, in its turn, was organized on: HQ, 9th Alpini Regt;

- "Aquila" Alpini bn, with:
 - 2 rifle companies;
 - 1 Alpini Paratroop companies;
 - 1 120mm mortar company;
 - 1 A/T company;
 - 1 "alpieri" (mountain warfare) platoon;





- Special Forces unit;
- Close Support Group (GSA);
- Signal company;
- EOD engineer company;
- target-acquisition battery;
- NBC platoon (6),
- Military Police platoon.

For the first time after WWII, (with the exception of the first mission in Lebanon – 1980), the War Military Code was adopted for the Contingent. The Code was recently further adjusted to the dictates of the Constitution

through the turning into law of Decree Law 4/2003.

The enforcement of the War Code was an important change, since it acknowledged the Armed Forces' specificity and particular role.

TASKS OF THE "NIBBIO" CONTINGENT

The mission assigned to the Contingent was to contribute, together with the other member of

the Coalition, to the neutralization and elimination of the residual terrorist groups and their possible logistic and training bases still present in the Area of Responsibility, in order to create the conditions of security and stability necessary to rebuild the Afghan organization and re-establish the legitimate internal order.

Even if the Italian Forces intervened at the moment of the transition from the III to the IV Phase of Operation "Enduring Freedom", when the terrorist



of patrols and mobile units and were aimed at gathering information and hindering the movements of armed groups as well as intensifying the contacts with the population, also through the distribution of aid and interventions of reconstruction and support to the local institutions.

Very often the operations were carried out in very difficult environments, on passes and trails that often reached an altitude of 3000m, where it was difficult to move and breathe.

The "Nibbio" TF (about 750 men) was deployed in an Advanced Operational Base of the coalition, sited a few kilometres from Khost, named "Salerno" FOB (after the name of the Campanian town where the US 82nd Airborne Division fought in September 1943).

The FOB is a fortified and very rough camp, where the living

conditions and comfort are less important than the vital security requirements. Following the US concept, the units garrison the camp on a rotation basis and for limited periods of time, in order to conduct operations in the surrounding area.

At approximately 3km from the FOB, the "Nibbio" garrisoned another base, near the former (Russian) airport of Khost. At this camp, called "Chapman", there is another landing strip.

The "Salerno" FOB was tactically and logistically isolated from the other garrisons of the Coalition, especially from the Italian rear base of Bagram, which is at a distance of about 300km (a two-day's journey).

Khost is still the main outpost of the Coalition, presently manned by US units, from which is possible to conduct operations to control the Pakistani border, which is still used by the terrorists to penetrate into Afghanistan, and as a transit area for many fugitives.

Next to the FOB there was a "fire base" with the high-angle fire component of the TF, consisting of the 119th mortar company of the 9th Alpini Regt of the "Taurinense" Brigade which, with its

Left.

A delegation of the Italian Contingent visiting a US Army base.

Below.

Italian military informing the local population on found munitions and their danger.

presence was reduced to unconnected pockets of fighters, the job assigned to the TF implied the operational initiative that could prevent the movements of the enemy and possible penetrations from Pakistan.

All this entailed conducting territorial-control and area-interdiction operations, as well as performing dynamic and static activities aimed at garrisoning sensitive areas.

The dynamic activities were carried out with a large number





Embarkation of Italian troops on a CH-47 transport helicopter.

6 Thomson Brandt RT-F1 120mm mortars contributed to the security of the FOB and the "Chapman" detachment providing, if and when required, the necessary fire support.

Furthermore, the unit was tasked with a similar support to the patrols moving within the range of the available munitions and with the assistance to the TF

elements engaged in operational or humanitarian activities in the AoR.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ENEMY

The hostile forces, generally defined as ACM (Anti Coalition Militants) were different and non-homogeneous groups, such as smugglers, drug and arms traffickers, petty criminals given to robbery and kidnapping people

for ransom, and – naturally – residual formations of Taliban and al-Qaeda.

The latter were formed both by local elements and others coming from Countries which were habitual providers of "labourers", such as Chechen and "Arab" mercenaries, ("Arab" is the general term by which the people of the Middle East are indicated).

The tactics adopted by the adversary was that of guerrilla warfare and the most pursued action was ambush. This capability was



the most widespread form of combat in Afghanistan and also the most suited to the territory, weapons and techniques employed by the enemy (heavy machine guns, light weapons, dynamite attacks).

In all these activities, the ACM were greatly helped by the morphology of the Country: rough, without roads, full of gorges and valleys and crossed by ravines and embanked streams, an ideal terrain for guerrilla warfare, ambushes and surprise attacks.

In addition, the dirt-roads are strewn with fords and holes, which makes it easy to conceal and lay mines very rapidly.

For the Contingent the most dangerous threat came from actions against its forces engaged in external movements, with the employment of light weapons, RPG 7 rocket launchers on compartmented ground which offered good opportunities for ambush fire, launching of hand grenades, explosion of remote-control devices along the roads and use of 107mm rockets and mortars against the Bases of the Coalition.

The enemy were most dangerous in the initial phases of the fight, because of their agility in attacking and disengaging, thus becoming a very dynamic and difficult target.

The fact that the terrorist sanctuaries in Pakistan were located within a thirty-km range from the "Salerno" FOB raised the threat's level, since launching an attack with the almost absolute certainty of not having to face a retaliation was very rewarding for the attackers.

Moreover the hostile actions and the attacks to the road network through the explosion of tank-trucks or other vehicles, also against civilian targets, had the additional purpose of creating insecurity and tension within the population.

The local threat was potentially more aggressive in summer, since the enemy could move more easily on foot also at high altitudes. This required appropriate countermeasures, such as avoiding that the enemy could find out the type of the different components of the TF, making non-periodic patrolling plans, reducing routine activities as much as possible, carrying out a better control of the areas near the base and increasing the surveillance of the environment around the garrisons.

The "Nibbio 1" Contingent worked in its sector with great autonomy, facing the difficult reality of fighting against a militarized terrorism, in a land where guerrilla warfare has been practiced for centuries.

The Task Force, besides carrying out daily, day-and-night patrols within its AoR, in its three months of duty made several operations of territorial control, often together with US units.

Of particular significance were two important operations carried out with the US units of the "Dev-



Raising the Flag at the Italian camp.

il" TF: "Unified Venture" and "Dragon Fury". They were catalogued as "combat" operations, i.e. planned and realized considering the possibility of having to move on to an actual-fight phase. It was the first time that the Italian troops returned to operate at altitudes of about 2000-3000m, where military detachments were stationed in order to "seal" the border with Pakistan and block the mountain passes.

In the same operations, the "Ground Assault Convoy" technique was applied in long transfers, profiting by the Soviet experience in the region. It consists in employing motorized patrols which can move autonomously over long distances, mostly without roads, in a hostile or potentially dangerous territory.

In Operation "Unified Venture", in early May, the "Nibbio" carried out the first combat air-attack at

battalion level in the history of the Italian Army and Armed Forces.

The air-attack, especially if carried out in rough and mountainous areas and without a road network, as was the case in Afghanistan, is one of the best tactics for conducting independent surprise actions against enemies who know the ground and whose bases are in remote and almost unreachable zones.

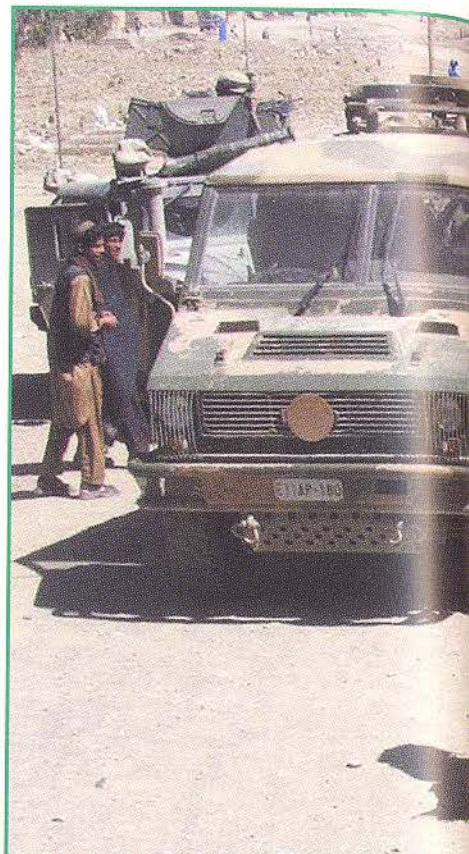
The operation's goal was to restore stability in the area, in order to support the action of the Afghan ad-interim Government through area-interdiction activi-

Right.

VM-90 military vehicles patrolling an Afghan village.

Below.

The Italian servicemen are warmly welcomed by the local people.





ties aimed at neutralizing the ACM, avoiding the reestablishment of enemy sanctuaries and limiting the freedom of movement of the hostile formations and their possibility of accomplishing terrorist attacks, realizing at the same time humanitarian interventions in favour of the population.

One of the leading actors of the "Nibbio 1" mission was the RT-F1 120mm Thomson Brandt mortar, which the Italian Army employed in operations for the first time.

The "relative" lightness of the weapon, together with the power

deriving from its calibre, made this mortar the high-angle fire-source more appropriate for the Contingent's mission, considering the particular structure of the terrain of the Italian AoR.

Thanks to its technical features and the great variety of available munitions, the weapon could reach, with extreme precision, targets at a distance of up to 13 kilometres. The mobility and range of this weapon, increased by the possibility of transport by helicopter (7) aroused also a particular interest from the US Forces.

Another protagonist of the mission was the C 130 J of the Italian Air Force which, for the first time, landed on a half-prepared dirt strip, such as the one in Khost.

The aircraft assured the re-supply flight from Bagram to Khost, and vice versa, from mid-May until the Contingent's homecoming.

In this activity, the crews of the Italian Air Force distinguished themselves for their professional skill, determination and well-pondered evaluation of the risks which have always warranted a support adequate to the needs.



Above.
An Italian "Alpino" in his machine-gun emplacement.

Right.
Patrolling a road in the desert.

The Rules of Engagement and the "Force Protection" measures ensured the correct behavioural frame, within which our military could operate with clear normative and security references.

The Rules of Engagement (RoE) (8) guaranteed the conditions for accomplishing the tasks and achieving the goals. They authorized the use of force within the norms of the international laws on armed conflicts and the national regulations consistent with those of the cooperating forces. In particular, they warranted the best safeguard and security of the personnel.

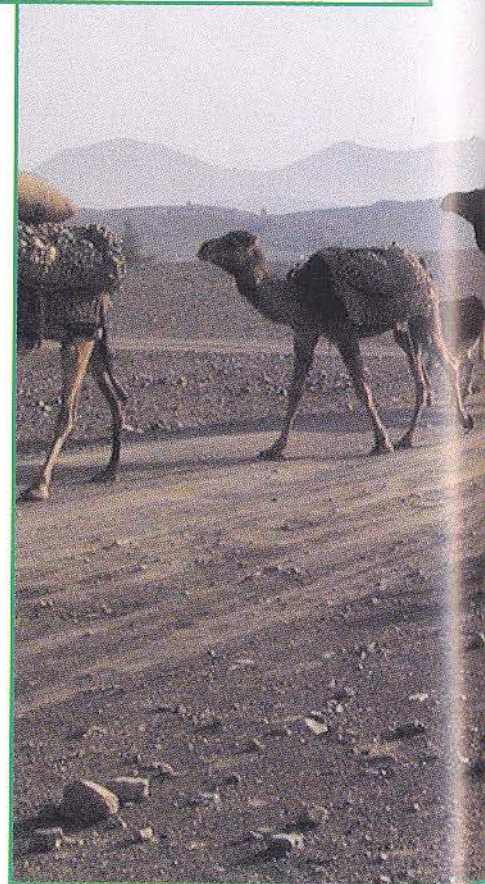
The force protection passive measures adopted, both direct and indirect, which derived from the guiding directives of the US Command of the Coalition, were integrated (and completed) by the provisions issued by the national Command. The measures helped to outline the reference

picture necessary to provide – inside and outside the bases – the security of the forces, the equipment and the installations where the units had to operate.

The mission was carefully prepared at home from every point of view, in order to reduce to a minimum the possible unexpected events in the Theatre.

The selection of personnel and the preparation of men and units was accurate and exhaustive, as were also the materials issued, with particular regard to the individual equipment.

The troops underwent a specific training in Italy, with the purpose of increasing their physical



efficiency and operational capabilities, as well as preparing the units for their tasks in the new environment.

The amalgamation of the different units was made with the utmost care, since it was necessary to achieve the appropriate homogeneity within the Contingent.

The availability of very advanced equipment permitted to deal with important technological realities which, in fact, changed the face of the operations.

During the Soviet-Afghan war, the Mujaheddin were the "masters" of the night; today the situa-

tion is reversed: the real rulers of the night are those who possess the instruments which enable them to see and fight, and who can hit the enemy before being discovered.

Absurdly we could say that the daytime environment has become the dangerous one, since it hampers these technological capabilities and puts the guerrillas and the Western units on the same level.

As a matter of fact, the real difference emerging in today's scenario is the actual "all weather" capability of moving and fighting without breaking the rhythm of

the operation and, most of all, exploiting the enemy's inability to do the same despite their better knowledge of the ground.

The relations with the Allies, i.e. practically with the Americans, were always kept on a plane of mutual trust, which was also the outcome of past experiences made on the occasion of NATO exercises and during past operations, especially in the Balkans, which permitted to probe into the new procedures and the mentality of the Allies.

Besides rank, professionalism, knowledge of the procedures and of the English language – which





were taken for granted in a multinational environment – it was extremely important to establish good interpersonal relations at every level.

CONCLUSIONS

In the three months of its operational responsibility in the province of Khost, the Contingent was attacked several times by terrorists. This was proof of the risks of the mission, but the personnel, infrastructure and equipment of the Contingent were not damaged:

- FOB “Salerno” 3 attacks:
 - March 18, a 107mm rocket

fired and a successive action conducted by hostile men armed with individual weapons against Observation Post no 7;

- June 3, firing of two rockets: one 107 mm and one 122 mm;
- June 11, with a remote-control device made up of 2 A/T Russian mines (12 kg of explosive) placed near Gate 3;
- “Chapman” Detachment 7 attacks:
 - March 21, firing of a 107 mm rocket;
 - March 22, two 107 mm rockets;
 - March 24, two 107 mm rockets;
 - April 2, three 107 mm rockets;

- April 6, three 107 mm rockets;

- April 12, ahead-of-time explosion of a car-bomb 500 m from the Base;

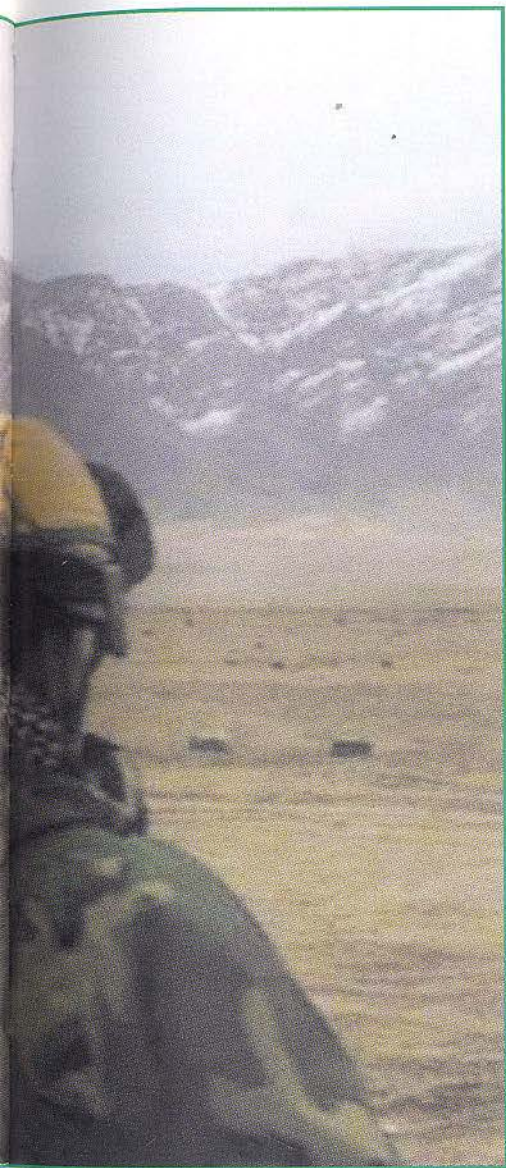
- May 1, device launched 100m from entrance no 1 of the Base;

- “Nibbio 1” TF personnel 2 attacks:

- April 5, a patrol fired at with automatic weapons on its way back to the FOB;

- April 12, two hand grenades thrown at a patrol (1 not exploded).

The attacks confirmed that the mission was demanding and risky; our soldiers performed their task with a professionalism



An Italian patrol supported by helicopters.

particularly hostile, and not only for the presence of the enemy.

They showed the offensive capabilities required for that type of mission and faced up to their engagement with the right mentality for an anti-guerrilla operation – different from all those conducted by the Italian Armed Forces since the end of WWII – never losing their determination.

The units worked with dynamism and flexibility in mostly high-mountain areas, marked by an extremely compartmented morphology and extreme climatic conditions that often changed with very little forewarning.

The men were aware of the risks and went out on the territory every day to check the situation, meeting people, earning their trust and respect and displaying a high fighting spirit and a credible dissuasive force.

Their tactical mobility was greatly improved by the recourse to transportation by helicopter. However, this implied long psychophysical engagement, made harder by the duration of the operations and the intrinsic environmental difficulties.

The “Alpini” of the “Nibbio 1” Contingent, who were about one half of the force and the main component of the combat units, displayed once more their customary versatility and their marked operational autonomy, which had led them to operate, through more than 130 years of history, in all the scenarios where the Italian Army has been a protagonist: from East to North Africa, from the Alps to the Balkans, from China to Russia.



**Brigadier General,
Deputy Chief,
General Affairs Division,
Army General Staff*

NOTES

(1)- Among which, no 1368 (September 12, 2001) and no 1373 (September 28, 2001).

(2)- The AoR of USCENTCOM includes: Afghanistan, Egypt, Sudan, Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Seychelles, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan and Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Pakistan.

(3)- Resolution no 1378 and no 1383 dealing respectively with the Bonn Agreement on the institution of an ad-interim Authority and with the international commitment to ensure protection and territorial security, and Resolution 1386, authorizing the deployment of ISAF.

(4)- ISAF operates under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, with the task of assisting the “ad-interim” Afghan Authority, installed in Kabul on December 22, 2001, in the maintenance of a safe environment in the city of Kabul and surrounding areas, within the framework of the Bonn Agreement (December 5, 2001). The Command of the operation rotates on a six-month basis.

(5)- The subdivision of this region into two provinces is the same implemented at the time of the Soviet invasion; during the Taliban regime, the two regions were joined together into the Paktia province, with Gardez as its capital.

(6)- An NBC platoon is present in every Contingent engaged outside the national territory, mostly as a precautionary measure, for the preliminary control of the deployment areas, to protect the units from possible military or industrial contamination in areas particularly degraded by years of conflict, and for activities of chemical and radiological detection in all areas, structures and premises of military interest, with particular attention to cantonments and other areas garrisoned by our personnel.

(7)- The possibility of transporting on the same CH 47 helicopter the mortar and its VM 90 T tractor with crew and ammunition, assured a flexibility of employment and a rapidity of reaction never achieved before.

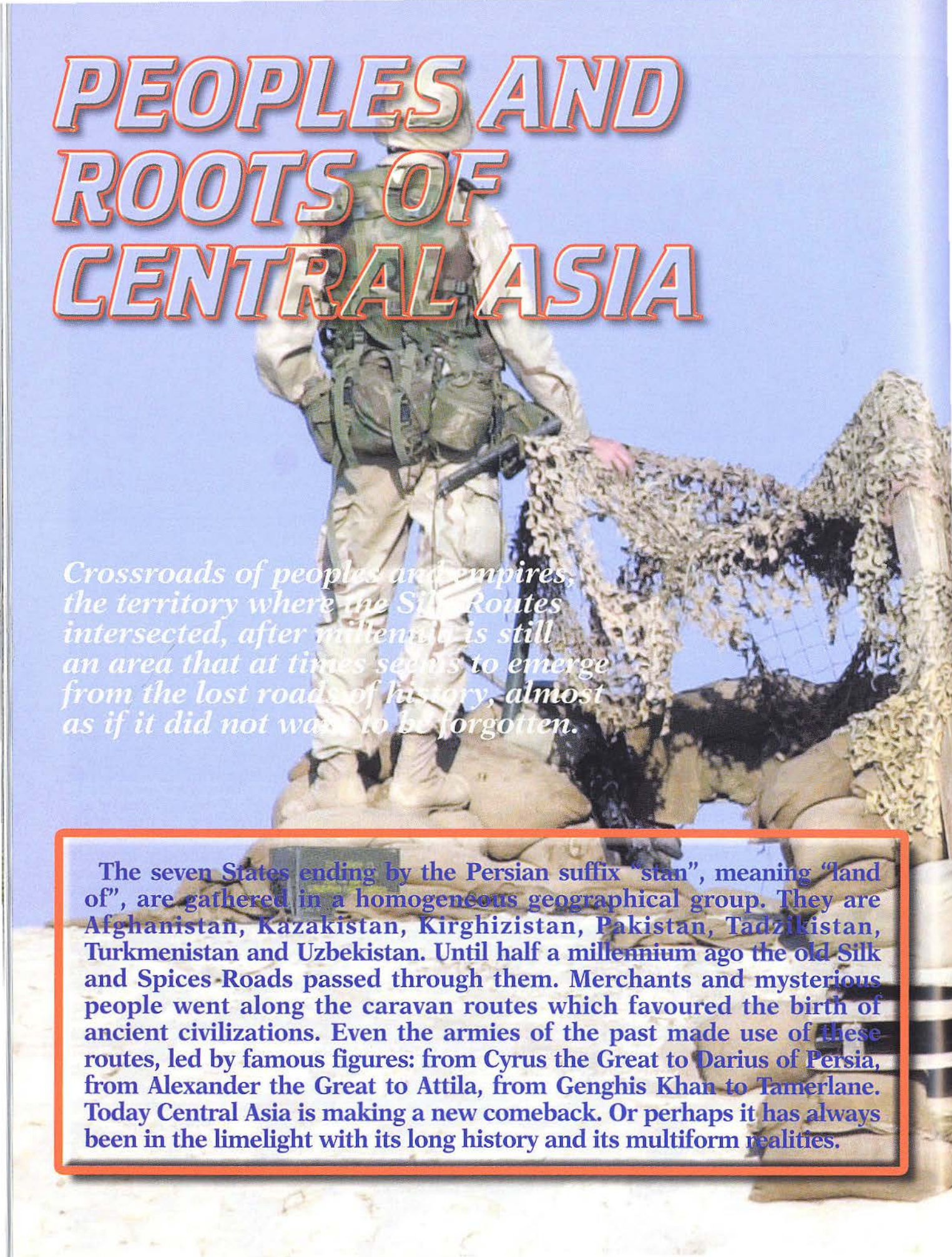
(8)- The RoE are directives for the military forces, individuals included, defining the circumstances, conditions, degree and manner in which force, or actions that could be perceived as threats or dangers, can or cannot be applied.

recognized and appreciated by everybody.

The “Alpini”, Paratroopers, Rangers, “Carabinieri”, Sailors and Airmen of the Italian Contingent, the men and women of “Nibbio 1” earned the esteem and consideration of the American soldiers with whom they cooperated in a difficult environment, characterized by a constant and unforeseeable threat.

Aware of the mission, the risks and the threat they had to confront, the soldiers of the Contingent carried out their tasks with great professionalism and resolve, displaying an exceptional capability of survival and adaptation in an environment that was

PEOPLES AND ROOTS OF CENTRAL ASIA



Crossroads of peoples and empires, the territory where the Silk Routes intersected, after millennia is still an area that at times seems to emerge from the lost roads of history, almost as if it did not want to be forgotten.

The seven States ending by the Persian suffix “stan”, meaning “land of”, are gathered in a homogeneous geographical group. They are Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Pakistan, Tadzikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Until half a millennium ago the old Silk and Spices Roads passed through them. Merchants and mysterious people went along the caravan routes which favoured the birth of ancient civilizations. Even the armies of the past made use of these routes, led by famous figures: from Cyrus the Great to Darius of Persia, from Alexander the Great to Attila, from Genghis Khan to Tamerlane. Today Central Asia is making a new comeback. Or perhaps it has always been in the limelight with its long history and its multiform realities.



by Giovanni Bucciol *

In June 2002, three months before that tragic September 11, Russia and China came to an agreement with Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizistan and Pakistan to fight terrorism.

Although Kazakhstan is not among the signatories of the agreement, it is one of the Countries which most committed themselves to beating terrorism and extremism, along with Afghanistan and Turkmenistan.

The Governments of the Central Asian Republics – those which are identified by the suf-

fix “stan” – are determined to repress the threat of Islamic extremism and to prevent the self-appointed “God’s Fighters” from training in their territories.

In the old Persian language, “stan” means “place of, land of”. Except Afghanistan and Pakistan, all these States, with 220 million inhabitants, were born of the collapse of the Soviet Union and are included within an area as vast as one and a half times Europe’s. They share drought, poverty, rough ground and internal conflicts. Only Kazakhstan, and perhaps Turk-

menistan, seem to be destined to a better future thanks to their oil and gas reserves. However, Pakistan is the most powerful of the seven, having an impressive Army equipped with tactical and strategic nuclear weapons.

Through these territories went the Silk and Spices Roads, but also great conquerors: Cyrus and Darius, Alexander the Great, Attila, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane. In the second century B.C., the Indian Emperor Ashoka introduced Buddhism which, throughout the centuries, spread all over Central



Asia. The huge statues of the Buddha of Bamian, demolished by the Taliban, date back to that time. In 700 A.D. Buddhism and other religions were almost everywhere ousted by Islamism, as a result of the Arab invasions. But for a better understanding of the present situation in Central Asia, we will proceed with a brief separate historical analysis of the various Republics which form that vast area.

AFGHANISTAN

In this country, democracy started in 1963, when King Mohammed Zahir Shah (the same man who has just returned to Kabul from a long exile in Rome and is now well over eighty) wanted his nation to become a modern State. He ratified the Constitution, introduced a constitutional Monarchy and held parliamentary elections. Women's equality was recognized: they could be admitted to Universities, be elected to Parliament and work in public offices. The first

typewriters arrived, while the Soviets and the Americans provided substantial financial aid. France and Germany, as well as the U.S., sent teachers of language, mathematics, science and medicine. The Soviet Union built houses and trained the Army. This democratic fervour, though, did not go out of Kabul. The countryside could only be reached through dirt roads and less than 10% of the inhabitants could read and

write. A litigious Parliament legislated in Kabul and the new atmosphere of freedom fostered strikes and demonstrations.

In 1973, King Zahir Shah was overthrown by his cousin Daoud and went into exile to Italy. In 1978, Daoud was assassinated and the communists took power. This was the beginning of a terrible civil war that went on for 23 years, with 1.5 million dead and 4 million refugees; these are not





Above.
Italian soldiers of ISAF
in Kabul.

Below.
U.S. Marines on
physical training
aboard a ship in the
Persian Gulf.

Right.
The geographical area
considered.



negligible figures in a Country of about 25 million inhabitants. Thousands of hectares of good agricultural land were covered with anti-personnel mines. Kabul was destroyed and bridges and roads were swept away.

The present illiteracy rate is 32%, the highest among the seven States, and life expectancy is 46 years, against an average of 63. Child mortality is 17.7%, the highest in the region. The country is governed more by force than persuasion. After the disintegration of the Taliban regime and the arrest or flight of many leaders, it can be perceived that the influence of al-Qaeda has

weakened. Some of its activists are coming to believe that on September 11 the organization made a bad mistake. If within al-Qaeda the politico-strategic ability of its leaders is questioned, the international coalition will score a moderate success, but not a final victory. Unfortunately the various Afghan ethnic groups look to foreign Countries for support, interfering with the Government action. Some would like to adopt a Swiss-type policy model, declaring neutrality and defending it from any threat. But this requires a strong unity, even within the plurality of national components, but under the pre-





sent circumstances this can hardly be assumed.

KAZAKISTAN

The main ethnic group, the most "russified" of Central Asia, is the Kazak one, a tribe of Turkish stock boasting to be the direct descendants of Genghis Khan's Mongols. The Russian expansion in these lands dates back to the Eighteenth Century. Since then, numerous farm workers, looking for lands to be tilled, have occupied this steppe. During the Thirties and the Forties of the last century, in particular, Stalin decided the forced transfer of the subjects he didn't trust: they were the Germans of the Volga area and the Koreans of the Soviet Far East. Those wastelands became the emblem of the failure of the "Virgin Lands Program". Kazak

leaders were put in prison, books and local culture were destroyed, farm workers were collectivized. Nowadays the people speak more Russian than Kazak. Oil and gas attract foreign investments.

From 1991, the year of independence, up to today, 12 billion dollars came into the Country and, after a remarkable oil exportation in 2000, Kazakhstan is bound to become the richest among the five ex-Soviet States. The new oil strike in the Caspian Sea will make this Country one of the most important in the drilling industry. But very little of this wealth reaches the citizens. The number of jobs has increased, but the unemployment rate is still at 14% and in some areas at 50%. Money pours mostly in the coffers of the oil and gas industries. A great many people support President Nazarbayev, the last leader of the Communist Par-

ty before the collapse of the USSR, who won the election in 1999. The close ties between Kazakhstan and Russia are most of all the result of about 7,000 km of borderline in common.

KIRGHIZISTAN

It is possibly the most mountainous and rough territory of Central Asia. Hymns to the freedom, bravery and unity of the Kirghiz tribes, representing 65% of the entire population, are sung at all celebrations during which Manas, the popular hero who lived more than a thousand years ago, is also remembered. For these people, his story represents strength, pride and hope. In 1876, Kirghizistan was annexed to Russia as part of Turkestan and became a Republic in 1936. The majority of the Russian ethnic

Left.

A U.S. Marine during a night operation in Afghanistan.

Below.

A Pakistani T-90 tank.

Right.

A Pakistani F-16 aircraft.

group, which today is 13%, went away soon after the Country became independent in 1991. They were mostly technicians and specialists, disappointed by the progressive "Kirghizization" of all jobs. This land is poor, tormented, and sometimes run across by bands of fundamentalist guerrillas, who enter from Tadzikistan in order to spread their religion and political ideals. Elected in 2000,



President Akauev relies greatly on the support of Russia and China, with which he signed agreements to fight terrorism. Yet the economy has difficulties in taking off, the companies find it hard to raise private funds, unemployment and inflation are high and the lines of communication are in appalling conditions. Encumbered with public debts, the Country needs sizeable international loans. It could get help from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which

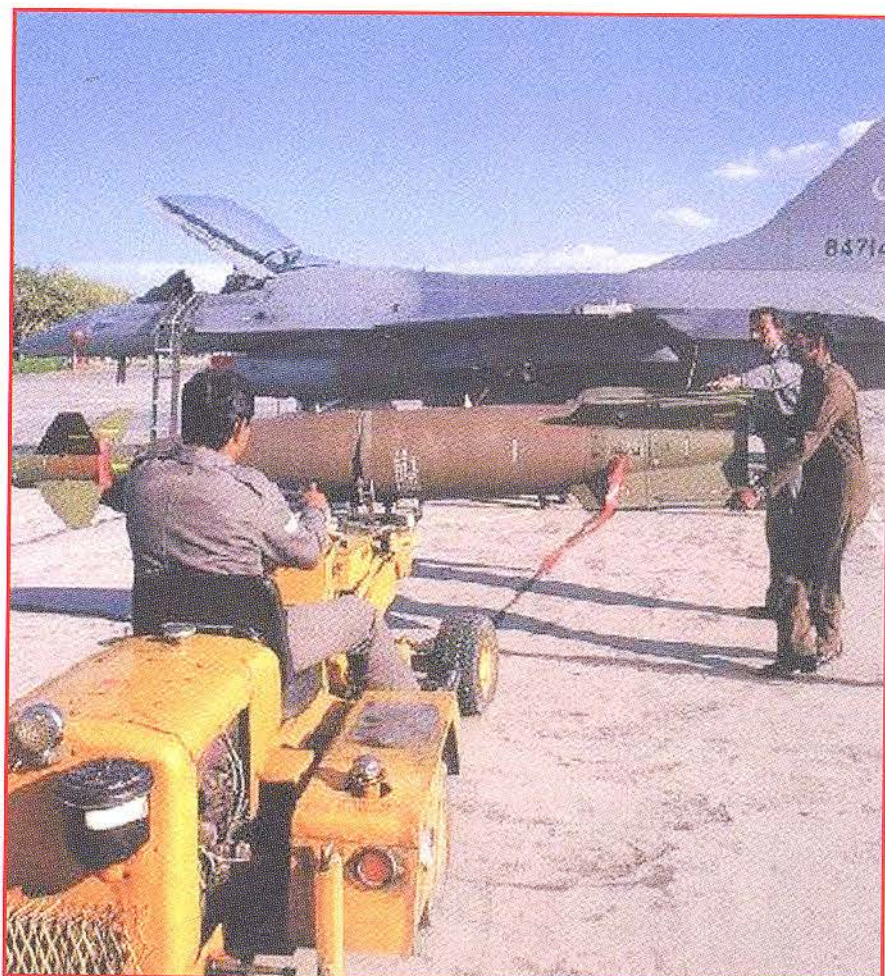
are willing to grant it, but only in presence of an even minimal financial planning.

PAKISTAN

The relations between Pakistan and India have been strained since 1947, when Maharajah Hari Sing agreed with Indian Premier Pandit Nehru on the annexation to India of the territory of Kashmir, a mostly Muslim region. The 1949 armistice divided

the region in two zones: on one side Jammu and Indian Kashmir, and on the other Pakistani Kashmir. Since the end of the second conflict of 1965, the balance of nuclear terror has reigned. India became a nuclear power in 1974 and Pakistan in 1992. On December 13, 2001, after the terrorist attack in New Delhi, the two countries started again to mass troops along the borderline which runs across Kashmir. It is a trench warfare at an average altitude of 5,000 metres above sea level where, at night, the thermometer reads between 45 and 47 degrees Celsius below zero. It has been described as "the only battlefield beneath the clouds". Fighting is reduced to mortar and heavy machine-gun shots. Pakistani advanced spotters are positioned at an altitude of up to 6,000 metres and the sentries sometimes reach 7,000 meters.

But the worst danger for the soldiers is the cold. The Baluchi and Pashtun ethnic groups which inhabit the Afghan region, on the North-Western border, want independence from Punjab, which rules the entire Country. In 1893,



Left.
Rearming a Pakistani F-16.

Below.
British paratroopers in Kabul.

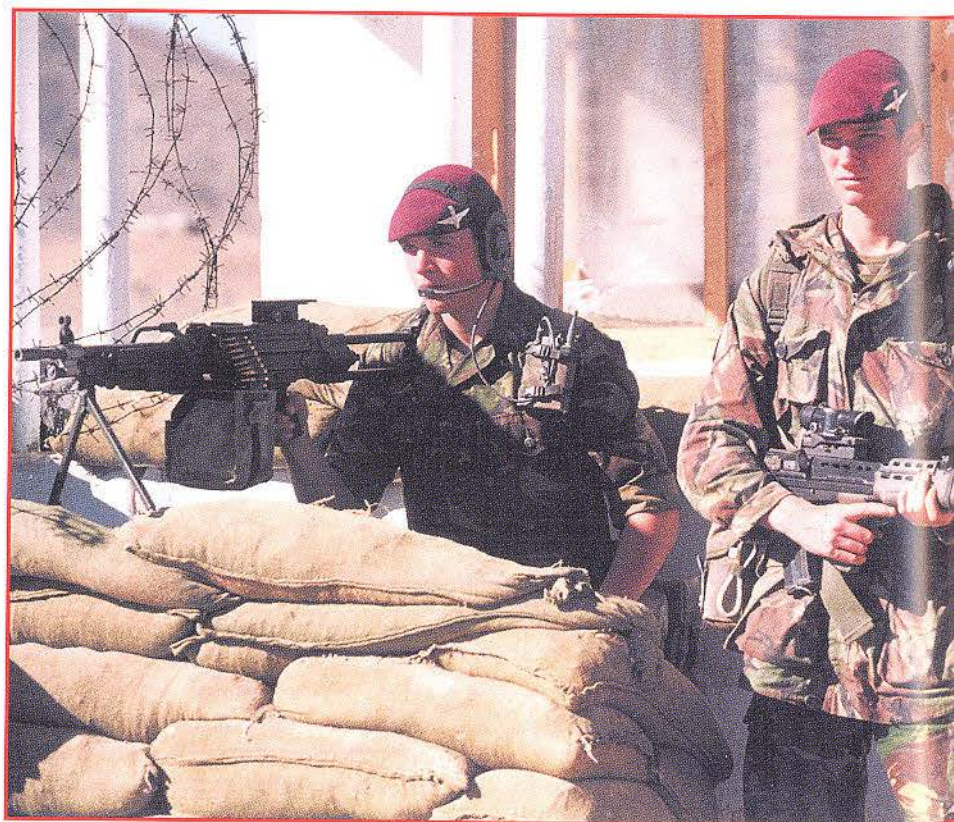
Right.
An Indian Bmp-2 tank.

to its mountains, which occupy 93% of the territory, establishing their bases for raids in neighbouring Kazakhstan. Its capital, Dusambe, is often a theatre of attacks and the various Tadziki factions are always in conflict. Even today the presence of Russian units, sent by Moscow in 1992, is essential. In order to fight poverty, the development of small farms, privatized by the government, has been fostered, together with the cultivation of fruit and cotton. Agriculture takes up 7% of the arable land, with doubled crops for farmers who obtained loans from the Afghan Foundation to buy sowing seeds, fertilizers and irrigation systems. Bauxite, a primary product, has to be

the British divided in half the Pashtun ethnic group, 22 million people, between Pakistan and Afghanistan, thus originating an unstable situation which prompted claims of a plebiscite which would allow the Pashtun to decide to which State to belong. Pakistan, at any rate, intends to keep it under its control. And it has the means to do so: an Army of 630,000 men, nuclear devices, and a Defence which takes up nearly 30% of the national budget. Half of its 145 million inhabitants are youths under 15 years. The majority of the fundamentalist conservatives is trained in the numerous religious schools.

TADZIKISTAN

It is the less rich nation among all "stans". They say that the Muslim extremist guerrillas took





imported, electricity comes from dams in bad conditions due to continuous attacks and sabotages carried out by fundamentalists opposing the anti-terrorism agreement endorsed by the Country. Although still working, the aluminium foundry, built by the Soviets, has a foreign debt of more than 120 million dollars.

TURKMENISTAN

A little more than 10 years after independence, Turkmenistan has not yet overcome the crisis caused by the transition from centralized economy to open market, although its borders, on the Caspian shores, lie above vast reserves of oil and natural gas. The President, elected for an indefinite term, is also the leader of the Democratic Party, the only one allowed by the law. Turkmenistan keeps friendly

relations with the neighbouring Countries, mostly in the hope of exporting oil and gas. Gas goes to Iran, Ukraine and other ex-Soviet Nations. The Afghan instability caused the decline of a project for a pipeline to Pakistan, foreign debt amounts to 2,3 billion dollars, and recently the President's goal to make the Country the "Kuwait of Central Asia" has failed.

UZBEKISTAN

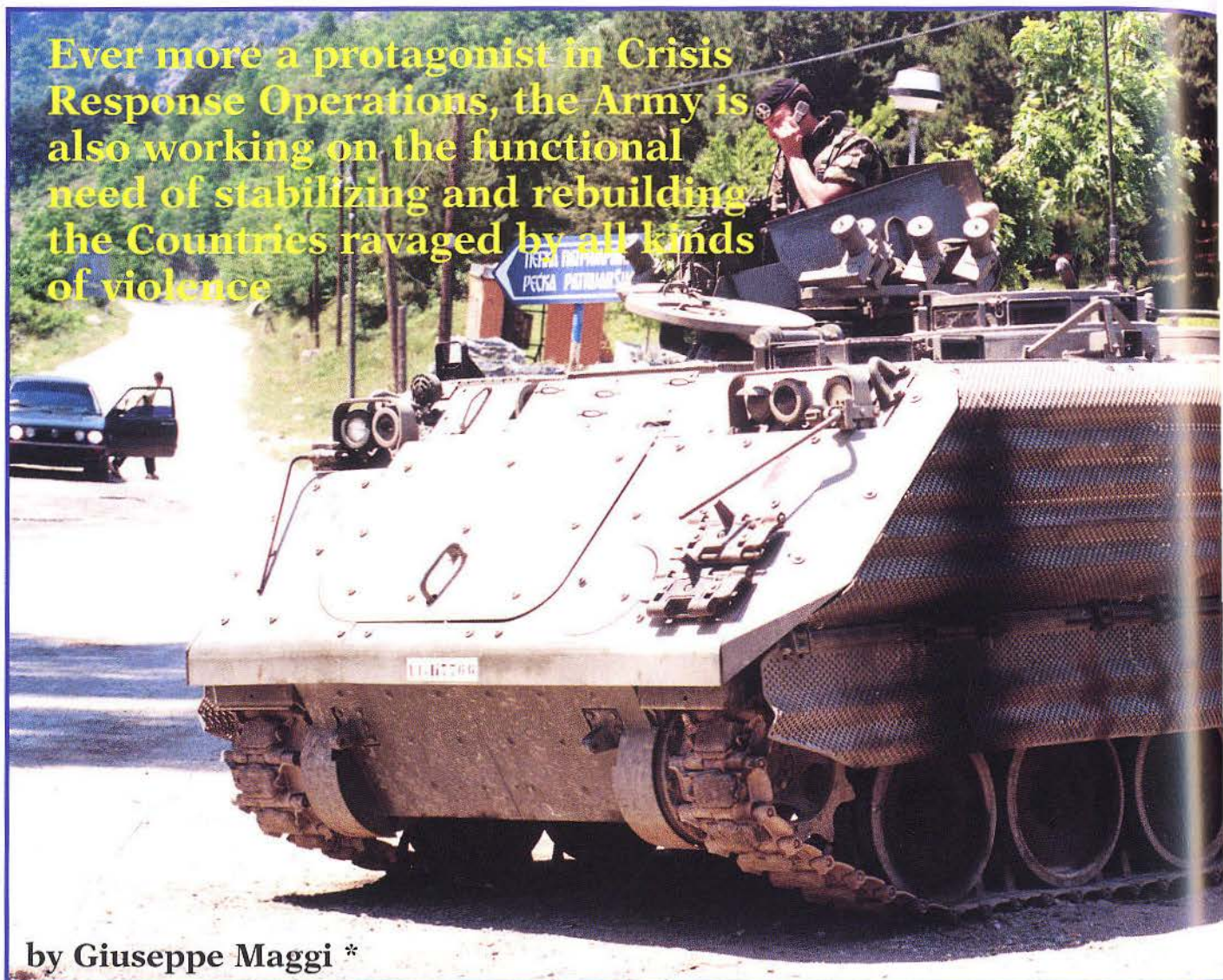
It is a member of the group of States which joined together to fight terrorism. Its security forces fight Muslim activists, including the non-extremist ones. According to the Government, they are responsible for a series of attacks carried out in the capital, Tashkent, the only city of Central Asia with an underground. The

Muslim Party of Turkmenistan, which is present with a few thousand fundamentalist fighters, aims at creating a Muslim regime. Also the Uzbeks intermixed with Genghis Khan's Mongols but they kept their traditions, so that for a long time – from the X to the XV century – Samarkand (birthplace of Tamerlane, the fierce military leader and national hero), Bakhara, famous for its carpets, and Chiva were cities full of poets, mathematicians and astronomers. As for agriculture, cotton is the most important product. But the chemical products, used to stimulate the fertility of the soil, are polluting the groundwater. Half the 25 million inhabitants are under eighteen. Unemployment and poverty often lead them to join the Islamic fundamentalism.

□

** Major General (ret.)*

Ever more a protagonist in Crisis Response Operations, the Army is also working on the functional need of stabilizing and rebuilding the Countries ravaged by all kinds of violence



by Giuseppe Maggi *

THE LAND FORCES, AS FOUNDATION OF STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

The Army constantly avails itself of the most advanced operational branches: Psychological Operations; Civil-Military Cooperation; Clearing of Explosive Devices; Military Police; Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Prevention and Protection



Through a wide-ranging analysis we propose to examine the present configuration of the Italian Army and the capability of its operational instruments of dealing with the evolution of the tasks and risks that confront it in the employment theatres, with particular reference to the missions of stabilization and reconstruction. Our investigation is supported by a comparison with the studies being conducted by the U.S. Army, in order to draw analogies, differences and new grounds for reflection.

The Army has been working for many years in the international context in favour of peacekeeping and return to legality and security, giving a very significant qualitative and quantitative contribution.

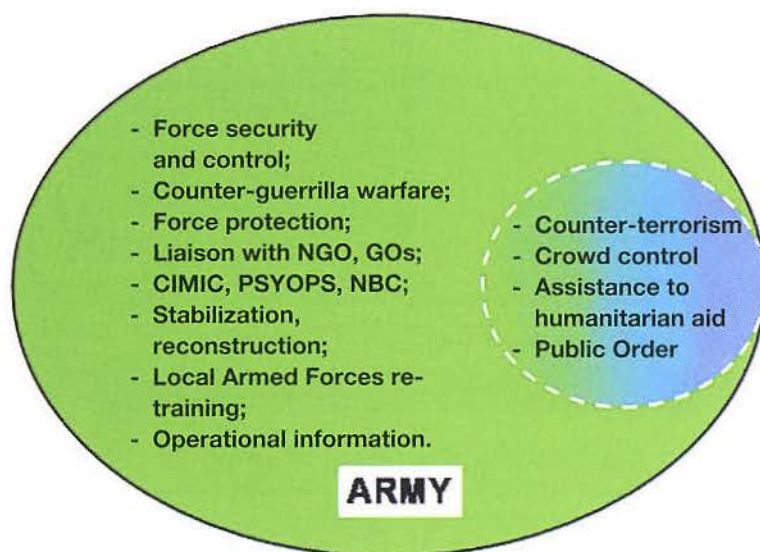
The results achieved earned – and are still earning – the unre-served appreciation of the representatives of Countries which, until a few years ago, had not

spared judgments, sometimes very severe, on the operational capabilities of our Service.

Let us analyse, for example, the wide range of operations connected with the “Crisis Response Operations” (CROs) which, in the widest meaning of the term, concern: peacekeeping, territorial control and security, fight against terror, humanitarian aid and “Nation Building”, i.e. support to the



TASKS OF THE LAND COMPONENT IN THE MODERN OPERATIONS OF STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION



indispensable factors for obtaining the legitimization of their criminal deeds.

THE PHASES OF INTERVENTION

The fluidity of the conflicts' levels is a further proof of the existence of the evanescent border between the typical "War Fighting" activities and those that could generally be defined as "pacifying actions", aimed at restoring the social order in the Country involved. In this sense, it could be useful to adopt the Anglo-Saxon definition of "Three-Block War", meaning that in a given (limited) area a force complex could be called to monitor and control the territory, provide humanitarian aid and respond with fire actions to the attacks of guerrillas, terrorists or hostile formations in general.

In short, the operational profile of these complex scenarios con-

re-establishment of normal politico-social conditions.

This classification of the CROs into precise patterns responds more to doctrinal criteria than to operational needs, considering that the operational scenarios are often the result of a summation of all the said elements, i.e. crises during which the various situations could prevail, albeit at different moments. This requires appropriate and flexible responses, particularly as regards quality and quantity. Moreover, the recent sad experiences in Iraq have stressed once more that the borderline between CROs and traditional war is very thin or downright non-existent.

On this operational background, already complex in itself, the increasing international terror has implanted itself: it is precisely in situations of crisis and disintegration that terrorism finds the hands, materials and equipment necessary for achieving its goals. Furthermore, the extreme precariousness of the so-

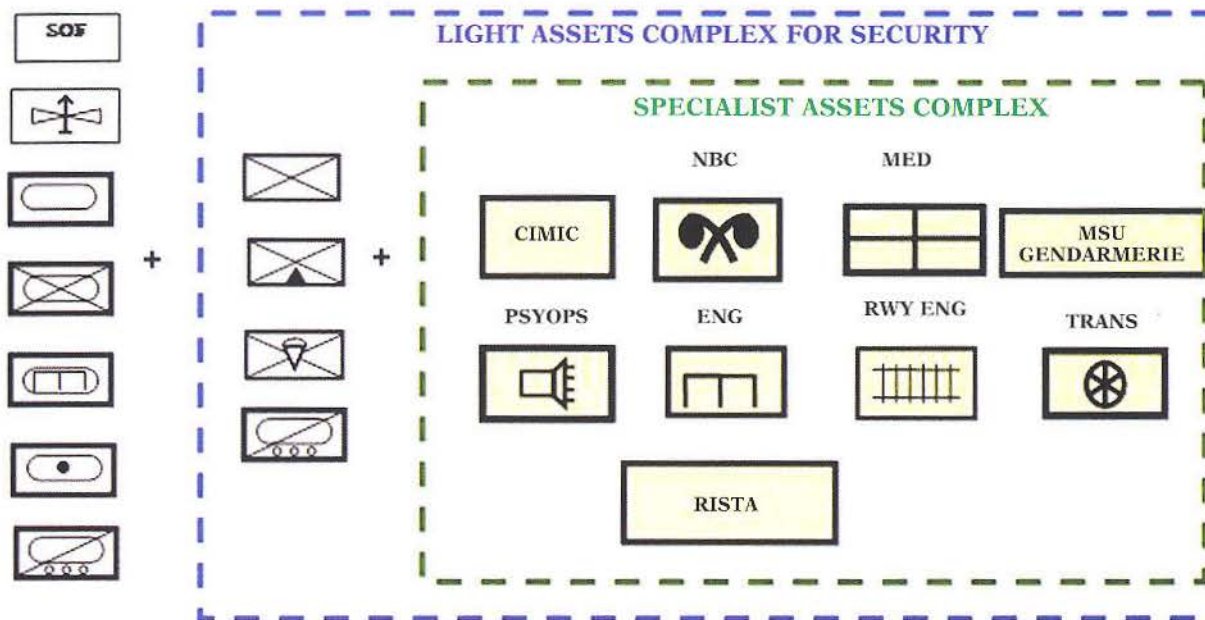
cio-political situation, the economic difficulties and the religious/ethnic extremisms favour its rooting in the territory and the support of the people, which are



Italian paratroopers on patrol in East Timor.

EXAMPLE OF TASK FORCE FOR STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

COMBAT ASSETS COMPLEX (INCL FOS)



sists of a first phase, in which the forces are introduced and deployed, and a second one, usually short and characterized by heavy conflict, with the prevalent employment of combat units. Finally there is a third phase – stabilization and reconstruction of the civilian infrastructure, to get back to normal – during which the land formations employed are the result of the summation of manoeuvre units (for security) and units specialized in different sectors: CIMIC, EOD, NBC, Medical, PSYOPS.

Often, in this last phase, “Multi-national Specialized Units” (MSU) are also employed. They are formed by “Carabinieri” or “Gendarmerie” units, entrusted with the tasks typical of the paramilitary police and are essentially in charge of public order, criminal investigations and training of the local police.

The transition from the second to the third phase can be charac-

terized by a relatively long period, during which it is necessary to keep the capability of facing complex situations, such as humanitarian emergencies, guerrilla warfare and large-scale terrorist attacks. As a matter of fact, the potential actors who also in the future could continue to threaten the international security will still prefer the so-called asymmetric confrontation, in order to offset their disadvantage in capabilities and technology as compared to more advanced Armed Forces, and to strike at the moment and place more favourable to them.

From the capability viewpoint, the scenario just outlined requires the employment of a strong and balanced instrument, able to express different operational capabilities and provide security and protection to all the actors in the theatre, especially – and mostly – through a high and credible deterrent power.



Training of an NBC unit on decontamination of individual weapons.

We can roughly estimate that this capability can be expressed by the Army, considering the variety of its assets, the availability of personnel with extremely diversified expertise, materials and equipment.

In terms of assets, the capabilities needed to perform a mission and reduce the risks connected with the specific operational environment can be schematically grouped into three complexes (see diagram above).

The first one, considering its forces, is suited to express a real and strong "Combat Capability", which is also indispensable in the "stabilization and reconstruction"



Italian roadblock with a VCC-1 armoured car.

phase to face the maximum foreseeable level of risk and scale the responses in a flexible manner, proportionate to the attacks (unexpected, multidimensional and multidirectional) and be at the same time a strong deterrent. As a matter of fact, the situation of more or less hidden conflict which characterizes the scenarios, and the sudden changes in the threat, make the involvement in combat an ever present possibility.

The "Combat Capability", which is after all the core of the military functions, can be adequately expressed by the Army units (tanks, armoured vehicles, attack helicopters, special forces, etc.) supported by joint air-naval assets. Their exact qualitative and quantitative composition depends of course on the mission and the environment (usually characterized by an intense urbanization).

The second complex, more numerous and usually at a level no

lower than Brigade, can control and/or interdict large areas. Furthermore, it is suited to operate in insidious environments such as urban areas, performing the whole range of possible tasks (multidimensional control of city areas and their main roads, control of social order and sensitive points, establishment of fixed or mobile checkpoints, etc.) and engage in close combat against guerrillas or terrorists.

Therefore this formation follows the typical *modus operandi* of the light units of the Army which, with their training, equipment and high mobility, express their best performance in this type of operations. Besides, their Command-and-Control structure is particularly apt to establish the indispensable frame capable of "incorporating" and making profitable, in terms of cost/effectiveness, the employment of units from the first complex and, most of all, the specialist assets, which

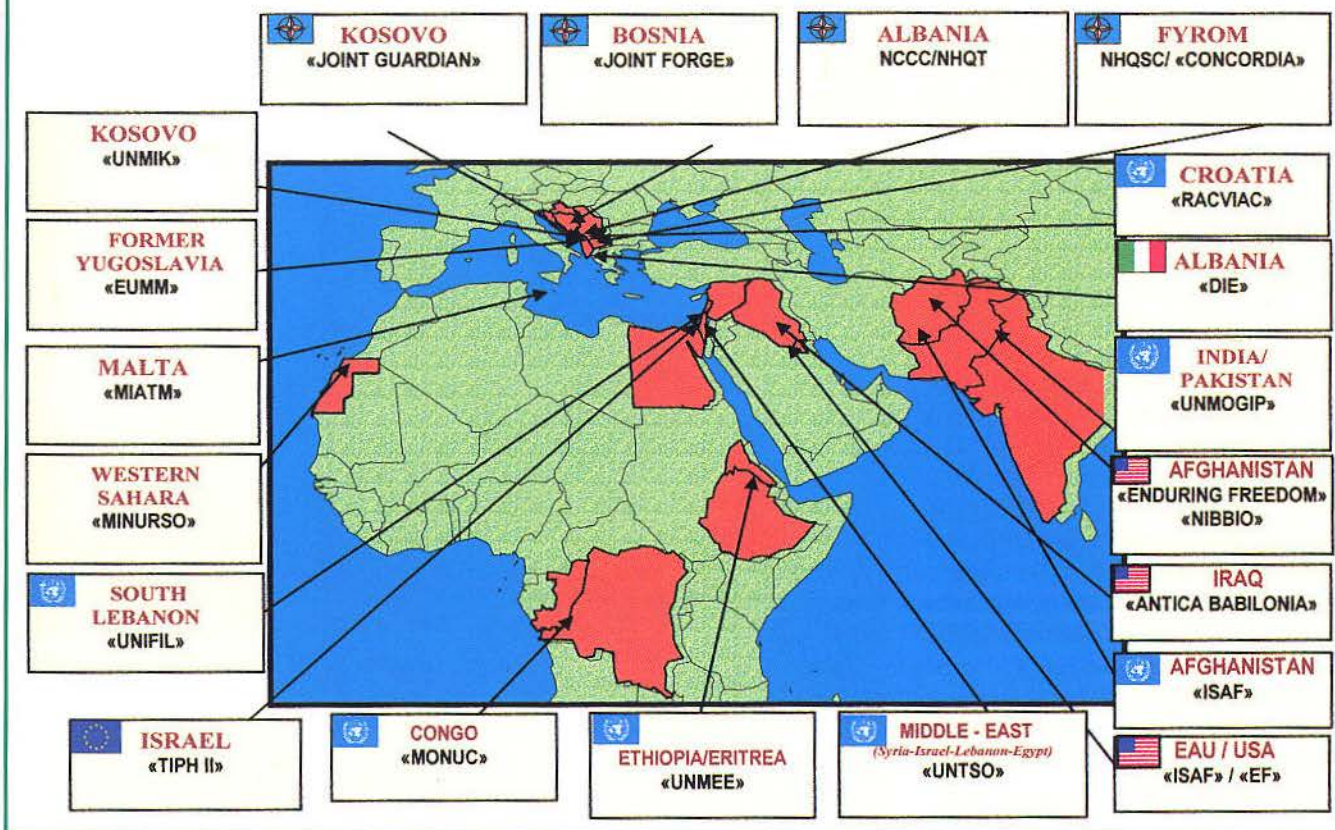
are essential in the stabilization and reconstruction phase of a CRO, such as CIMIC, PSYOPS, NBC, RISTA-EW, engineers, medical service and transport (third specialist complex).

THE SPECIALIST ASSETS

In such a context, other components can also be found, such as *Gendarmerie*-type or MSU units, tasked with special operational activities connected with specific Police functions – public order, fight against organized crime, interface with the local police, UN, support/reconstruction of local Police forces.

In this regard it is worth mentioning that if, on the one side the "*Gendarmerie*-type forces can count on judicial and military Police specializations not available to the Armed Forces, on the other they do not have "Combat" capabilities. Besides, in a cost/effec-

ARMY COMMITMENTS





Takeoff of a CH-47 helicopter of the Italian Army.

tive framework, it seems senseless to give them these capabilities, considering that they are already available, and also to avoid distorting their role by the creation of useless conflicts of competency.

Therefore we can see that the multifaceted character of the activities to be carried out during stabilization and reconstruction operations (combat, security, humanitarian aid, operational and investigative intelligence) requires multifunctional interventions and an ever increasing effort of coordination among the various components (e.g. military forces and local or *ad-hoc* police forces – CIVPOL/Civil Police, MSU or *Gendarmerie*).

Of course the various bodies present on the field must be organized within a single instrument, in order to operate synergistically in a multidisciplinary,

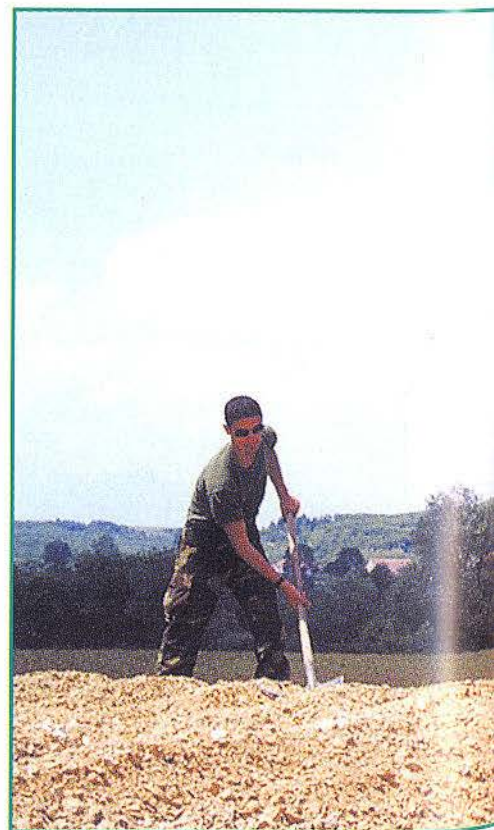
joint and multinational environment, with interventions encompassing the entire range of situations at risk.

In this respect, it is important to stress the necessity to achieve a close coordination between the said bodies of forces, by concentrating their control “in the hands” of the man who alone can effectively exercise it: the military Commander of the task force.

In the final analysis, he is the one responsible for the harmonization of the common effort and for realizing the general security frame necessary in order to accomplish the assigned mission. This should not be understood as a limitation of the Commanders’ freedom of action, on

the contrary the aim is just the opposite: to let them express their capabilities as best as they can, but keeping the unity of command, which is indispensable also – and mainly – in this type of actions.

On the field, the necessary synergy among the different components of the instrument must come from the employment of diverse, particular and specific capabilities, for which each component has been well trained and organized. This means that the endurance of these instruments can be safeguarded mostly by recognizing the “peculiar functions” of the various components. Failing to do so could cause overlaps and confusion about authority, duplication of capabilities and wastage, thus increasing the risks connected with the protection of the forces and the security of the personnel.



Engineers repairing a road.

STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

The whole of the abovesaid complexes ideally constitutes a pool of "Stabilization and Reconstruction Forces" suitable for "Post Conflict Operations", structured according to a model well-known to the Italian Army.

This can be easily confirmed if we refer to the contingents that the Army has been deploying in the various theatres.

From Somalia to Mozambique and to the Balkans, the Army has always employed bodies of forces that included a combat component for security and several types of specialized units for stabilization, reconstruction and humanitarian activities.

Also today in the Balkans, in Operation "Antica Babilonia" in Iraq and "ISAF" in Afghanistan, the Army is deploying Task Forces organized on a solid "Combat" component, in charge of security and protection, as well as a number of specialist units.

GLOSSARY

War Fighting – Conventional military operations.

Combat Capability – The capability of a military force to carry out its mission in an Operation Theatre.

CIMIC – Civil Military Cooperation.

HUMINT (Human Intelligence) – Unit tasked with collecting information from people (friends, enemies, prisoners) or other sources.

EOD (Explosive Ordnance Disposal) – Unit tasked with clearing explosive devices.

RISTA-EW (Reconnaissance, Intelligence, Surveillance and Target Acquisition – Electronic Warfare) – Unit charged with setting up tactical units aimed at acquiring "control of the situation" from the tactical-level information viewpoint.

PSYOPS (Psychological Operations) – Units for the development of psychological operations in the operational field.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Today the significance and sensitivity of the post-combat phase is a subject of study and investigation in many Countries, and especially in the United

States. In fact, also on the basis of the lessons learned after Operation "Iraqi Freedom", the planners of the U.S. Department of Defence are considering the possibility of establishing two Division-level "Multiservice units for stabilization and reconstruction" (one on active duty and one in reserve), to be preferably employed in post-war operations, within a security frame provided by a "Combat" component, constituted by a last-generation armoured Brigade, the so-called "Striker Brigade". The core of these multiservice units could be formed by 4 "Stabilization and Reconstruction Groups" (about 2500 men) plus an adequate component for security.

The entire package should include: a "Combat" unit reinforced by Special Operations Forces; a Civil Affairs unit (about 150 members) for providing expertise in sectors such as government, administration, services, reconstruction, etc.; an engineer battalion (with an EOD component) for the reconstruction of basic infrastructure; a medical battalion for humanitarian aid (food, water decontamination, training of lo-





An Italian patrol with a VM-90 vehicle.

cal medical personnel); a PSY-OPS battalion.

In addition, each Joint Stabilization and Reconstruction HQ will have the possibility of including also other specialized units: a battalion for military assistance and training of the local and military Police forces; an intelligence, surveillance and acquisition battalion, tasked with protecting the force; a military Police/*Gendarmerie* Force which could conduct also criminal investigations; a signal battalion.

The U.S. initiative, even if it seems to theoretically recognize

the far-sightedness of the decisions made so far by the Italian Army, in practice confirms the primary role played by the land assets in the modern operations of stabilization and reconstruction.

In view of this, looking at the present operational organization of the Army, one can say that the Service has already all the components necessary for establishing a pool of "Stabilization and Reconstruction Forces" on the terms described above, in particular as regards the specialist component, which is organized as follows: 1 Railway Engineer Regt; 1 Pontonier Regt; 1 NBC Regt; 1 CIMIC Regt (multinational); 10 Engineer Regts with EOD components (2 platoons each); 1

PSYOPS Regt; 1 HUMINT unit (being constituted); 4 Medical Units.

The specialization of these units and the lessons learned in the various theatres suggest not to raise, at the moment, the organizational level to Brigade or Group of Regiments (also – and mainly – considering the scarce resources available) since their adaptability fully responds to both the criteria of minimum modularity envisaged for the rotation of the units in the theatres and to the optimization of the training and preparation cycles of the personnel who is being specialized.

As a matter of fact, this specialist "product" is the outcome of an intense and specific preparation

deriving from a meticulous individual and, successively, collective training, with the inclusion of periodical tests aimed at checking the attainment of the intermediate objectives, preliminary for the following ones, until the achievement of the final validation of the unit, of any level, which has to be dispatched to the theatre.

Besides, the recent terrorist attacks carried out against civilians and military units and structures in the urban areas of Iraq and Afghanistan indicate that terrorism will continue to condition significantly the operational composition of the stabilization and reconstruction missions.

It is precisely in view of this that one should make the best possible use of the valuable components already available in the national context, optimising and strengthening their capabilities, particularly those suitable for facing and neutralizing the asymmetric and terrorist threat in every environment, including the urban one, also through the acquisition of highly technological equipment and systems.

CONCLUSIONS

The activities that characterize the modern operations of stabilization and reconstruction can be effectively carried out by the Army. As a matter of fact, the Service can express the "Core" of the components needed on the field, which are decisive for "Post Conflict" operations, from the merely "Combat" ones – with a high operational impact – to those with high specialist contents (NBC, EOD, CIMIC, PSY-OPS, HUMINT, antiterrorism, engineers, field medical units, supplies and transport, humanitarian aid), as well as the light units in charge of the direct security of the organization in an operational environment made more

complicated by the high degree of urbanization of the area concerned.

From this viewpoint, the Army can in a sense be considered a forerunner in the development of assets aimed at stabilization and reconstruction, among which the "capability core" is always and in any case constituted by the manoeuvre forces.

The remaining specialist components must be enabled to work within a framework of security and protection, in order to maximise their indispensable contribution to the stabilization and re-

Decontamination of a VM-90 vehicle by an NBC team.



construction operations, reducing risks to a minimum.

Only with this type of conceptual approach can we avoid useless duplications and waste of resources. At the same time, it is necessary to strive for the best integration of the respective characteristics, through the closest coordination in every phase of the operation.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Army, owing to its range of "Combat" capabilities and the experience gained, particularly in CROs during the last decade, is fully qualified to undertake a leading role in the specific sector. This would be quite in line with the NATO directives that point out the need to develop anti-terror capabilities as a vital function for the future forces of the Alliance, and with the most recent intention of NATO to set up a "Rapid Reaction Force" with a very high operational readiness (less than 10 days).

It is interesting to note that these newborn European "Rapid Reaction Forces" (7-9 units to

start with) will have an agile configuration – about 1500 men for each unit – and a qualitative structure that mirrors the one outlined at page 67.

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**Major General,
Deputy Chief,
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Mine-clearing is a difficult task entrusted to skilled specialists, who are conscious that their work is extremely valuable for societies and populations shocked by terrible wars



The Engineer Corps, besides being in the forefront of the technique for removing mines, explosive traps and any other kind of deadly device, also train the operators of the other Services and the Police Forces

THE ORIGINS

Mine-clearing is one of the most serious problems that a Country involved in war events has to solve at the end of hostilities, since it is a prerequisite for the resumption of every productive and social activity.

Since the post-WWII period, clearing explosive devices has been a problem that all societies have had to tackle at the end of various kinds of conflicts. Here is how the Engineers of the Italian Army have evolved, becoming teachers in Italy and abroad.



Italy had to meet this serious challenge both during WWII and after its conclusion, because its territory was heavily bombed and strewn with miles of minefields. The phenomenon had enormous proportions and, just to give a faint idea, suffice it to think that still today, sixty years after the end of the war, about three thousand operations are carried out each year to remove or neutralize explosive devices.

On the Italian territory, fighting started after our troops had left Libya. After a short time, beginning from Sicily and gradually proceeding to the North, the opposing armies confronted each other, leaving behind large minefields and thousands of all types of devices, including a very high number of bombs, due to the massive employment the air force by the Allies. From 1943 to 1945 the whole peninsula was transformed into an immense

battlefield. Immediately after the liberation, a new war against the unexploded devices began to threaten a population who had already been severely tried, precisely when everybody thought that he could return home with no more problems.

The need to get rid of unexploded devices is in general an operational problem which must be solved since it affects the mobility of the troops and the conduct of operations in general. At the end of the war, it becomes indeed a *conditio sine qua non* for the resumption of any activity by the civilian population.

The first unexploded devices left on the ground were, occasionally and incompletely, cleared by ordinary citizens who, risking their lives, did all they could with inadequate knowledge and tools. In fact, very often they were only equipped with their own good will.

Clearing a minefield in WWII.

Needless to say, this caused a large number of victims, and this restrained the generous impulse of the volunteers.

However, the most insidious danger were the minefields, whose clearing required an efficient and swift organization.

Mines were widely employed by the conflicting forces, particularly on the littorals where landings were expected, and in areas where the armies had to remain for long periods, owing to resistance and attrition actions.

The shores of Sicily and Calabria were mined. High-intensity barriers stood on the coast between Salerno and Anzio – where there had been landings – in defence of the “Gustav” line on the Volturno and Garigliano rivers, and along the “Hitler” line, near

Cassino. Minefields and barriers were also present in Tuscany and along the "Gothic" line from Emilia-Romagna to Liguria (fig.1).

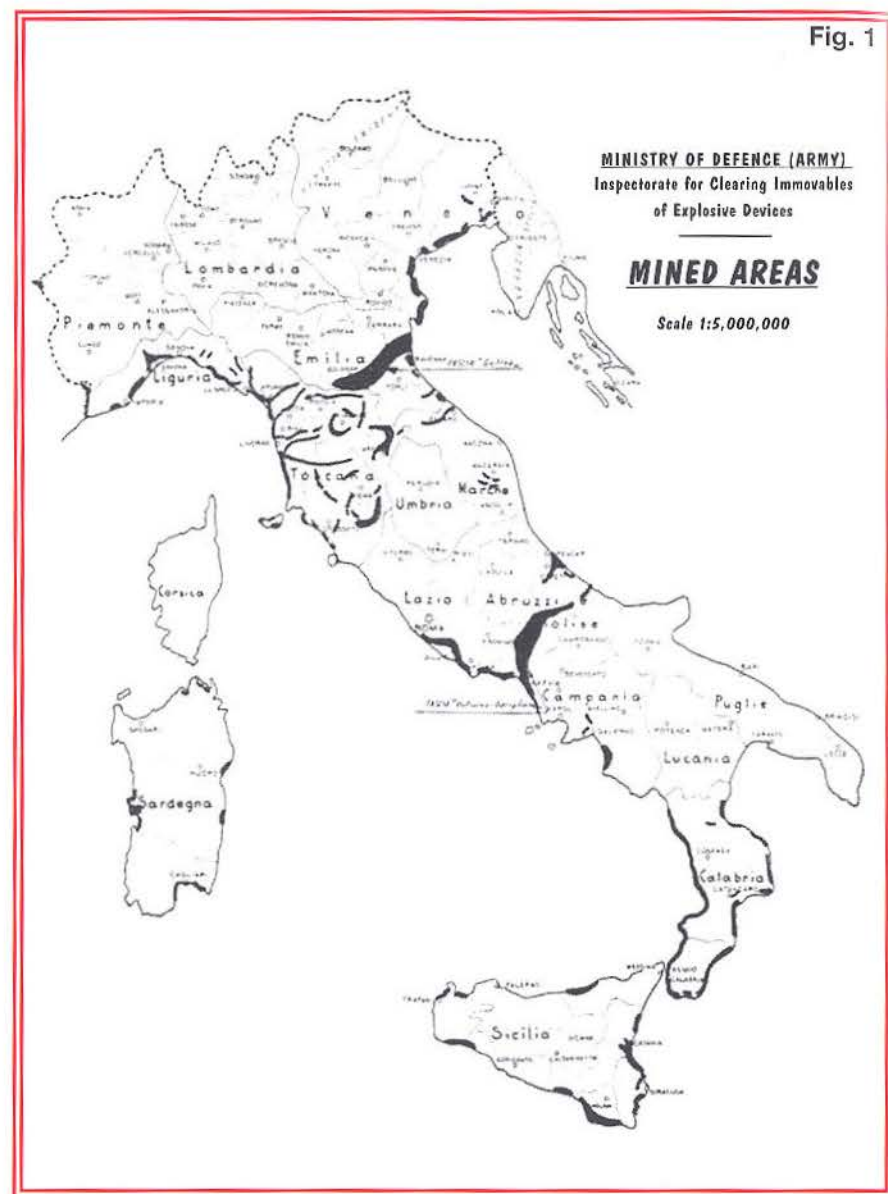
In the summer of 1944 the Ministry of War ordered the mobilization of military units to take care of the problem of the minefields. The 561st and 562nd companies were constituted, with personnel from all branches and specialities. Their training was entrusted to a few Officers expert in the employment of explosives and to some Allied specialists. Once they reached their operational capability, the units were attached to the fighting troops, in order to facilitate the advance along the Tyrrhenian littoral and to clear the Adriatic coast, beginning with the town of Pescara.

The 563rd Mine Clearing Company was established in the early spring of 1945. The unit began its activity in Emilia-Romagna, starting with the town of Ravenna and was soon joined by the 564th Company, which later cleared also the Chioggia and Venice areas.

These units were actually the nucleus from which the whole mine-clearing organization derived. In fact, a great number of those servicemen continued to operate, after their discharge at the end of the war, as skilled workers in the new organization.

THE FIRST MINE-CLEARERS

For the above reasons, the problem of mine-clearing was a military matter and the Ministry of War, in concert with the Allied Commission, entrusted its execution to the Engineers and the Artillery. As a matter of fact, the Engineers had to dispose of mines and other concealed or buried devices, which had to be found and removed according to the norms and techniques typical of the Branch. The Artillerymen were assigned the task of remov-



ing every device that could be found on the surface, excluding mines. This gave birth to Mine-Clearing National Service, which was tasked with the disposal of mines and other explosive devices and which maintained the same organization and tasks until 1998.

Several Mine-Clearing Schools were organized between 1944 and 1946 all over Italy; their operational and training activities were coordinated by a special Central Office.

One year after the liberation, a better organization for tackling the huge problem of nationwide mine-clearing was taking shape.

On April 12, 1946, in fact, a General Lieutenant's Decree on this subject was issued, followed on November 1, 1947 by a Decree of the Provisional Head of State. Both documents entrusted the whole matter to the Ministry of War.

The Inspectorate for Clearing Buildings from Explosive Devices was established on April 1, 1946 and tasked with the integral clearing of the national territory by means of the territorial organizations of the Engineers and the Artillery.

This organization ceased its activity on July 1, 1948 and its functions and duties were hand-

ed over to the General Directorate for Works, State Property and Materials, which still holds them.

During the fifty years between 1948 and 1998 the situation remained practically unchanged, adapting itself to the modifications that concerned mostly the Artillery Directorates. The tasks of these Directorates in the sector of ordnance clearing were given to the Supply Units and later to the Supply and Maintenance Centres, which were subordinate to the Transport and Materials Commands of the Military Regions.

The end of the '80s, characterized by a series of historically very important events, resulting mostly from the crumbling of the Warsaw Pact, imparted a decisive turn to the ordnance-clearing sector. In fact the first UN requests for the participation of Italian personnel in Peace Support Operations go back to that period. These operations were carried out in the more and more numerous crisis areas of the planet. Successively, there were the multinational operations under NATO aegis, which implied the intervention of our Army, with units at full strength, for the first time after WWII.

THE FIRST OUT-OF-AREA INTERVENTIONS

In 1989 the UN asked the Army Staff to participate with Engineer Officers and NCOs in the training of Afghan refugees in Pakistan to clear their land from mines. The Engineer School was tasked, by the then existing Engineer Corps Inspectorate, with the organization of special courses on mine-clearing and disposal of explosive devices employed during the war between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union (1979-1989). Similar courses were later organized for the personnel destined to conduct mine-clearing operations in Kuwait after the Gulf War.



In 1992, the Army Staff formally established yearly courses on "BOE" (Bonifica Ordigni Esplosivi - Explosive Device Disposal) aimed at preparing Engineer Officers and NCOs for "Peace Support Operations", with the task of clearing every possible type of explosive device that could be found on the ground.

Thus the Engineer Corps, in accordance with its doctrine of employment, was taking up one of its fundamental tasks: clearing the battle area in general and minefields in particular. This activity, in the post-war period and up to the end of the '80s, had been shared with other Army Branches, also because there were no operational engagements that would have posed the problem of conforming to the doctrine.

At the beginning, the training effort was mostly addressed to study the mines of the former Warsaw Pact, which were massively laid in the intervention areas, adopting the mine-clearing method that had been applied in Italy immediately after the war by the Mine-Clearing Companies. Besides, it was necessary to im-

Clearing a minefield.

prove the knowledge of devices other than mines (bombs, projectiles), which since the end of the war had been dealt with by the specialized personnel incorporated at first within the Artillery Directorates and later in the Supply and Maintenance Centres (CERIMANT) of the Military Region Commands.

The courses were very successful since the quality of the technical teaching was coupled with the possibility of learning the English language, which was indispensable for the employment abroad and for NATO interoperability.

The more and more frequent participation in PSOs (Somalia, Mozambique, the former Yugoslavia) improved the skill of the engineers in clearing any kind of device and encouraged a growing number of Engineer Officers and NCOs to become specialists in that particular sector. Programmes were continuously updated according to the experience gained in those missions.



Left.

A sapper probing the ground in search of mines while clearing a minefield in Bosnia.

Right.

A mine-recognition lesson in Afghanistan.

The anti-sabotage training is another interesting point in the evolution of the whole matter. As a matter of fact, specific courses had already been carried out in the '60s at the Engineer School, to face the terrorist activities in Alto Adige. After an interruption of some years, they were resumed under the denomination of "Active Obstacle, Demolition and Anti-Sabotage Courses".

Similar study cycles had been held in the '60s also at Rome's Artillery Directorate and they continued after the transformation of the Directorate into 8th Supply Unit (later 8th CERIMANT), also for the Carabinieri and the Police. In 1993 the Anti-sabotage Section was included in the Transport and Materials School where, the year before, the Artillery Artificer Section of the former Armament-Specialists Centre of Piacenza (CESAE) had been transferred.

A fundamental stage in the evolution of this question was October 1, 1997, the day of the official establishment of the Ordnance-Clearing Operational Centre (COB) at the Engineer School, which was intended to become the core of the sector at Service level.

The programmes of the BOE courses were reviewed and widened. They included three different phases: languages, mine-clearing operations and anti-sabotage activities. For the first time, also the Artificer and Anti-sabotage Section of the Transport and Materials School participated in the teaching programme.

At the end of 1997 the Army was in the middle of deep and

The preparation of the personnel, the constant update of the programmes, the management of the electronic data-bank where all the information arriving at the Engineer School from the various theatres was conveyed, the relevant analysis and diffusion to the operators, could not be carried out by personnel involved in other jobs. Therefore it became necessary to have a nationwide structure which could work as a central pole for any problem connected with that particular matter.

THE ORDNANCE-CLEARING OPERATIONAL CENTRE

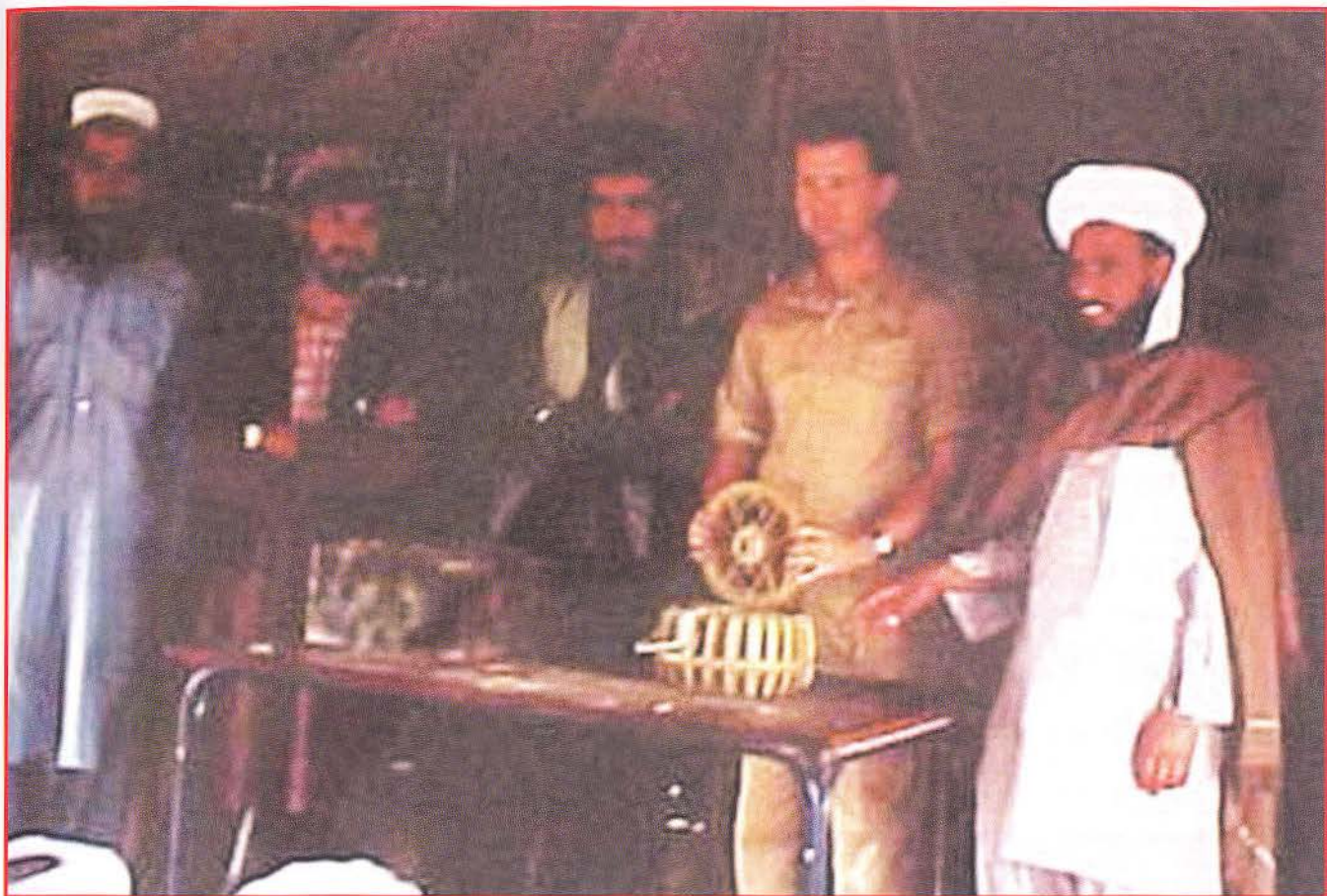
In 1996 the Engineer Inspectorate developed a project for the constitution at the Engineer School of an Ordnance-Clearing Operational Centre (COB), taking as models those existing in some NATO Countries (Canada, UK,

France), with the purpose of dealing with the entire issue of operational mine-clearing, with particular consideration for out-of-area operations.

The same year, in October, the Army Staff approved the project and authorized the establishment of the Centre, with the employment of dual-job School personnel, for an experimental phase.

At the same time a study was started for a thorough investigation of the whole issue, in order to examine the possibility of realizing, at the Engineer School, an Army Ordnance-Clearing Operational Centre, capable of becoming the training, cultural, operational and logistic pole of the whole Service.

At the same time the programmes of the BOE courses were completed with the study of anti-sabotage notions, thus raising the standards of the personnel's preparation.



substantial changes which were leading the Institution towards a professional model requiring more an more marked efficiency and operational capability.

The irreversible rationalization of the structures had already started, and led the Army Staff to study the fusion of all components of the ordnance clearing sector in a single structure.

An Army Staff directive of October 1, 1998 sanctioned the birth of the Army Ordnance-Clearing Operational Centre, with the present organization and tasks. It is an agile, efficient and modern instrument, ready to operate within NATO, in accordance with the standardization agreements signed by Italy.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE SECTOR

The establishment of the COB was the first step towards the ra-

tionalization of the sector. The second move was the issue of a new directive through which the Army Staff regulated in detail all the aspects of mine-clearing and disposal of all kinds of unexploded devices. The document (no. 596/184.420) on the "Reorganization of the sector dealing with clearing and disposal of explosive devices", issued in July 1998, fixes the guiding principles of the matter, which can be summarized in the following basic points: attribution to the Engineer Regiments of the tasks connected with the occasional clearing of the territory, concentrating in them the capability of intervening on all types of devices (in addition to the operational ordnance-clearing); centralization of training at the Engineer School; adaptation of the procedures for the occasional clearing of the territory to the 1998 directive on "Military cooperation in peacetime".

The directive is the result of a year's work and is very far-reaching. It has also the merit of summarizing the very numerous regulations issued in the last fifty years, confirming those which, albeit old, are still valid.

The transition from the old to the new organization was supposed to take place gradually, so that, on May 31, 1999 the Engineer Regiments could undertake their new tasks, even with the support of specialized personnel from the CERIMANTs.

This objective was only partially achieved despite the great efforts made, owing to the complexity of the whole matter and the scope of the measures to be adopted.

The need to attain the fixed objectives in a period of time compatible with the requirements of the Service led the Army Staff to issue further directives aimed at overcoming the difficulties experienced dur-

Fig. 2

ENGINEER REGIMENT	AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY	TWINNED CERIMANT
10 th Sapper regt - Cremona	Valle d'Aosta – Lombardy Piedmont	3 rd , Milan
2 nd Sapper regt - Trent	Trentino Alto Adige	15 th , Padua
3 rd Sapper regt - Udine	Veneto (except the provinces of Verona, Vicenza and Rovigo), Friuli Venezia Giulia	15 th , Padua
8 th Sapper bn – Legnago	Provinces of Verona, Vicenza, Rovigo, Ferrara and Ravenna	15 th , Padua
2 nd Pont regt – Piacenza	Liguria, Emilia Romagna (exc provinces of Ferrara and Ravenna), Tuscany	3 rd , Milan – 15 th , Padua 8 th Rome
6 nd Eng. regt. – Rome	Sardinia, Marche, Umbria, Latium, Abruzzi	8 th , Rome – 12 th , Cagliari
21 st Sapper regt – Caserta	Basilicata (MT), Campania, Calabria (RC, CZ)	10 th , Naples
11 th Sapper regt – Foggia	Molise, Apulia, Calabria (CS), Basilicata (PZ)	10 th , Naples
4 th Sapper regt – Palermo	Sicily	11 th , Palermo

ing the early application of the new norms.

A new directive (536/184.420) was therefore sent out by a project group, under the heading "Reorganization of the sector dealing with the clearing and disposal of explosive devices. Application directive".

The new instructions, besides confirming the validity of the structure outlined in the previous document, include some measures aimed at doing away with the difficulties found by the Engineer Regiments in the performance of the new tasks. In particular, the "Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) Platoons" are constituted, together with territorial twinships between the Regiments and the CERIMANTs for territorial clearing, confirming the availability of the COB teams in support to the Engineer Regiments in interventions on the whole national territory.

The High Engineer Command (today's Eng Bde HQ) therefore issued a new document

(02/1806/2491-28 June 2000) which contained the "Implementation directives for occasional clearings".

As a consequence, as from July 1, 2000, the appointed Engineer Regiments were officially entrusted with all the occasional disposal operations on the entire national territory (fig.2), a task they have been performing to this day.

In the future the distribution of responsibility areas will probably be updated according to the specific technical skills of the Engineer units (32nd Sapper bn, Turin; 5th Sapper Regt, Macomer).

With the addition of this new task to all the other training and operational activities in Italy and out of area, the work load of these units has remarkably increased, and they continue to operate with their usual silent diligence and flexibility.

Also the COB has had to step up its activity, due to the increased number of qualification courses given and the many advi-

sory services requested by units not yet in possession of their full operational capability.

STRUCTURE AND TASKS OF THE COB

The Centre is the operational, cultural and training pole in the field of explosives and clearing of every type of ordnance. As a matter of fact, it is the only national body authorized to grant the personnel of the four Services and of the Armed Corps (Police and Revenue Guard) the qualifications connected with that particular sector: EOR (Explosive Ordnance Reconnaissance), EOD (Explosive Ordnance Disposal), IEDD (Improvised Explosive Device Disposal) and IC (Incident Commander – the Officer responsible for the management and conduct of the clearing operation).

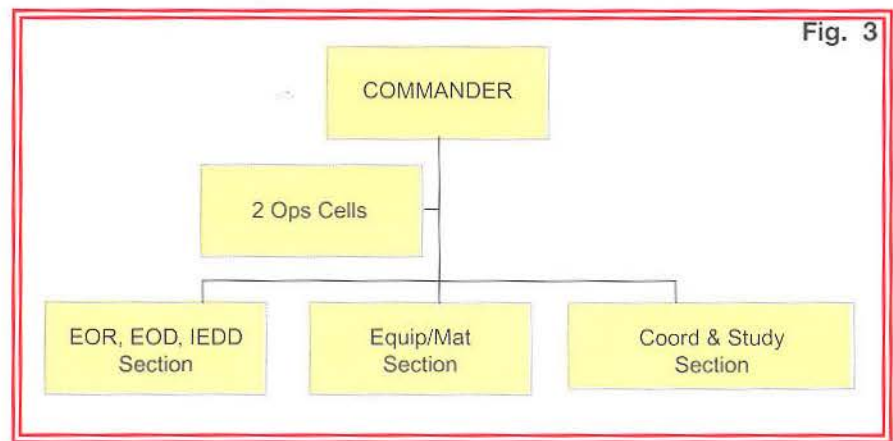
The COB's organization (fig.3) reflects its very delicate tasks which are aimed at fighting two

extremely deceitful and treacherous enemies constituted by mines and explosive devices.

The training activity is carried out through a great number of basic and specialistic/advanced courses.

The new teachings are characterized by a profusion of English acronyms, practically unknown until a few years ago, which are proof of the adaptation to the NATO norms and of the interoperability with the other Countries of the Alliance.

The basic training provided by the various courses concerns essentially EOR, EOD and IEDD activities. At the end of each course, successful students obtain a certificate attesting their proficiency at various levels of



knowledge, according to the STANAGS in force.

The EOR activity consists mostly in the search and recognition of explosive devices. This is pursued through the creation and management of an EOR organization formed by military personnel, or also civilians, depending on the circumstances, with a specific preparation. Their tasks

consist in investigating, surveying, locating, marking, identifying and reporting suspicious explosive materials, so as to define the interventions of the EOD operators, proposing, if necessary, the evacuation of the area.

The EOD activity refers to the entire operations, including detection, identification, evaluation, safety, removal and final

An anti-sabotage robot at work.



Fig. 4

NATO Specifications	License	Type of device / activity
EOR Explosive Ordnance Reconnaissance	EOR	Recognition of explosive devices. Personnel holding an EOR-instructor licence work as instructors for the recognition of "regular occasional" or improvised devices in favour of their units.
EOD Explosive Ordnance Disposal	Sapper – EOD 1 st level (*)	Clearance of regular explosive devices in use by the unit. Personnel tasked with clearing special munitions (HAWK, MLRS, SKYGUARD ASPIDE etc.) must attend specific courses.
	Chief Sapper EOD 2 nd level	Clearance of all-type explosive devices (also foreign), including war residuals, within the Country.
IEDD Improvised Explosive Device Disposal	Head Sapper IEDD	Clearance of "occasional" or improvised devices.
SUB	SUB	Underwater ops (**)
IC Incident Commander	IC	Directing tasks for the management of an EOD/IEDD operation (contacts with local Police authorities, civilian population etc.).

NOTES:

(*) must be capable of recognizing special-loading devices.

(**) to be coordinated with NAVY COMSUBIN (underwater raiders).

which the operator can intervene.

ANTISABOTAGE TRAINING

All training activities are carried out at the EOR/EOD/IEDD Section, while the other components are concerned with the Centre's more operational aspects. The Clearing Teams are tasked with the interventions on the national territory and abroad and provide, if requested, their advisory services. The Materials and Equipment Section deals not only with the management of the Centre's equipment, but also with the test of new materials and the issue of technical opinions.

Finally, the Coordination and Study Section is the motor of the whole organization; it is tasked with updating the technical records and the personnel databank, exchanging information with the international counterparts, developing EOD procedures for new munitions, studying and revising the specific publications that deal with tests of equipment and materials.

COB COURSES ORGANIZED SINCE 1998

The students who attended the courses given at the school have been numerous (fig.5) and it has also been necessary to update the qualifications of those who had been trained with the old method (artificers, chief artificers), who were serving mostly at the CERIMANTs and with the Police forces (Carabinieri, State Police, Revenue Guard): There is still a great number of requests, a sign of the recognition of the extreme care devoted by the COB to the training of the operators who are engaged everyday in these very risky activities. The Army Staff screens the applications submitted by the other Services and the Armed Corps, in order to obtain

disposal of the explosive devices. This capability is acquired through two different courses: first-level EOD (basic), which enables to intervene on devices used by the Service (hand grenades, mortar shells, artillery projectiles of various calibres, mines) and second-level EOD, which qualifies for interventions on regulation devices employed by other Services (aircraft bombs), foreign tools and war residuals, applying particular techniques that require remarkable experience. Second-level EOD courses can be attended only after having successfully passed the previous level and gained a practical experience of approximately three years in operational activities.

Finally, the IEDD activity, which covers the operations concerning the discovery, identification, evaluation, safety, removal and final disposal of any impro-

vised explosive device and gear. The IEDD capability achieved after the successful attendance of the appropriate course must be considered the most advanced level of knowledge, since it provides the skill to deal with the devices which do not result from and industrial process but are the fruits of criminal imagination and creativity. To gain access to the IEDD courses the Army personnel must possess the second-level EOD and the Carabinieri and the Armed Corps of the State must achieve the first level.

To attain a higher level, candidates must be already in possession of the preceding qualification. The table at fig.4 shows the NATO specifications, the certificate or qualification achieved (old denominations are still mentioned) and the activity that can be carried out or, to put it better, the types of devices on

Fig. 5

Type of course	Courses given Since 1998	Number of Students	Duration (wks)
EOD 1 st level	12	318 + 4 foreigners	16
Completive EOD 1 st level/2 nd level	18	541	4
EOD 2 nd level	3	40	9
IC	7	164	2
IEDD	7	96 + 3 foreigners	12
EOR instructor	7	172	4
TOTAL	54	1338	

the participation of a fair and diversified number of students, however keeping in mind the ordnance-clearing requirements of the Engineer Regiments and the out-of-area employment of the EOD platoons attached to the national contingents.

TELECOB

Purpose of the "TELECOB" project (fig.6) is to realize a constant flow of information between the Centre and the EOD operators engaged all over the world in mine-clearing and ordnance disposal activities, in order to provide the necessary information both for safety and for disposal of all types of devices.

In order to realize this service, a net has been implemented inside the COB, aimed at recording and processing all data through a communication server capable of

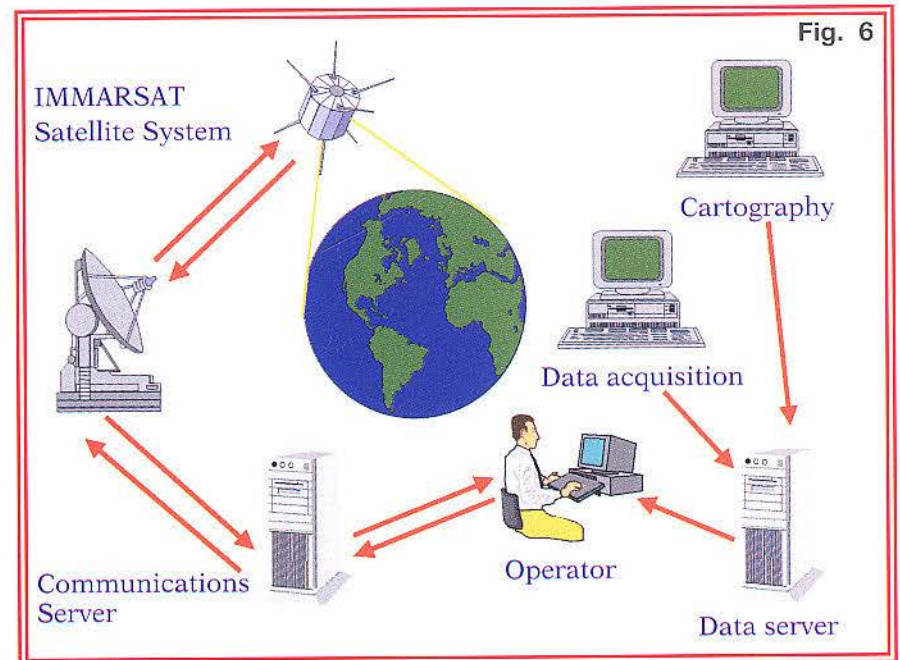


Fig. 6

managing the following types of connections: by phone with every part of the world (satellite systems); through GSM phone (where available), by the internet

ISDN (64 Kb); by Web and e-mail consultations; by videoconference (slow), on the internet and intranet; direct, for fax transmission and reception; direct data transmission, without having to pass through an internet provider, for security reasons.

After an experimental phase, the Engineer Regiments were distributed the following materials, necessary for TELECOB to operate: IMMARSAT M4 NERA WORLD COMMUNICATOR; GSM telephone; portable computer with webcam; digital camera; e-map GPS GARMIN.

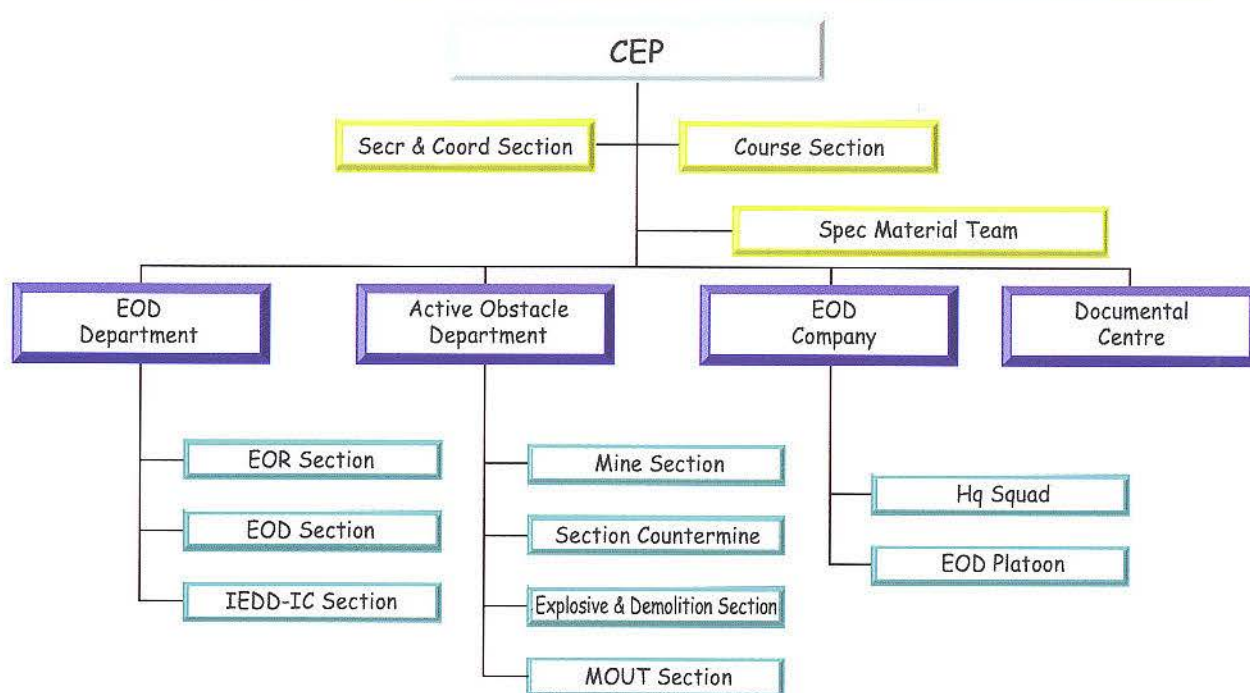
THE MEDIUM-TERM FUTURE

The evolution of the geopolitical scenario in the last years has implied inevitable consequences in the operational situations that the Service has to face, compelling the Army Staff to reassess the project of the capabilities that can be expressed by the various

Branches, and particularly by the Engineer Corps.

The document issued in June 2003, "The Engineer Component of the Capability Packages – Up-

"EXCELLENCY CENTRE" FOR POLIORCETICS (COB)



date of the Executive Project for 2003-2004" envisages within the Training/Specialization sector, and particularly for the "Combat Engineer" Activities, a further development of the capabilities of the sappers against mines, explosive traps and in EOR operations.

In view of this, therefore, a new autonomous module will be included in the sappers' special training, aimed at providing such capabilities, which will also be periodically evaluated. This module, conventionally called "MINEX", will be managed and appraised by the COB and used as a screening in the sappers' training: those who fail will be assigned another task by the Army Staff.

In this specific sector the Army firmly wants an agile instrument, employable on short notice in any operational condition. The target is not "great numbers" but rather "high quality". In order to achieve this target, the COB should be able to carry out these courses in addi-

tion to those already under way (EOD, IEDD, IC).

As a consequence of these new objectives, the Army Operational Ordnance Clearing Centre will have to acquire an expertise on the whole compartment of active obstacles, adopting the general configuration shown at fig.7.

The peculiar function of the Centre is again that of training the personnel to face the most insidious dangers existing in the operational contexts: minefields, traps, regular and improvised explosive devices. The Centre's particular capability of dealing with every type of obstacle has even suggested to change its name to "Excellence Centre". Furthermore, in order to attain a better capability of response, considering the need to train the operators of the other Services and the Police Corps, the Army Staff proposed to constitute within the COB a Joint Centre for collecting documents of special interest. The structure, once completed, will collect, keep and provide, in

a single centre, all the documents and norms necessary for the development of the EOD activities.

Finally, according to the Army's European vision of the matter, two courses in English will be available to the Armed Forces and Police Corps of other Nations. The courses will last two months and deal with the identification and disposal of explosive devices. The participation of our operators in out-of-area missions and their daily work on the national territory with very good results are witness of the reliability and quality of the Engineer School.

CONCLUSIONS

It is by now widespread knowledge that the entire clearing sector is extremely important for both population and operators. In view of this, it has become necessary to return the responsibility for all problems concerning the clearing of the territory (training, responsibilities, studies on equip-



ment, materials and implements) to the Engineer Corps. The unification of teaching methods and operational approach according to the NATO doctrine, profiting by the experience of all partners,

has proved to be the solution of the problem. In fact, starting with the first courses for Officers and NCOs sent to Pakistan in 1989, the continuous evolution of the teaching provided has led to the

Above.
First-level training of a sapper.

Left.
Second-level training.

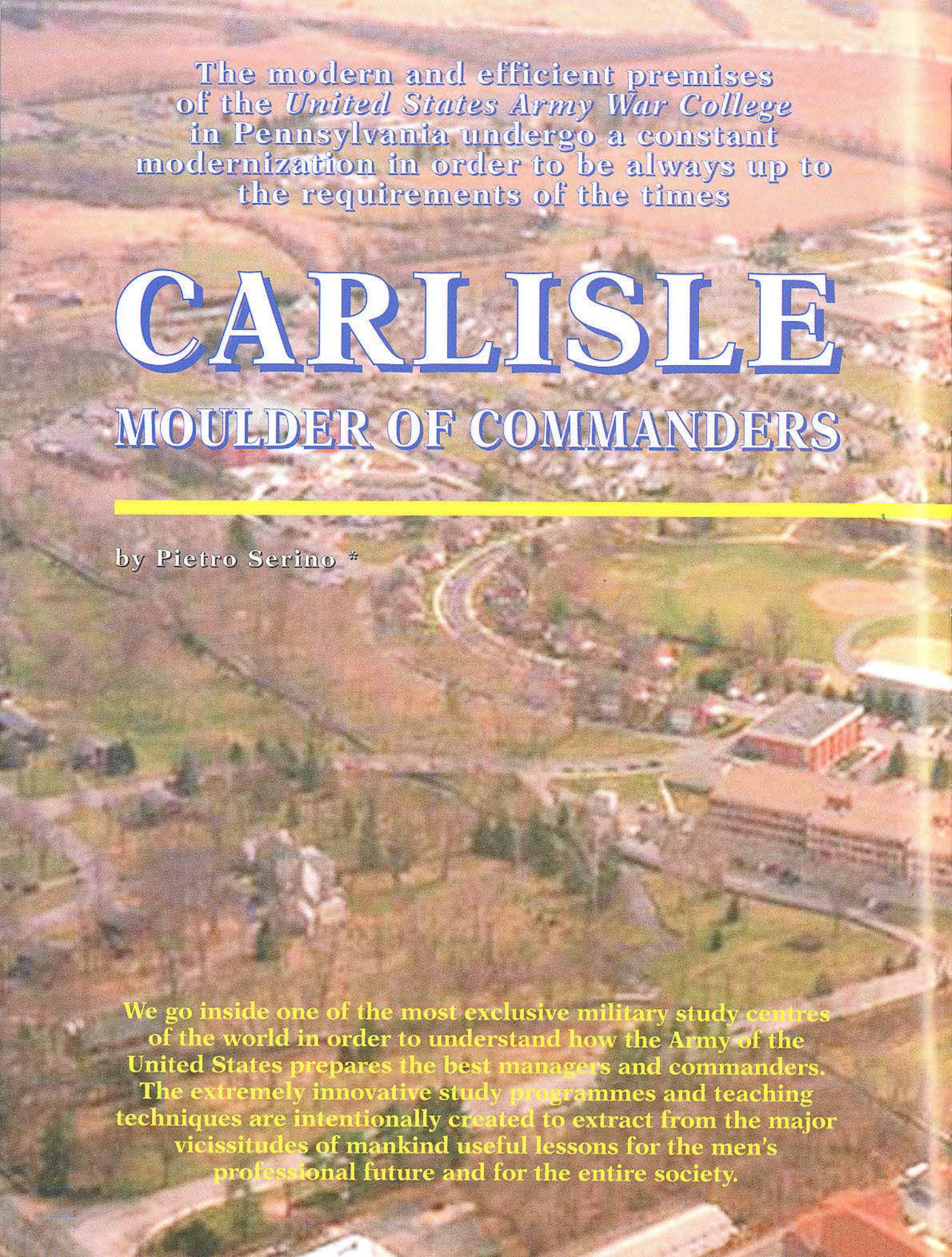


acknowledgment of the good work carried out by our operators, both at home and abroad. This is in itself a very good evidence of the good job done by the Operational Clearing Centre.

The problem of mine-clearing and ordnance disposal in general has been tackled with the right determination, but is far from solved, owing to the millions of mines scattered in many parts of the world and the great number of shells of every calibre present in the areas where conflicts of various proportions have occurred or are in progress.

□

**Brigadier General,
Commandant,
Engineer School*

An aerial photograph of Carlisle Barracks and the surrounding area. The image shows a large, multi-story building complex, likely the barracks, surrounded by green fields and some trees. The terrain is hilly, and the overall color palette is dominated by greens, browns, and the reds of the buildings.

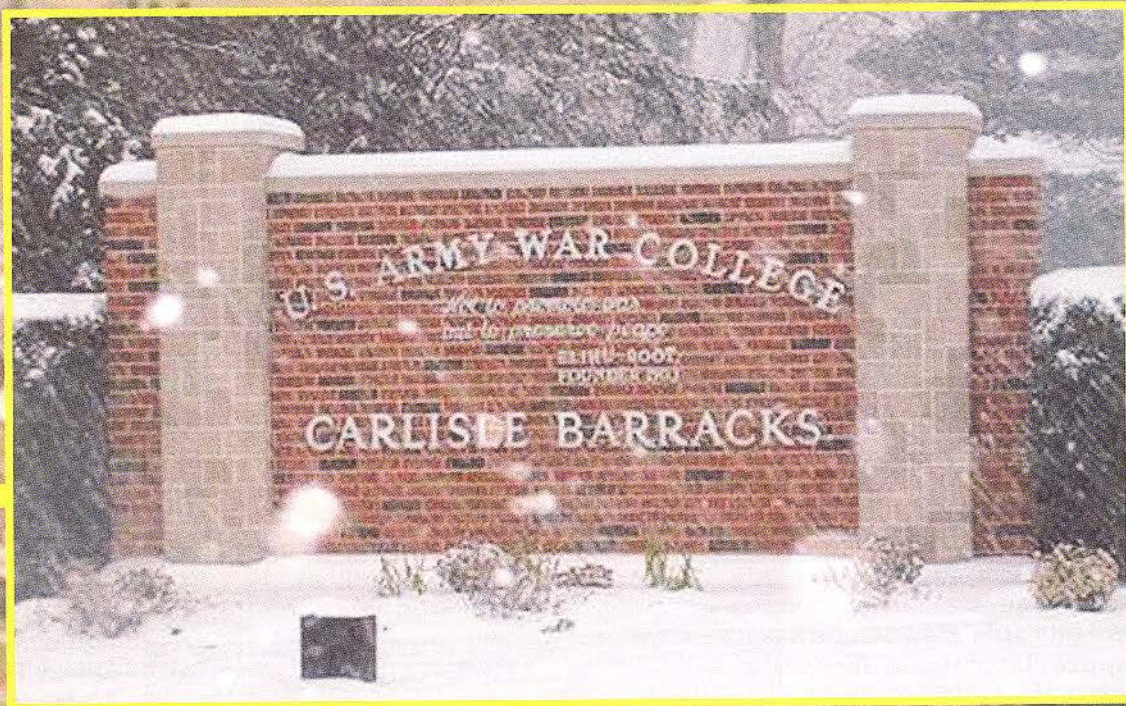
The modern and efficient premises
of the *United States Army War College*
in Pennsylvania undergo a constant
modernization in order to be always up to
the requirements of the times

CARLISLE

MOULDER OF COMMANDERS

by Pietro Serino *

We go inside one of the most exclusive military study centres of the world in order to understand how the Army of the United States prepares the best managers and commanders. The extremely innovative study programmes and teaching techniques are intentionally created to extract from the major vicissitudes of mankind useful lessons for the men's professional future and for the entire society.





Root Hall, seat of the course.

The experience of one year spent side by side with the American colleagues, engaged in a central period of their professional preparation, represents a special occasion to better understand and appreciate the differences that distinguish us from the Americans and prepares us to cooperate in order to win the terrible challenges of the 21st Century.

The United States Army War College was founded on the 27th of November 1901 and since then has been the foremost training institution for the preparation of the Officers of the U.S. Army, "not to promote war, but to preserve peace through a deep and adequate preparation, apt to ward off any aggression"

The War Secretary of the time, Elihu Root, in his inaugural speech pointed out "responsible command", "national security" and "military science" as the primary subjects of study for the participants. Today, after a century, these themes still characterize the College's pro-

grammes and organizational structure.

This continuity of the themes is combined with a continuous

opment of the U.S. military strategy in its conceptual, organizational and technical evolution. Moreover, it is possible to apply the operational art in complicated exercise scenarios and to debate on the problems deriving from continuous world-scale engagements.

Every year, about 340 Officers, Lieutenant Colonels ready for promotion or just-promoted Colonels, together with Civilian Officials, who form the resident class, gather at "Carlisle Barracks" (Pennsylvania) – home of the War College – for a period of ten months (1). A typical class consists of about 215 Army Officers – some thirty of whom belong to the National Guard and the Reserve – 25 Air Force Officers and an equal number from the Naval Forces (2), about 30 Civilian Officials, including some coming from the State and Security Departments and, finally, 42 Officers coming from as many Nations allied of the United States of America (table 1).

Within the Course's didactic organization, the international students are looked after by an official with the rank of Ambassador of the U.S. State Department.

The seminar represents the motor of the didactic activity of the Institute. Each of the twenty seminars, in which the participants are divided, includes the various military and civilian categories which constitute

the Course itself. In a seminar it is impossible to find two students with the same experiences, in order to ensure a maximum diversity of backgrounds and

NATIONALITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS ATTENDING THE 2002-2003 COURSE

ARGENTINA	MONGOLIA
AUSTRALIA	MOROCCO
BANGLADESH	NIGERIA
BRAZIL	NORWAY
CANADA	OMAN
CHILE	PAKISTAN
CROATIA	PHILIPPINES
EGYPT	QATAR
EL SALVADOR	SAUDI ARABIA
ETHIOPIA	SENEGAL
GEORGIA	SLOVAKIA
GERMANY	SOUTH KOREA
HOLLAND	SRI LANKA
HUNGARY	SWEDEN
INDIA	TAIWAN
ISRAEL	THAILAND
ITALY	TURKEY
JAPAN	UKRAINE
JORDAN	UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
KUWAIT	UNITED KINGDOM
MEXICO	VENEZUELA

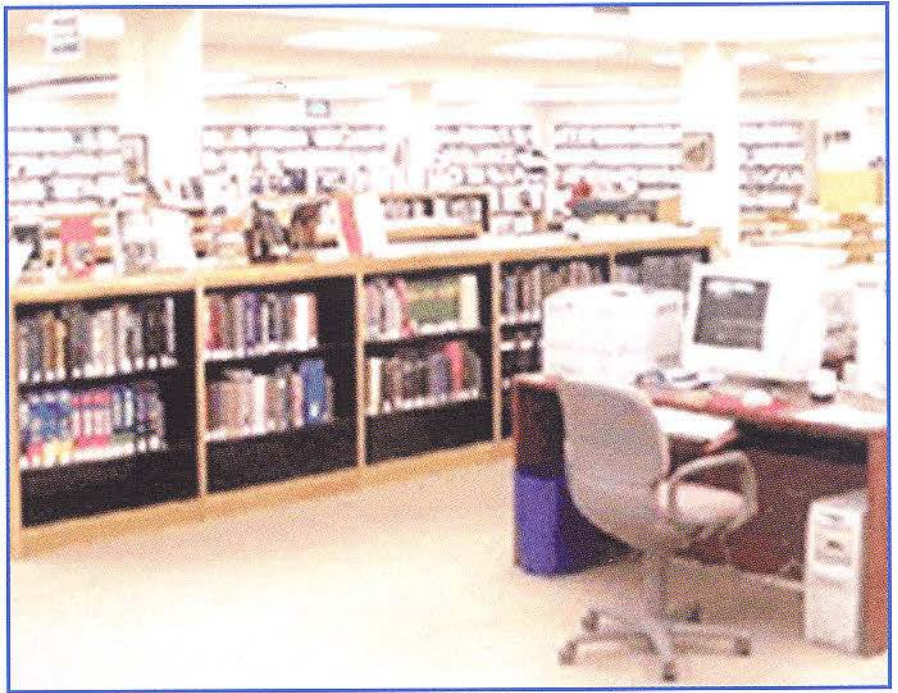
evolution of contents, learning methods and teaching aids. To be able to attend the Army War College is a unique opportunity to be acquainted with the devel-

The library of the US Army War College.

opinions. Every seminar is conducted by a team of three instructors, each of whom belonging to one of the three didactic Departments: Command, Leadership and Management Dept; National Security and Strategy Dept; Military Strategy, Plans and Operations Dept.

Each day, during the 22 weeks devoted to the basic courses – and in two further occasions – the seminar meets under the guidance of the instructor expert in the specific subject, and discusses the matter of the day. The topic is introduced with readings assigned to the students the previous days and through conferences held before the assembled students by personnel of the Armed Forces or from the civil world, as well as from students intentionally chosen for the technical aspects and for their previous professional experiences.

The "Indian Stand" gym in the Carlisle Barracks compound.



The diversity that can be found in the seminars warrants an ample debate, during which every participant brings his experience, his way of seeing and considering the specific problem.

The environment is extremely informal. Sometimes the seminars are held outside, in one of the many places within the Carlisle area, before a serving of egg and bacon and a generous cup of American coffee. Besides,

the frank expression of one's opinion is fundamental.

The instructors' role is essential in order to keep the discussion focused on the day's issue and ensure that the main concepts are acquired by the students. Also the instructors come from the most different experiences: Officers in service or who have left active duty, university Professors – often with previous teaching experiences in prestigious American



universities – and researchers in the various fields of interest to the Army War College.

The instructors are also advisers of the students, both in choosing the courses (after the basic phase) and in writing the Strategy Research, which is the main individual project that the students are called to complete during the academic year.

The course is developed through seven formative periods: the basic phase which includes four courses: Regional

concludes with application exercises.

“Course 1” (3 weeks) – run by the Command, Leadership and Management Dept – is focused on the examination of the role, skills and aptitudes that distinguish the top leadership of complex organizations such as the Army and, in particular, on the development of innovative solutions that will be presented both to the politicians and to the members of the military organization.



Strategic Assessment; Exercise on Crisis Management; Complementary Courses; Strategy Research; Complementary and Sport Activities; Seminar on National Security.

THE BASIC PHASE

The basic phase is developed during the first 6 months and gives the participants a global view of the so-called major strategy: vision and enunciation, structure, implementation and application. Each of these segments corresponds to a specific course, which includes and

A classroom seminar.

Group dynamics and interpersonal relations are also scrutinized during the course, in order to put the seminar in a position to make the best of its potentialities.

“Course 2” (8 weeks) – directed by the Department for Strategy and National Security – is centred on the study of Strategy and, in particular, on how national Strategy is formed, what are the national interests and how they interrelate, what actors are more important in the national decision-making process, what in-

struments of power are available to implement the Strategy. The essential element is finding a balance between objectives, resources available and methods of application of the latter.

Everything is achieved through the examination of historical events, regarding especially the 20th Century, but without overlooking topical events, especially if they are thought-provoking, like those occurred in the first years of the new millennium are bound to be.

Within “Course 2” there is a three-day trip to New York with visits to the United Nations, to the Missions of the States of the international students, accredited with the UN, to the public and private Agencies that have a role in shaping the U.S. strategy (cultural centres, television and papers, non-governmental organizations).

“Course 2” is certainly the one in which the contribution of the 42 international participants is most stimulated and it is not unusual to witness frank discussions on the behaviours and interests of the U.S. towards a Nation or an area of the world. All this provides the opportunity for lively and interesting discussions.

“Course 3” (4 weeks) – second course run by the Command, Leadership and Management Dept – is centred on the employment of the resources available for implementing the national strategy. It especially examines the planning process of the military instrument and the formation of the Defence budget. A specific attention is given to the development plan of the new U.S. Army, known as “Objective Force”.

“Course 4” (7 weeks) – managed by the Department for Military Strategy, Plans and Operations – concludes the basic phase. It supplies the students with the notions necessary for the application of military power

"Hupton Hall", seat of the Military History Institute.

within the national Strategy. Military operations are examined at strategic and operational level, in a joint international context, considering the manoeuvre of formations higher than a Corps (4). Specific sessions are devoted to the emergent operational capabilities – space, information, psychological and web-centric Operations – and to the organization of Command and Control in a combined and joint operational Theatre.

In the last week there is a practical exercise of application of the method for the solution of the joint operational problems, in a crisis scenario which shows the entire range of the possible military operations.

THE REGIONAL STRATEGIC ASSESSMENT

The frequenters are divided into 6 groups – the North and South America, Europe, area of the former Soviet Union, Africa, Middle East, Asia – each of which comprises the corresponding international students. The course develops through a series of presentations, held by experts from the Administration, the academic world as well as by international students, in order to define the regional problems which may concern – in terms of risks and opportunities – the national interests of the United States. In particular, how to employ the military instrument for seizing such opportunities and neutralize the risks.

At the end, the seminars of the basic phase assemble again and the experiences acquired during the various regional seminars are shared, in order to give every student the basic information on each geographic area.



PREPARING FOR CRISIS MANAGEMENT

After the regional strategic Assessment, the participants are ready to sustain the most onerous training task of the entire course. The teaching staff of the War College are involved in the two weeks of the exercise – without considering the preparatory phase – together with a considerable reinforcement of personnel coming from the Staffs and the Combat and Strategic Commands (5), up to the point of reaching a student/instructor ratio of 2:1.

The students are divided into

cells that correspond to the following levels:

- political: Council for the National Security, Council for the Energy and Economic Policies, Crisis Cabinets of the State and Defence Secretaries, Agency for National Security;
- military planning: Chiefs of Staff Committee, Defence Staff, Service Staffs;
- military operational: Combat Commands and Strategic Commands, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), UN Agency for Peace Support Operations.

The participants spend one week in one of the cells of the



A "National Security Council" meeting during a "Crisis Management" exercise.

THE COMPLEMENTARY COURSES

The basic phase does not conclude the engagement. Each frequenter must in fact select, from a list of about 80 courses offered by the Army War College (Table 2), 7 courses which he thinks interest him particularly and that he will follow in the second part of the academic year.

The objective of this phase is that of giving the opportunity of studying in detail the themes which may be useful in the future. In this selection the participants are advised and followed by their instructors.

Also in these courses the didactic method employed is the seminar, in which the frequenters are protagonists and the instructors their guides. Each student is called to present one of the subjects of the day as a base for the successive discussion and, at the end of the course, to submit a document of about 5-6 pages, which must contain elements useful for improving the doctrine of the U.S. Army.

STRATEGIC RESEARCH

As we said, strategic research represents the main individual project for the students of the Army War College. Moreover, its completion is an essential prerequisite for obtaining the "Master in Strategic Sciences", awarded at the end of the course.

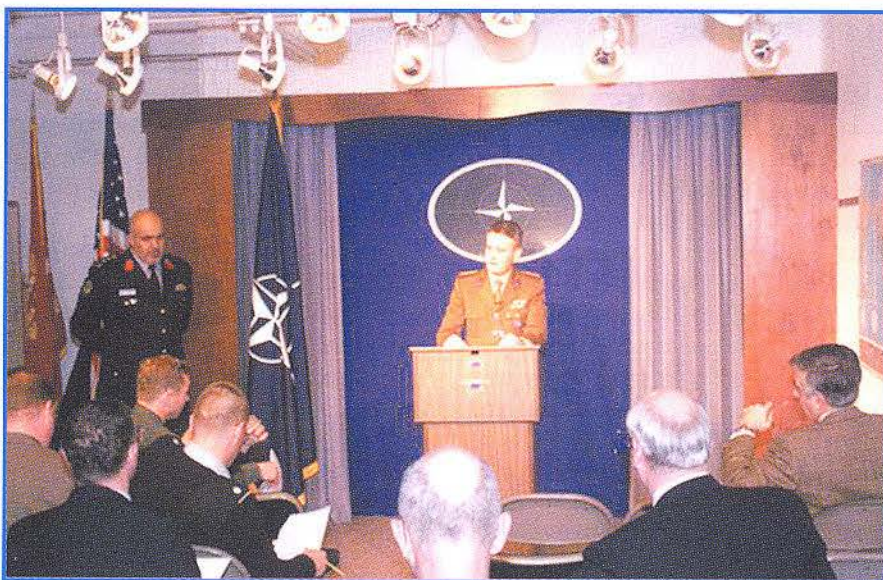
The course's objective is to stimulate the capabilities of research, analysis and synthesis through the preparation of a the-

first two levels and the other at the operational military level. The crises proposed vary from humanitarian emergency to the so-called Major War Theatre - i.e. Iraq - going through post-conflict stabilization and defence against terrorist risk. Every scenario is played in a multinational, joint and inter-agency environment.

For 10 consecutive hours each day, for 10 days, the students undergo intense didactic activities which, besides the operational situations, reproduce also the relations with the political world (testimonies before the Senate and Congress Defence Committees), the media (interviews and

press conferences) and with the international actors (international meetings for forming coalitions or post-conflict conferences), the latter again with the contribution of the international participants.

In formative terms, a press conference, where you are in the spotlight and bombarded by the questions of journalists who know their job well, is a unique experience. As it is to expound in a video-conference to the real Commander of a Combat Command - a four star General - the line of action found to solve a crisis simulated in the real area attributed to him.



Simulation of a Press Conference during a "Crisis Management" exercise.

Table 2**LIST OF PHASE-TWO COURSES****Department for Command, Leadership and Management**

Industrial preparation – Human relations – Basic elements on research, development and acquisition – Financial planning and programming – Joint processes – The Medical Service as power multiplier – Military support to civilian Authorities – Strategic planning – Strategic environment – Religions in the world – The creative thought – Media relations – Use of human resources – Health and physical efficiency in the future military operations – Personnel employment – Mobilization and operational readiness – Organizational evolution – The critical thought – Classics of military strategy: the Peloponnesian War – Readings on strategic leadership.

Department for National Security and Strategy

Wars in the ancient world – WWII: from Normandy to the Ardennes – The human dimension of war – Innovation and military transformation – Intelligence at strategic level – Laws and Leadership – The economic aspect of National Security – International politics and the media – Elements of national power – Armaments control in the Middle East – War with other means: terrorism and political violence – Interagency relations in peace and war – Relations between civilian and military leadership – Problems of Latin America – Negotiations – China – Security in the Balkans – The Congress and military policy – Military operations in the “failed States” – Contemporary problems.

Department for Strategy, Plans and Operations

Critical analysis of the doctrine – Operations at JFLCC-level – Planning at operational-theatre level – Determination of the centre of gravity – A major war-theatre: the Korean peninsula – The expeditionary war – Partners of the Army: Air Force, Navy and Marines – Joint operations – Air power in modern war – Computerized force – Special operations – Doctrine of “Information Operations” – Wars of the future – Air operations and JFACC – Strategy at operational-theatre level

Centre for Leadership Development

Information war: political considerations – Implications of the “information crime” on national security – Joint “War Gaming” – Problems of Peace Support Operations – Planning in Crisis Management – Weapons of Mass Destruction – Management of information – Leadership support systems – Logistic problems of the 21st Century – Environmental security – The Army’s industrial component – Operational simulation in the Defence Department – The Just War – Strategic planning – Operations in urban environments – Supports to operational planning – Crisis management through the employment of military options – The “C2 Warfare” Doctrine – Military applications of Artificial Intelligence – Use of the post-operations analysis.

Institute for Strategic Studies

Army Transformation – Main problems of the Army.

sis – of no less than 6000 words – on a subject of significant importance for the national security, the Army or any other Armed Force. The subjects chosen – each student is free to select his own theme – are approved at the beginning of November, while the final product must be handed in within the first decade of April. In drawing up their project, the students are advised by an instructor and can avail themselves of the two libraries of the Carlisle Barracks.

The first library, particularly useful for historical research, belongs to the Institute of Military History of the U.S. Army, which shares its quarters with the War College. It is an extraordinary documental source, with 300,000 books and as many doctrinal and technical handbooks, 7 millions official documents and over one million photographs, that range from the Civil War to the present.

The second library is the Army War College’s. It is open twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, and offers the students a collection of 360,000 books and 1,100 periodicals, together with about 90 posts for research and consultation with unlimited access to the internet. From Monday to Friday, during the working hours, there is a staff of 10 assistants ready to help the students in their research. The quality of the assistance is of the highest level, owing to the experience built up along the years and the continuous relation with the instructors and the educational departments.

Once the researches are completed and supplemented with an accurate bibliography, they are kept in the War College Library and can be consulted by whomever may need them (6). This is why the formal aspect is taken care of as much as the contents. The researches deemed of greater interest are sent on to the competent boards of the Defence Administration and subsequently published on military periodicals.

COMPLEMENTARY AND SPORTS ACTIVITIES

Study and research are integrated with complementary and sports activities. As regards the latter, the College's facilities are first class: three gyms, football, baseball and tennis fields. The sports activities start with the softball tournament (7), in which all seminars must participate, and end with the "Jim Thorpe Days" (8): a three-day sports event which, once a year, assembles at Carlisle the teams of the various Military Colleges (9). In between there is a sequence of minor tournaments and a classic rendezvous: the soccer match between the international participants and the U.S. students (the Cup is traditionally an appanage of the former).

Among the complementary activities I would like to point out the "Commander's Conferences" (compulsory) and the "Programme for the families of the military" (optional, intended for wives and husbands of the students).

The former regard a series of conferences and meetings on Army topics and are attended by the Commander and by the representatives of the various trends concerning the specific matter. Just to mention some of the themes discussed during the academic year 2002-03: advisability of the armed intervention in Iraq, discriminatory policies towards homosexuals, how to turn to better account the racial and sexual minorities within the Armed Forces, the balance between security needs and limitation of the citizens' rights.

The "Programme for the families" proves the Army's concern for the families of its personnel, which extends much beyond the logistic support ensured within the bases. Such programme, through a series of specific seminars, aims at preparing the wives (and husbands) of the military to give them the necessary support



through the knowledge of the dynamics typical of the Armed Forces and the development of command capabilities in formal and informal situations.

THE SEMINAR ON NATIONAL SECURITY

The last appointment of the year is the Seminar on National Security (the one held in the academic year 2002-2003 was the 49th).

It is a kind of final test for the frequenters, who have the opportunity to take advantage of what they have learnt, discussing about national security with persons belonging to civil society and with representatives of the most different professions and social groups. It is also the last occasion on which the original seminars reassemble.

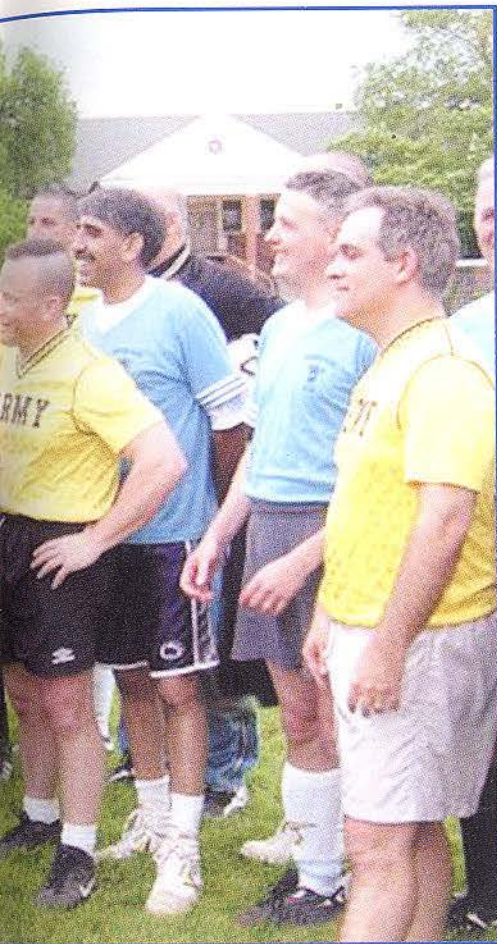
The Seminar on National Security

gathers at Carlisle Barracks, with students and instructors, no less than 150 American citizens wishing to discuss problems concerning the security of the United States with the military. The only requisites are: not to be, or have been, in the military and not having participated in previous editions of the Seminar.

It is an excellent opportunity for the military and civilian worlds to meet and strengthen the already firm bonds between these two elements of the American society. The problems that have already been examined during the year are discussed and analysed again, taking advantage of new and different professional and life experiences.

CONCLUSIONS

The first aspect of the War College that calls one's attention



The Commandant of the US Army War College awards a prize to the Brazilian "Captain" of the winning team of the "Internationals-U.S. Army" soccer match.

even minimally, influence the development of the course. On the contrary, every day, during the Exercise on Crisis Management, the Commanding General of the Coalition Forces in the Persian Gulf spoke, via videoconference, with the students who operated in the corresponding cell, exchanging views and giving opinions. In short, there is a feeling that the Army of the United States invests a great deal of resources on the students of the Army War College, who have achieved this stage of their career after a very hard selection.

Also the deep involvement of the families is part of this picture. The serenity and participation of the families in the professional life of the Officers are considered necessary in order to raise their performance to the highest level. Programmes conceived for wives and children, their very participation in the fundamental moments of the course, including the typically military ones, their possibility of having free access to all structures, even the didactic ones, are still far from being a reality in many other Armies.

Another evident characteristic is the search for elements of professional growth in the examination of historical events in which the U.S. Army has been involved. The validity of the principles of the operational art is always sought through the historical analysis. It is practically impossible to attend the Army War College without at least once coming across a practical exercise that recreates an episode of the Civil War or WW2.

Finally, the possibility of observing the world events from an unusual perspective for a

European leads to appreciate how important in the formulation of an opinion is the position of the observer vis-à-vis the event. The War College, through a wise use of the international participants and of appropriately chosen lecturers, strives to make this understood to those that are going to be the future Commanders.

□

**Colonel,
Commander,
1st Signal Regiment*

NOTES

(1) The Army War College provides also a correspondence course, mainly for National Guard and Reserve Officers. The courses last two years, with two "residential" phases of two weeks each.

(2) Navy, Marines and Coast Guard.

(3) The State Department corresponds to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

(4) Tactical-level operations – Brigade, Division and Corps are studied at the Command and General Staff College.

(5) The Combat Commands are: CENTCOM (Middle East and Horn of Africa), EUCOM (Europe, Africa and the former USSR), PACOM (Asia and Oceania), SOUTHCOM (Central and South America), NORTHCOM (North America and Mexico). The Strategic Commands of operational interest are: STRATCOM (Nuclear Strategic Forces), OCOM (Special Forces) and TRASCOM (Strategic Transport).

(6) The individual Strategic Researches can be seen on the internet: http://www.arlisle.army.mil/srp/external/external_pdf_search.cfm.

(7) Softball is a variation of baseball which reduces the possibility of physical contact in the dynamic phases of the game, thus reducing accidents in general.

(8) Jim Thorpe, an American Indian who attended the Indian School at Carlisle Barracks, has been an exceptional athlete (Olympic Gold Medal) and coach.

(9) Besides the Army War College, there are: the Naval War College, the Air War College and the National Defence University, which has a more combined connotation.

is the continuous search of diversity in tackling the themes of the course, which goes together with a disarming simplicity in examining the operations conducted by the U.S. Army, without excluding critical aspects or shortcomings in the doctrine or in the action of the line of Command. In short, there is a wish to give the students the possibility to make a limitless analysis of the strategy of the Government and of the Army of the United States, through the exchange of views with colleagues, allies, instructors and representatives of the civil society as well as with the very protagonists of the events, even the most recent ones.

The second aspect is the evident priority given to the students' preparation, which is really above any other requirement. As we have already pointed out, even the Iraqi campaign did not,

Appeal and usefulness have always accompanied the uniforms of all the soldiers in the world

THE EVERLASTING GLAMOUR OF THE UNIFORM

by Giuliano Ferrari *

In the past, style, colours and accessories were designed to make the soldier recognized and to intimidate in battle, as well as to give visibility to the legitimate fighters

What at first sight could seem a simple accessory has an explanation in its atavic usefulness for the fighters. This goes from protection to enhancement of the combatant's figure, from the acknowledgement of his valorous deeds to his social gratification. Some of these details, despite having lost their original function, remain nevertheless as evolutionary relics which, although no more used, are still bearers of ethical meanings which ought to be known and which have been taken into account in designing the women-soldiers' outfits.







ETHOLOGY OF SOLDIERLINESS

The military have always distinguished themselves for their uniform (with its accessories: hat, epaulets, belt, collar, badges, decorations), weapons, clear and strictly defined hierarchization, "martial" bearing (loud voice, quick movements, upright stance, parades), reciprocal salute, care of personal cleanliness and appearance. Usually the transformations of some of these aspects in time are examined as historical-cultural events, produced by functional needs and voluntary/rational interventions made by man or by social systems.

As we are going to see, one can make an analysis – for example, in this case, of the evolution of uniforms – adopting the canons of comparative ethology and analyzing it as a succession of changes not always planned but subject to selection. Changes similar to the phylogenetic ones which have produced the differentiation of the animal species (1).

Having briefly recalled the uniform's functions and the transformation of its style according to the war conditions, due to requirements of visibility in the ancient times and of camouflage in the more recent period, we are therefore going to analyze – from a "naturalistic" viewpoint – in

particular the effects of the function of "deterrent imposition" against the adversary, which was extremely important, at least until the fight required a close contact of the forces. This was a requirement that went together with the search of a visual impact which was to rouse prestige and respect among public opinion.

Finally, in view of this latter aspect, we wish to point out the reasons why the uniform has always enticed the fair sex and the difficulties met in adapting it to the feminine component of the Armed Forces and the Police.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE UNIFORM

Besides the obvious requisites of operativeness, which are aimed at functionality (protection from bad weather, transport of weapons and equipment) which have evolved together with technology and combat techniques, cost-effectiveness of mass-produced garments and accessories, the uniforms show some characteristics that have other purposes and which are common to the armies of the whole world.

The first characteristic was certainly that of permitting to tell friends from enemies and to distinguish the military from the civilians, which was necessary in order to mark out the legitimate combatant (who therefore is entitled to the protection of international conventions concerning armed conflicts) and avoid mistaking him for a criminal, a spy or a terrorist (2).

Moreover, within a single Army, they have the function of differentiating the various military "bodies" (Branches, Specialities, Corps, Categories).

Initially, and for the more modest armies, the uniform's role was performed by simply having men wear a coloured band on the arm or on the body (of which, in case

of conflict, the fighters got rid promptly in order not to be recognized by the enemy and to take refuge in the anonymity of the "shirkers").

As the commanders conducted the battle "on sight", visibility and recognizability from afar of one's own troops were then essential, so as to be able to easily follow the course of the battle. The English politician and economist Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) maintained that the best colour for uniforms was bronzed-red, for it stood out better on the green of the battlefields (considering that in those times one avoided to fight in winter and on impracticable rocky ground).

Today, the needs of concealment and camouflage within the background, which emerged at the beginning of the past century with the introduction of precision weapons, have forced the armies of almost the whole world to adopt a blend of various shades of grey-green-brown (3) and patterns that break the form, apart from some outfits suited for special snowy or desert environments.

For today's Armies the need for these special uniforms, fashioned with styles and colours suited to the environment in which they operate, occurs only in combat occasions.

On the other hand, colours and patterns, studied to blend with the surrounding landscape, are not considered suitable for the dress uniform used in garrison, with the exception of some Countries which live in an almost perennial state of war. Most other Nations often keep the heritage of the world wars and therefore their uniforms remain bound to the colours that in those times were considered good for camouflage (khaki, blue-grey).

The Navies have always had different requirements: ships fight at a distance, crews need no camouflage. Combat and garrison dress can coincide and as

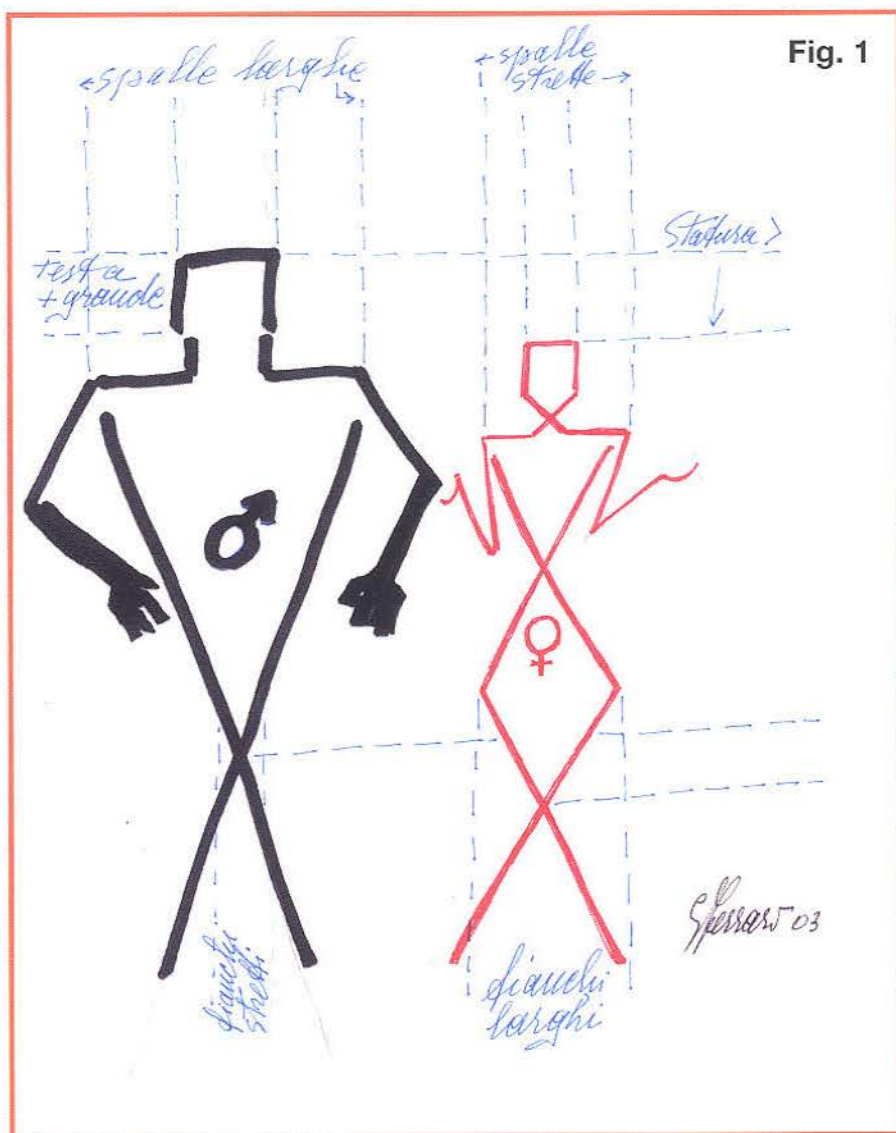


Fig. 1

they must be easily and often washed, they are mostly white. Formal uniforms, especially for Officers, follow the same requirements of prestige and stateliness common to the other Services: e.g. the cocked hats of the Admirals of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries and their magnificently ornamented uniforms, as much and even more splendid than those worn by the highest Officers of the land forces.

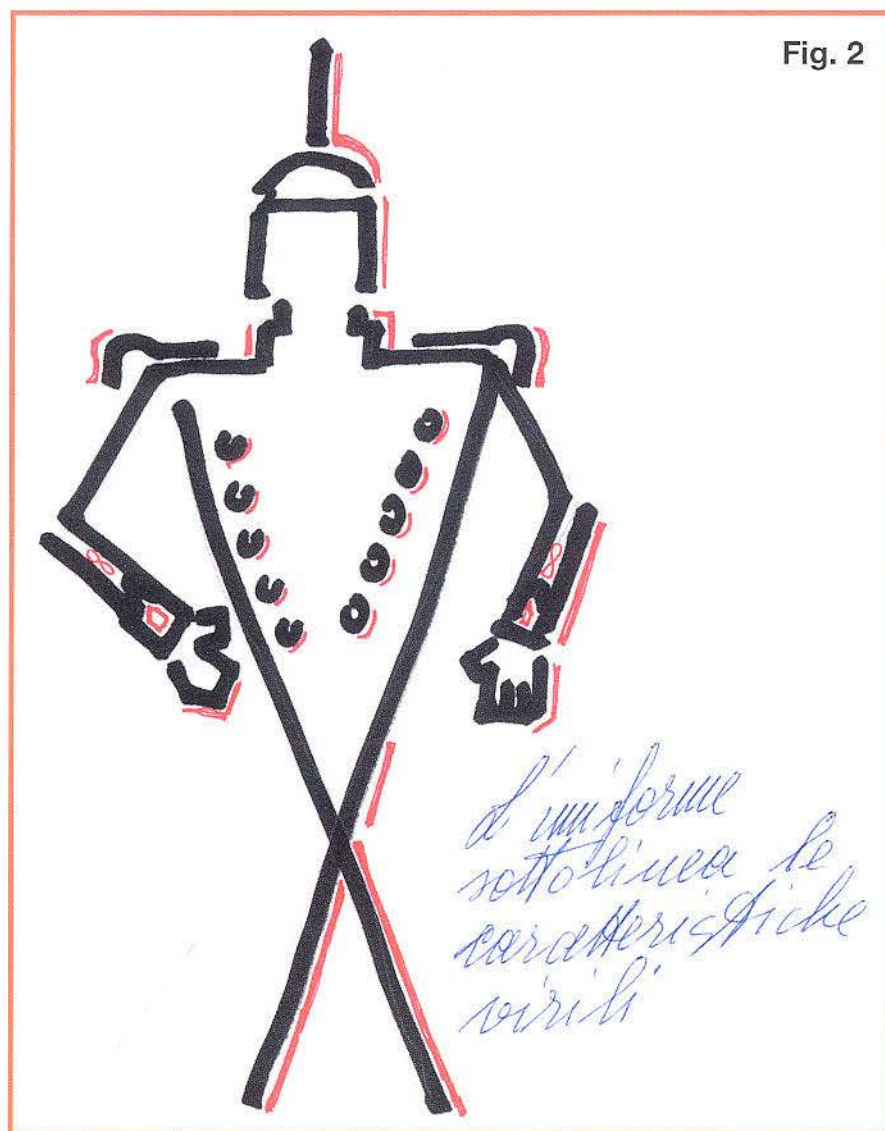
The Air Force, like the Navy, has no physical contact with the enemy during combat. But, having been created in modern times, practically in every Country has adopted uniforms similar to those of the other Armed

Forces of the period, but choosing a grey-blue or azure colour because, besides recalling the sky, with its cool colours launches a message of technological efficiency.

DETERRENT STATELINESS

The function of stateliness of the uniform consists in its visual emphasis on the warlike attitudes, and therefore the operational capability, of the person who wears it, with the purpose of intimidating the adversary through its display. Normally, therefore, its style aims at making the figure taller and more athletic.

Fig. 2



Accidentally, but not so much, as we are going to see, the features that are stressed in order to obtain this result are actually those which differentiate male and female of the human species.

Indeed the body's height, the size of skull and neck, the shoulders' breadth, the chest's size and the power of the breast muscles and arms, the relative narrowness of the pelvis and the legs' length, together with the bigger size of wrists and forearms, are traits associated with physical power which, even seen from afar, distinguish the figure of a man from that of a woman. A woman's average height is in fact lower, her head is smaller, the neck thinner, the shoulders nar-

rower; she tends to keep her elbows close to the body, thus making the figure slimmer; her waist is slender, her hips wide and the legs are usually shorter than a man's (fig.1).

In substance, the characteristics which make a soldier's aspect frightening are also the qualities that identify the male's force and virility. Thus they make him instinctively attractive to females, who see in him a prospective father, capable of transmitting an unimpaired genetic patrimony, and a reliable guardian for them and their offspring. This means that the common beliefs concerning the appeal of the uniform is certainly not an unfounded tale, for it is based on hyper-signals

which affect the feminine unconscious (in many ways similar to those employed with great efficacy by the advertising techniques). These hyper-signals strengthen the functional reasons related to the guarantees of psycho-physical fitness ensured by the military selection, the social prestige of the category and the economic security provided by a stable employment. This explains why novels and films quite often entrust the role of the romantic hero to military characters.

SOLDIER IS BEAUTIFUL

Let's then see and point out how, along the times, the uniforms have worked to widen these differences between male and female (fig.2).

Let's start from the height. The military have always worn a headgear, which of course can have also practical functions, i.e. to protect the head from blows and bad weather. But its main function is to increase and underline the person's height, often with the addition of a bunch of feathers or other trimmings, because of the well-known Mueller-Lyer optical illusion.(fig 3).

The size of the neck is increased and emphasized through ruffs, collars and other ornaments.

The breadth of the shoulders and the development of the deltoids are emphasized by wadding and epaulettes often ornamented with little braids and other showy golden or silver decorations, so as to show up their width and musculature. An attractive theory likens the style of these accessories to the threatening stance that many enraged or frightened animals instinctively take in order to appear bigger and more threatening. In man this translates in the so-called reaction of horripilation, i.e. in an involuntary bristling, especially on the shoulders, with the result of

widening and raising the figure threateningly (4).

The width of the chest is often stressed by buttonholes, braids and V-shaped rows of buttons opening towards the shoulders or also with ample lapels. The chest muscles are made to stand out by the ancient armours, which often displayed an excessive rounding, or, later on, in the crossing of the shoulder straps of the ammunition pouches.

In the historical uniform of the Grenadiers, the rows of buttons are instead parallel, because in their upward trend they emphasize the stature, which is the main image-characteristic of this speciality, which is further increased by the very high bearskin.

The power of the forearm, the size of hand and wrist are underlined with ornamentations which, in order to stress the dimension of the arm, often use rank stripes, oversize cuffs, gaudy colours (set off also by the male tendency to keep the elbows at some distance from the chest, exhibiting therefore the upper and external part of the forearm) and gloves, which are often compulsory also when they are not necessary for protection against cold or abrasions.

The hips are made to appear slimmer through vertical cuts and vents in the coat or by tubular ornaments on the side pockets, to show agility and resistance. This pursuit of slenderness continues in the trousers through lateral and vertical strips of different colours, which make the leg appear longer and slimmer.

THE EVOLUTIONARY RELICS

As in modern combat is no more necessary (or at least not often) to have a face to face contact, the adversary is almost always too far to be impressed by



Fig. 3

the ostentation of physical force which, on the other hand, is not the most effective deterrent, the imposing or frightening aspect is quite pointless.

Owing to an evolutionary process similar to that which modifies the organs of the animal species according to the needs, we witness a regression of these imposing structures but, nevertheless, some real atrophic relics are often maintained as if one had forgotten to get rid of them, letting them be reabsorbed little by little, like some primordial

and no more used organs of certain animal species.

The headgear becomes then a beret or a service cap, which do not substantially heighten the stature of the wearer nor do they protect from blows or bad weather and have therefore lost their original function. At the same time one could say that there is a tendency to avoid wearing them whenever possible, or even when it should be wrong not to wear them: ignorance of their function, physical inconvenience, lack of discipline, scarce

Fig. 4



identification with one's role of image-bearer of the Armed Forces and an inclination to keep a low social profile, somehow contribute to the diffusion of this bad habit.

The collar has become a simple fold of the shirt which keeps only a semblance of what was its original function of enlarging and setting off the neck.

In underlining the breadth of the chest the V-rows of buttons in the modern coats are faintly replaced by the trend of the lapels.

Thin cloth stripes only hint at the original function of the epaulettes which for the enlisted men cannot be used as support for the rank insignia which, in any case, could be worn somewhere else.

The same could be said for many other accessories, such as the cuffs of short-sleeved shirts, real atrophic relic of the rolled up sleeve, which is only a residual hint at the arm's musculature.

The prominence of the pectoral muscles is today faintly outlined by the symmetrical pockets placed on the breast and to the

decorations and badges pinned on them.

The hips are made slimmer through the vertical and tubular ornament on the pockets, the band on the trousers tends to disappear and is replaced by the less showy ironed creases and by the side seams.

In short, today, these accessories, despite their having an air of more up-to-date functionality for the modern taste, with their modest aspect do not certainly serve for heightening the stature or making the figure more athletic by giving it more impressiveness, nor do they protect it as headpieces and shoulder plates did. They are, in this sense, typical evolutionary vestiges, no more and no less than the typical stumps of by now useless limbs of certain animals (fig.5).

Significantly, many showy "stately" structures are preserved almost unchanged also in today's armies, in full and parade uniforms, which have kept their historical aspect, keeping their clear function of intimidatory exhibition. In the light of the abovesaid

considerations, the Guards of the Republic, the Italian *Corazzieri*, are a practically perfect example.

THE DISPLAY OF ARMS

The soldier carries weapons. He carries them much more often than is necessary for the sole war purposes. The exhibition of arms is in fact another ritual aspect of the military form. It is ritual, in that it transcends the original functionality of the gesture, which is that of having the combat means to hand, and takes on a distinctive caste-value and a threatening function.

As evidence to it, one ought only to observe that there are arms that are to be employed only in ceremonies and parades (sabres, dress-swords, halberds) or even objects that simulate armament and armour. They are metal studs and buttons or elements that reproduce common components of arms or military uniforms of the past and have therefore a strong capability of recalling the martial concept.

A clear example of the magic conservatism of these symbols are the "frogs", today's par-excellence military ornament, born of the ancient use of reinforcing the uniform's buttonholes with leather or wire fabric, in order to prolong their duration.

The change of the people's sentiment and the coming on of pacifist values have led to reduce the ostentation of arms practically to nothing and, therefore, also to remove the presence of metal accessories from "garrison" uniforms. From the combat ones they had disappeared long before for camouflage reasons.

THE IRRENOUNCEABLE FEMININITY

A new problem turns up today in the application of these criteria to the structure of the uni-

form of the female personnel of the Armed Forces and the Police.

In fact we are facing a kind of contradiction in terms difficult to be solved which has defied stylists all over the world, who are called to underline the martial character and combat efficiency (traditionally associated with the masculine figure but which are also needed by women-soldiers and by Policewomen, owing to their operational role) without repressing or effacing their femininity and without diverging too much from the traditional "style" of their respective Armed Forces, retaining a clear message of belonging to them.

The main dilemmas have been: to underline the curve of hips and breasts and therefore their tranquillizing maternal-protective message, useful in many situations to the Police Forces but also to the military contingents in peace operations (relations with women and minors, negotiations); to moderate their sex-appeal, in order to avoid inciting courting behaviours that can undermine discipline and esprit de corps; or to hide it completely in order to subdue feelings of preconceived disesteem or to discourage attempts at reaction, suggested by the assumed easiness of overpowering a representative of the weaker sex.

The difficulty has been overcome (not the most serious one but also not a lesser one, although at first sight it may appear a question of trifling exteriority) in order to make fully accepted and fruitful the introduction of women in the Armed Forces, also in cultures which still have a strong male chauvinist conception and tend to reject the idea and the image of an "effeminate" soldier.



**Lieutenant General (ret.),
former Commandant
of the War College*



Fig. 5

NOTES

(1) See Otto König: "Kultur und Verhaftensforschung. Einführung in die Kulturethologie" – Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag – München.

(2) The international war law (2nd Additional Protocol to the Geneva Convention of 1949, ratified by Italy) states that legitimate combatants are not only those belonging to regular forces who operate according to their rules and respect the norms, obey a responsible leader, wear a uniform or show a fixed badge, recognizable and visible from afar, and carry their weapons openly, as set down by the Italian War Law n. 1415 of 8 July 1938), but also the members of organized armed groups, led by a responsible Com-

mand, who are able to carry out long-term military operations concentrated on a part of territory under their control, and who carry their weapons openly, at least during deployment and attack operations. Consequently they have the right to be treated as prisoners of war, while those who commit hostile acts and do not have the above requisites should be prosecuted according to the war law.

(3) For the Italian Army the choice was determined through the testing, promoted by the Italian Alpine Club, of the so-called "grey platoon" of the "Morbegno" Alpine battalion, which having proved to be the hardest to be detected, led to the adoption of the grey-green uniform for all units, from 1908 to the second World War.

Witnesses and protagonists offer a new and moving
view of the hard fight that marked the rebirth
of the Italian Army

AT MONTE LUNGO ALL STARTED ANEW

by Girolamo Garonna *



*For the first time in a regular action after the armistice
of September 8, 1943, our soldiers showed the Allies
their great valour and high spirit of sacrifice*

From 8 to 16 December 1943, with the battle of Mignano Monte Lungo, the Italian Army started the longed-for moral and material “Second Risorgimento” of the Motherland. Having gained the trust of the Anglo-Americans, our soldiers earned, on the field, both victory and the rank of cobelligerents. The sense of duty and the feelings of those young men relive today in the feats and also in the words of some protagonists.

Memory must be cultivated: not the single episode, but its significance. We must reconnect the scattered threads and penetrate inside the torn fabric of memories, face the past beyond the superimposed impressions. Only by ridding ourselves of prejudice and passion can we really understand the reasons and motivations of individual and collective behaviours. We must consider things with a clear mind, without preconceptions. Memory, therefore, as reflection of a path of sensitivity, not removal but deeper knowledge of the available and verifiable elements. In this jour-

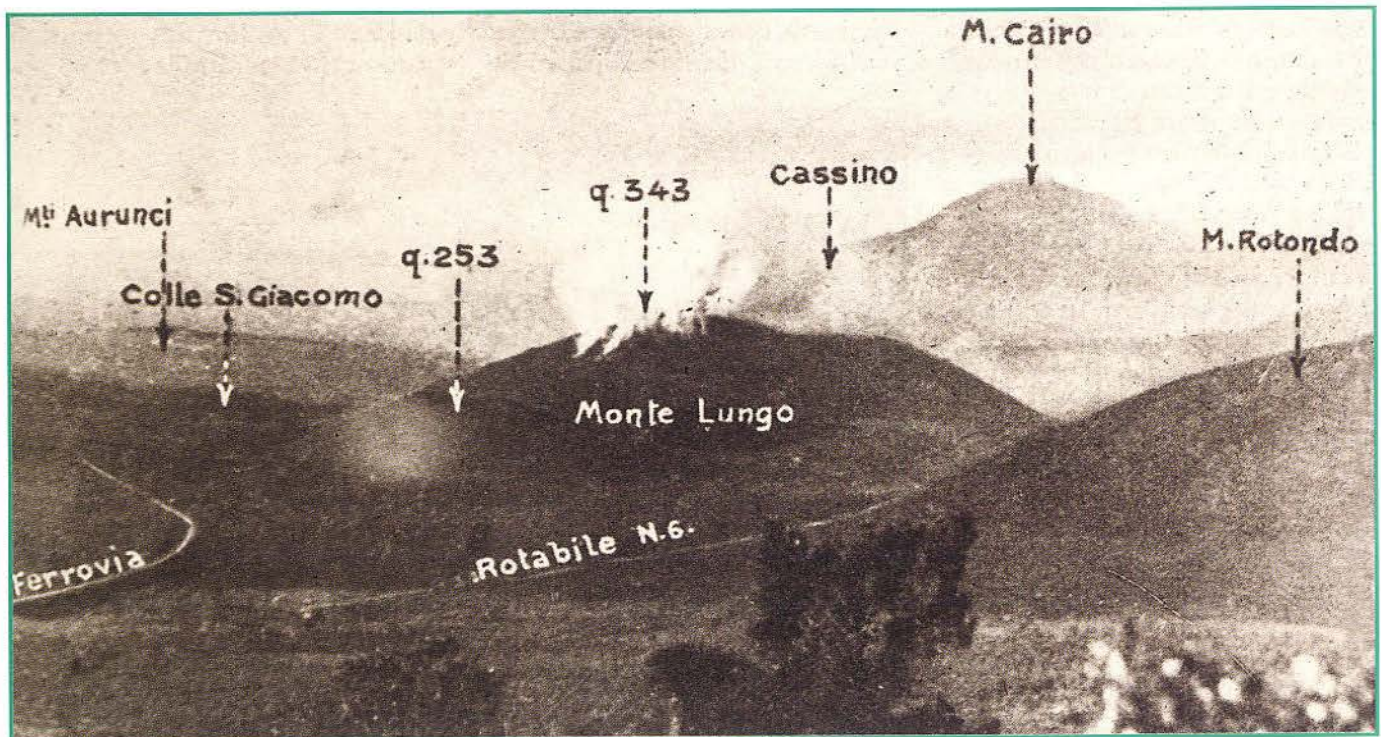
ney of the mind, the scoriae disperse and the data of reality stand firmly.

With these words, Historian Carlo Vallauri introduces his recent book “Soldiers - The Italian Armed Forces from Armistice to Liberation”. This is the historiographic method we intend to follow in our commemoration of the battle of Mignano Monte Lungo (Caserta), doing our best not to fall into hagiographic deviations or indulge in temptations of sentimental “veteranism”.

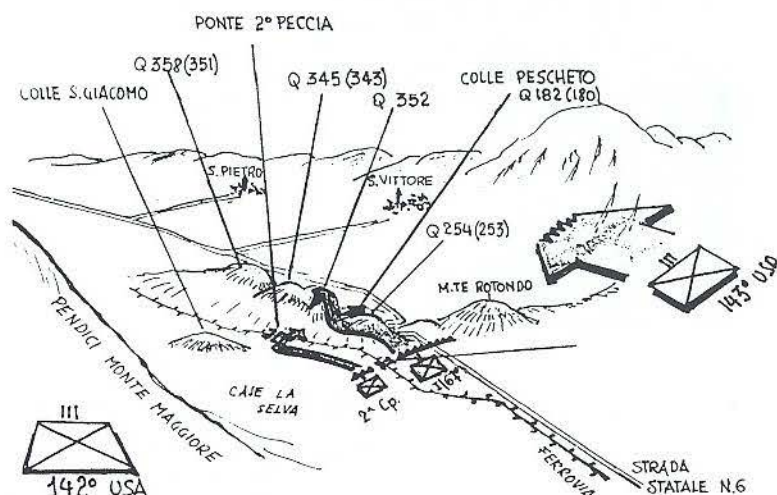
General view of the Monte Lungo area.

IT WAS AN EXHAUSTED AND DIVIDED ITALY

A short account of the politico-military situation of Italy at the moment of the action of Monte Lungo appears to be necessary, especially because today, in the light of many new indisputable cognitive elements, it is possible to question some of the “truths” accepted as such in the exclusive interest of a particular faction. The fall of Fascism and the armistice of September 8, 1943, two interconnected occurrences of the same chain of events, are the indication of a project of proud repossession of the decision-making powers indispensable for disengaging Italy from the disastrous adventure of the war. Certainly the dramatic and confused circumstances in which the armistice was declared cause uncertainty, bewilderment, disorders and disheartenments. The sudden euphoria that prevails at the end of the war is followed by the immediate and frightful awareness that Italy has become the arena of fierce fights between two opposing forces. The Germans are determined to inflict a



OPERATIONS ON DECEMBER 8, 1943



dreadful punishment to the alleged Italian treachery, while the Anglo-Americans intend to exploit the strategic and political success deriving from the shattering of the Axis.

The monstrous reality of the collapse of the Institutions suddenly looms on a disoriented and abandoned people. In that moment, on the brink of disaster, when the Country's sovereignty and independence seem lost, the first signs of the will to react to the defeat come to the surface and are expressed by a moral force, even more than by operational energy.

LONGING FOR REDEMPTION

The individual, at first, and then collective determination to revolt against violence, arrogance and outrage springs from an armistice resulted from negotiations started and conducted very inefficiently by the Italian side and badly managed and carried out by the Allies.

A premise to this was the trans-

fer of King and Government to a free part of the national territory, in order to ensure the effective exercise of the institutional powers and the correct application of the armistice. Leaving out the criticism about its execution, the transfer responds to an operational necessity, as was pointed out by Vallauri in his book. The vagueness of the orders and the lack of clear directions and operational instructions to the Italian units stationed in the Country and abroad have dreadful conse-

quences. Clara Aga Rossi, professor of history at the University of Aquila, in her book "A Nation adrift", says that during the two months after the armistice our Country lived in a condition of practical suspension of the authority of the State.

The thesis of "death of the Motherland" and the emotional reaction of "everybody home!", is limited in time, concerns only a minority and finds no convincing substantiation in the behaviour of the Nation's military and civil structures which, on the contrary, show their will and capability to fight for the dignity of the Country. The actions of Rome at Porta San Paolo, of Bari, Barletta and Taranto, just to mention a few, and the heroic sacrifice of the Divisions deployed in Cephalonia, Corfù, Dalmatia and Albania, the firm and determined intervention of the units stationed in Sardinia and Corsica, are emblematic and fundamental fragments of the truth that emerges from the sediments of history.

The logic of unconditional surrender, the misgivings about the combat capabilities of the Italian troops and their will to fight, restrain the insistent requests of the Italian authorities to participate in the operations for the lib-



December 8, 1943: the attack on Monte Lungo.

eration of their soil from the Germans. Hesitations and postponements on the one hand worsen the state of depression but, on the other, make the Italians even more determined on their intention of entering the fight. Actually, the Allied advance proceeds very slowly, both on the Tyrrhenian sector (U.S. 5th Army) and on the Adriatic side.

This is the consequence of precise operational intentions. After the armistice, the pre-eminent interest of the Allied Supreme Command is to engage the largest possible number of German units, in order to keep them away from other fronts. Furthermore the operational plans already approved envisage the employment of the Italian troops in auxiliary tasks. Very significant, in this respect, is the answer given by General Harold Rupert Alexander, Commander of the Operations in the Mediterranean, to the proposal of the Italian Supreme Command to deploy three Divisions, in order to speed up the liberation of Rome: *The plans for the Italian campaign were worked out long ago and cannot be changed.*

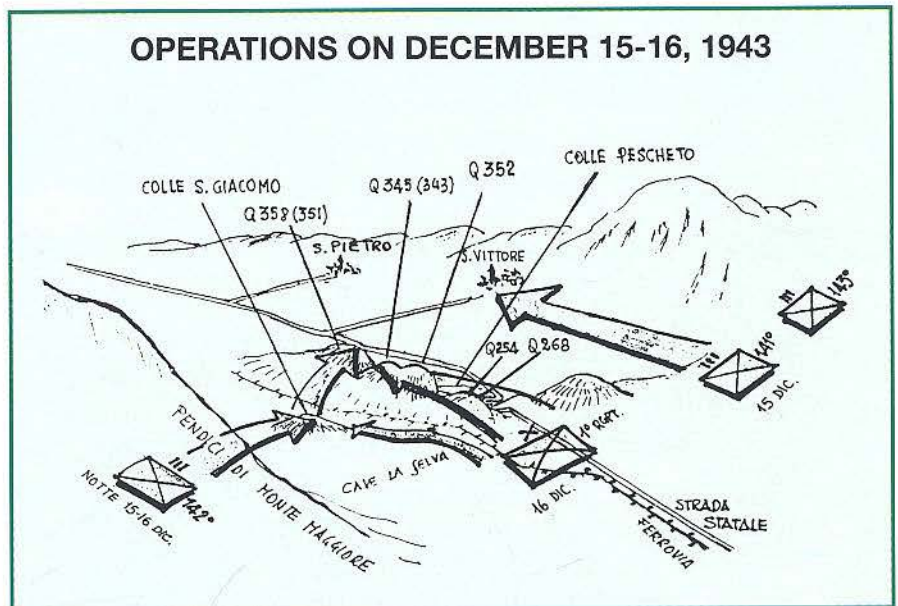
THE ITALIAN TROOPS BECOME COBELLIGERENT OF THE ALLIES

Only after the signature of the "long armistice" (September 30) and the declaration of war against Germany (October 13) is there some propensity towards the employment of Italian troops in war operations against the Germans, together with the Allies. The firm reference made by the Italian Government to the promises of Quebec – concerning the modifications of the armistice conditions depending on the Italian contribution to the German defeat – has a decisive effect. The allied powers, in fact, acknowledge that the military

events that had occurred after September 8 had made Italy a "de facto" cobelligerent. In Quebec, President Roosevelt, in a message to Churchill, declares that *the Italians will have to start from nothing to gain all.* On October 17, 1943, General Maxwell Davenport Taylor, Chief of Staff of the 82nd Airborne Division, with a message to the Italian General Staff, asks to prepare a Motorized Group of 5000 men.

Major Unit of the 5th U.S. Army commanded by General Mark Wayne Clark, is called to operate for the conquest of Mignano Monte Lungo, a defensive German bulwark on the road to Cassino.

Monte Lungo is a long, barren and rocky karstic ridge stretching out towards Cassino with successive undulations. It looks like the back of a whale semi-immersed in the middle of the valley, strad-



This is the beginning of the Italian redemption.

THE FIRST ITALIAN MOTORIZED GROUP

The Group, constituted in the area of San Pietro Vernotico (Lecce), is entrusted to General Vincenzo Dapino. It consists of units of the "Legnano" Division (essentially, the 67th Infantry Regiment), the "Mantova" and "Piceno" Divisions, the 51st Bersaglieri Cadet battalion, the 11th Artillery Regiment, an anti-tank company and a mixed company of Engineers and Services. Armament, munitions and Services will have to be taken from the available Italian resources. The Group, subordinate to the U.S. 36th "Texas" Division, a Ma-

dling the Casilina road and the railway to Rome. A nasty bottleneck, it leads to the plain of the Rapido river and to the subsequent labyrinth of mountains which makes up the Apennine scenario. Here the advance of the Allies is blocked after fording the Volturno near Capua. This operational theatre has always been considered impenetrable for military operations aimed at reaching Rome. We can remember that Hannibal, who was a skilful strategist, refrained from taking Rome in order to avoid finding himself in the deadly gorge of Mignano, where he knew that Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Roman commander, was laying in wait, ready to destroy him in that host of hills, torrents and marshy ditches. But history and the precise knowledge of the

December 8, 1943 – December 8, 2003

ON THE 60th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BATTLE OF MONTE LUNGO

The veterans' testimonies

On December 8, 1943, Federico Marzollo was a 22-year-old "Bersagliere" with the 51st Reserve Cadet battalion in charge of an antitank team. He fought at Monte Lungo and remembers those events very clearly. At 6:05 a.m., in a thick fog, overcoming the mud and perils of the treacherous Peccia torrent, he moved to the attack of the steep mountain, participating in all the painful phases of the battle. Almost all his Officers and many of his comrades fell in the rush of the first leap forward. At the end of the first day, feeling the humiliation of the return to the starting line, he was grieved and mortified, but inwardly he did not feel beaten and he showed it in the successive actions. He was also gripped by anger for having lost his weapon, made unusable by a grenade. Today he still feels intact the passion of that historical hour, and is proud of having been a member of the heroic group of brave soldiers who, with their valour and blood, sealed the redemption of the

Italian Army. The few survivors of his battalion, tied by a perennial bond, keep and live the memory of those hours, in remembrance of their fallen Comrades. When we asked Marzollo for his personal testimony, he gave us an unpublished memoir written in 1945, soon after the events. It was not written by him but by a dear friend and comrade of his, a hero of those battles, Cadet Officer Lamberto Pagni from Brescia, who also belonged to the 51st battalion. The writing – which we propose in its original text – is plain, but it has such a communicative force that, for its realism and drama, is a moving expression of gratitude to the first fallen Soldiers of the reborn Italian Army.



Cadet Officer Federico Marzollo is indicated by the arrow.

place more than 60 years ago marked the rebirth of the Italian Army. I pay homage to the memory of the comrades who, in that cold winter day, gave their life for the freedom of Italy, fighting for the first time together with the Allies. On the evening of December 6, the 51st "Bersaglieri" Cadet battalion reached the frontline, a few kilometres from Cassino, together with the Italian 1st Motorized Group.

Morale was high, the wish to get nearer to Rome was irrepressible. Besides, we felt the weight of our traditions of Bersaglieri, the responsibility of showing our cobelligerents the military essence of the Italian soldier. Our enthusiasm went sky-high when, in the night between 6 and 7 December, the first grenades started to fall around us. The night was damp, with spells of rain and the mud had already taken possession of the roads. We spent December 7 under the rain, waiting for the attack, which we felt was near. In fact, the same evening, at 11:00 p.m., the 2nd company, which had been selected for the action, received the order to move to the attack positions. We took our weapons and equipment and set off on our brief march. We went along a mule-track parallel to the Casilina road and the railway, which was interrupted by tree-trunks, knocked-down by the artillery. In the dark, above our heads, we could hear the piercing whistle of grenades. We reached a small river, probably the Peccia.

The moon reappeared in a dense mass of clouds, shedding some light on the silent shadows of the cadets wading the river on tree-trunks thrown between sandbanks. We flattened ourselves on the ground behind a small hill covered with young chestnut trees, digging some emplacements. All was silent for some hours. Our minds were tense as we waited for the order to fight. In that moment our thoughts went to our loved ones, who were far away and unaware that their sons were about to fight and many of them would die.

The dawn of December 8 was gloomier and greyer than usual when, all of a sudden, at 6:30, the Allied ar-

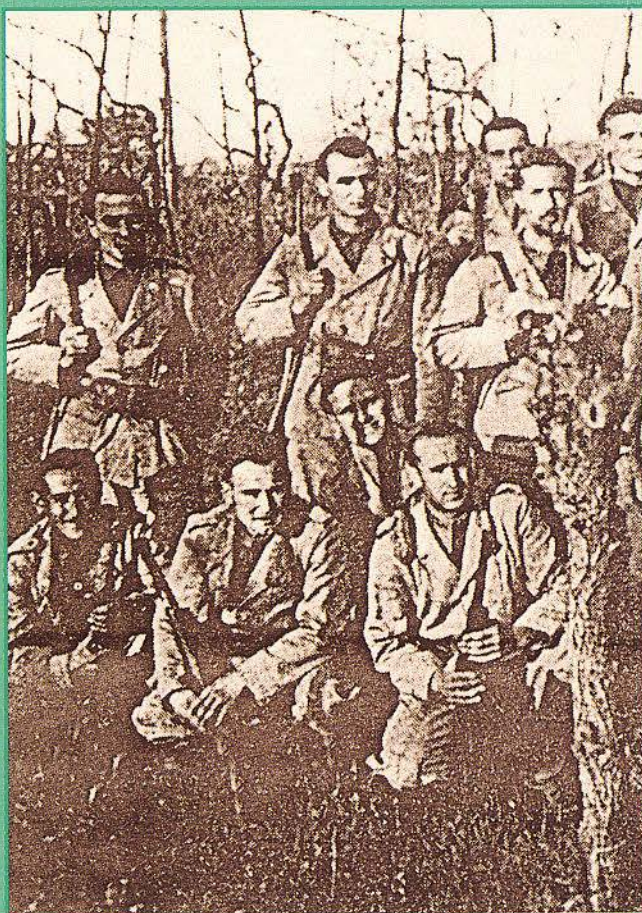
tillery started increasing its shooting, reaching an incredible intensity. The German mortars responded with heavy salvoes of bombs. The air was full of hisses and explosions. We were ready to advance and, when the order was given, we jumped out from our covers and dashed forward. All fears and worries were gone. The reconnaissance patrol reported that the ground was clear. There was a low and thick fog and a light rain made the ground very wet and muddy. The patrol confirmed its report, but as soon as the first light-machinegun left the small wood where we had spent the night, the Germans started hammering us with deadly automatic fire from their hidden emplacements, which by then had become very close.

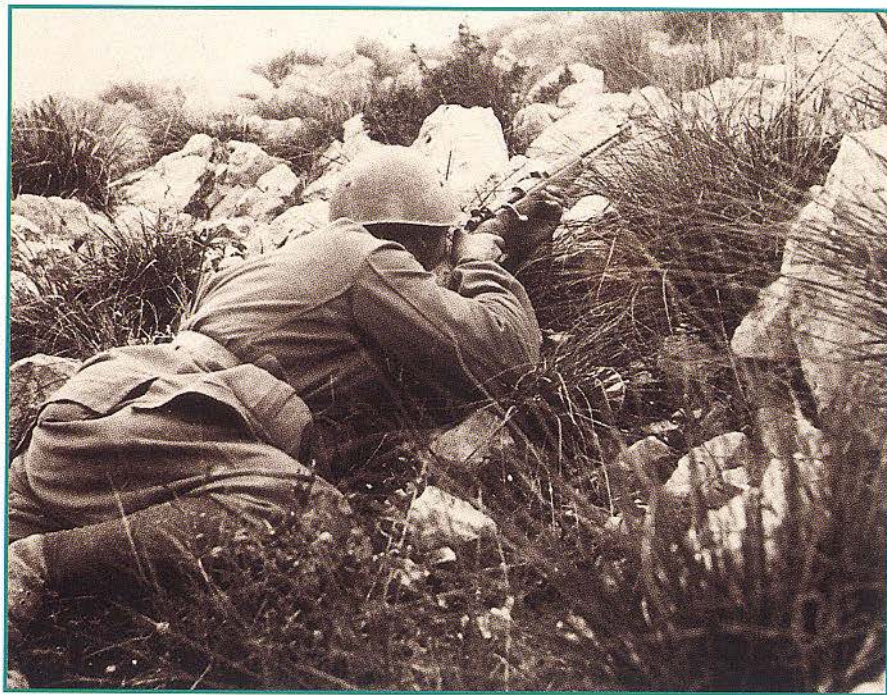
In a few minutes, 80 men were knocked out. The company had only two stretcher-bearers; nevertheless, besides the rapid drumming of the German and our own weapons, which were firing into the fog, not a lament, not a cry was heard from the wounded. They knew that otherwise they would have exposed their uninjured comrades. The fire, which at the beginning was coming only from the front, started to arrive also from the sides and from behind. The thin trunks of the young chestnuts broke into splinters as they were hit by the bursts of fire which were making an increasing number of voids in our ranks.

Buonaccorsi, my dear friend, you were one of the first to fall. Overcoming the crisis for the demise of the faith which had been your inspiration, and remembering that you had to give everything to your Country, you died as you, of your own will, were going to join your patrol. And you, dear Canali, hit at the beginning of the battle and then once more, fell with your broken weapon in your hands. I see you, young Ursino, hit in the chest by a volley of shots, and you De Marco who, struck by several bursts, went to rest just a few kilometres from your father's home. And you, cheerful Focaccia, you humorous Biancofiore, you taciturn Tagliaferro who had come as a volunteer from your faraway hometown, Padova. And I cannot forget you Luraschi and Santi, who on your own will had rushed to our unit. You generously offered your young and precious existence. And you, the wounded, who died the following night on the strip between our lines and the Germans', for we had no possibility to succour you. And you who were able to drag yourselves back and reddened our "winter" uniforms with the blood of your torn flesh. I also remember the very few who came out unscathed. You, Furlani, despite all hell breaking loose around you, busied yourself getting out your anti-tank rifle entangled in a floating tree-trunk. You, Di Giorgio, succeeded in getting back after many hours, despite the very close German fire, dragging a wounded comrade on the thorny ground. And you, Bellagamba, how many wounded men did you manage to carry back under that rain of fire while we, the last ones remained with the Captain, were striving to disengage what was left of the 2nd Company. You, Stortoni, continued firing and were the last to fall back. You Bianchi, Cagnoni, Marzollo and you, and you... All "Bersaglieri", all heroes. Some days later, on December 16, at dawn, we returned where our company had been destroyed. We were on our way back from a night attack and the occupation of Monte Lungo. Lucci and Ridolfi were the first two Cadets on Hill 343, which had cost so much blood: we were thinking that our dead companions rejoiced at our success which was due to their sacrifice. Our comrades fallen that day stayed with us during a whole winter of fighting, and also later, up to the end of the hostilities.

When we finally went home, we became messengers of death to their families. Mothers cried and wanted to kiss us, because they saw in us their fallen sons. We shall never forget you, dear brothers, and will protect you from the oblivion of the indifferent. On every anniversary of your sacrifice we shall be on the spot where, for the first time, the troops of the Italian regular Army, together with the Allies, fought against the Germans. Exactly where you were consecrated as heroes. With no hatred in our hearts for the adversaries of those days.

The second from left (crouching) is Cadet Officer Lamberto Pagni.





Attacking on the stony slopes of Monte Lungo.

ground are not the main factors of the Allied armies' operational planning; as a matter of fact they think that, with their power and abundant resources, also the unsuppressable orographic difficulties can be overcome. The task is even harder if the enemy is the powerful and well trained German Army, capable of moving skilfully on a difficult ground such as this.

and its subsequent defensive organization with security and resistance lines. The action must take place between Road 6 (Casilina) on the right and the Peccia torrent on the left, following the ridge of the mountain. The 141st and 142nd U.S. Regiments participate in the action and are tasked with protecting the flanks. If all goes well, the action must be continued. The preparation fire is entrusted to

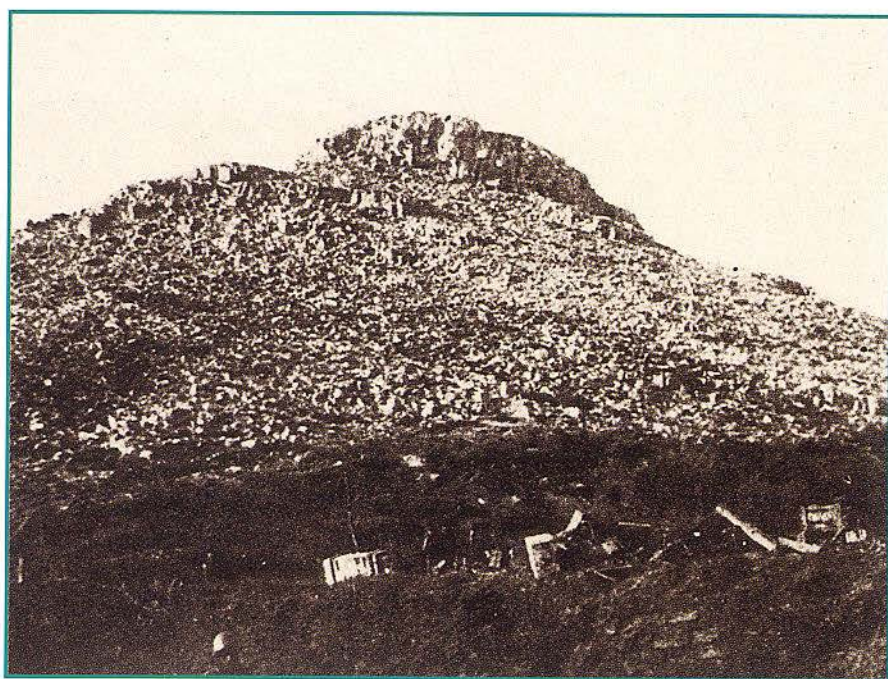
the Italian battery and, if necessary, will be supplemented by the American artillery.

There is little information on the enemy. Allegedly the high ground is occupied by the 15th armoured Grenadier Regiment and elements of the "Hermann Goering" Division. The Commander of the 36th U.S. Division, General Walton Harris Walker, is perplexed about the data in his possession regarding the real strength of the defenders and their fortifications, and on December 7 starts looking for a volunteer ready to make a reconnaissance flight over the area of the attack. The future Lieutenant of the Kingdom, Prince Humbert of Savoy, who is present and hears of the request, volunteers for the mission and, emulating the fighting will of the Italian soldiers, takes off aboard a jolting "Stork", a reconnaissance aircraft taken from the Germans and piloted by an American captain, and makes several low flights over the enemy positions, noting a strong defensive line with numerous machine-gun nests, pro-

IN ACTION AT LAST!

On receiving the order for the action at Monte Lungo, the Group moves with its vehicles to Presenzano, a little town near Mignano. A pouring and ice-cold rain and the congestion of the front compel the units to make long and useless detours. From Presenzano, at 10 p.m. of December 6, the Group reaches on foot the starting positions of the attack, which is fixed for December 8 at 6:15 a.m.

The objectives of the operation are the conquest of Monte Lungo



The starting line of the attack.

tected by sleepers taken from the railroad nearby.

In the morning of December 8, as the attack is about to start, a thick fog shrouds the battlefield

A DEMONSTRATION OF ITALIAN VALOUR

The infantrymen of the 67th Regiment and the "Bersaglieri" of the 51st battalion attack the enemy positions and rapidly reach Hill 343. All of a sudden the fog vanishes and a violent machine-gun and mortar fire breaks on the attackers, especially on those who have remained exposed.

The advance is blocked, losses are heavy. The first company loses all its Officers. The Germans counterattack the harassed units, forcing them to retreat to the starting positions. The voids are terrible, but nevertheless the enemy attack is contained. At the end of the day, the Group's losses are 47 dead, 102 wounded and 151 missing. The Allies show unanimous and comradely appreciation for the brave behaviour of the Italian troops, who also face with determination the repeated, dogged defence of the positions occupied on the slopes of Monte Lungo. A lot has been written and debated on the reasons for the failure of December 8: scarce information on the German defences, non-intervention of the American infantry units, hasty planning. But the spirit of sacrifice emerges over every problem, together with the courage and valour shown by the Italian soldiers.

General Walker, Commander of the 36th Division, writes to General Dapino: *I learnt from many sources about the splendid behaviour of your troops when they attacked Monte Lungo. Please convey to your Officers and Troops my congratulations for the enthusiasm, the spirit and the magnificent courage they have shown.*

When, on December 16, after correcting all the mistakes remarked on that unfavourable day, the same troops renew the attack with unchanged enthusiasm and courage, Monte Lungo is conquered and the Italian and American flags wave on the contested hills. The Commander of the 5th Army, General Clark, in his message to the Group, incisively underlines this aspect by saying that this action shows the determina-

Units of the 1st Motorized Group on their way to Mignano before the battle.



tion of the Italian soldiers to free their Country from the German domination. A determination that can set an example to all the oppressed peoples of Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

Monte Lungo rightly marks the beginning of the redemption of the Italian Army and of the whole Nation. The units which struggled for the rocks of that steep mountain against the occupying forces will soon become a real Army, fighting with pride, dignity and courage in order to achieve the most longed-for goal: the freedom of the Motherland.

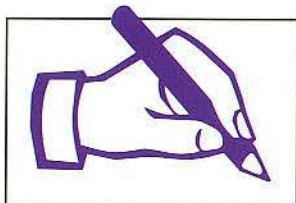
I remember with emotion the heart-rending white crosses in the small graveyard between the railroad and the slopes of Monte Lungo. At that time, the Memorial now rising among those legendary hills had not been built yet. Today the Monument invites the Italians' memory and respect for the martyrs of the new "Risorgimento", the second in our recent history. Very moving are the words carved on a large stone erected among the white crosses of the Fallen of Monte Lungo: *When for our disoriented brothers to hope was*

vain and to fight was folly we, first believers, rushed here and, undefeated, fell for you, Italy. If we loved you more than our life, oh please, together with our names, entrust the mountain of our faith, where we buried, eloquent, lie, to our brothers for ever reborn.

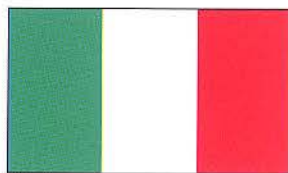
In that distant December 1943, many tears ran down the faces of the fighters, young of age but seasoned soldiers, many hearts were proud, many uniforms reappeared.

□

**Former infantry Lieutenant with the 210th Auxiliary Division at Mignano Monte Lungo and Monte Marrone*



SOMMARIO SUMMARY SOMMAIRE INHALT RESUMEN SUMARIO



La sicurezza si evolve al mutare della minaccia, di Maurizio Coccia (p. 2).

Purtroppo, le radici del male si ripropongono a ogni generazione. La minaccia è l'aspettativa di un pericolo reale e imminente, procurato da soggetti che originano atti ostili. La sicurezza è una situazione nella quale la persona vive in assenza di rischi, conducendo in tranquillità la propria vita privata e di relazione. Più che mai in prima linea, nel conseguimento degli obiettivi, gli apparati militari stanno perseguendo varie linee di tendenza: ridurre le perdite proprie e dei civili, contenere le perdite avversarie, distruggere molto poco. Anche perché i danni verrebbero pagati dal vincitore.

Verso un ulteriore ordine mondiale, di Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (p. 22).

Il mondo bipolare ha lasciato un retaggio esistente ancora oggi, che è indispensabile conoscere e capire per costruire il prossimo ordine mondiale. Le scelte

economiche e politiche degli anni 70 e 80 hanno determinato conseguenze decisive per intere aree del pianeta. Il processo di assestamento è tuttora in atto. I prossimi anni saranno determinanti per stabilire, finalmente, il nuovo equilibrio internazionale. A patto, però, che gli Stati e le Organizzazioni Internazionali si confrontino sui grandi temi delle risorse e dei diritti umani. La speranza è quella di una reale occasione di crescita per tutto il mondo, in un contesto di stabilità e di sicurezza collettiva.

LA «NATO Response Force», di Salvatore Farina (p. 32).

La nuova realtà è la NATO Response Force (Forza di Risposta della NATO), prontamente impiegabile, che va a completare le capacità di reazione dei Comandi ad Alta Prontezza (HRF HQ). In grado di operare nelle tre dimensioni, posta sotto comando congiunto, sarà a regime nel 2006 e avrà una consistenza di 20 000 militari.

Il tenace volo di «Nibbio 1», di Giorgio Battisti (38).

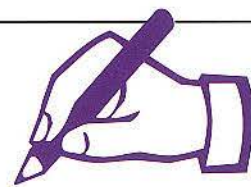
La Task Force «Nibbio 1» era basata sul 9° reggimento alpini della Brigata «Taurinense», rinforzato da personale di altre Armi e Corpi. I militari hanno prevenuto e contrastato efficacemente il terrorismo,

contribuendo in modo determinante alla ricostruzione morale, sociale e materiale di un popolo che soffriva da lungo tempo i peggiori patimenti. Vediamo come, tra disagi, rischi e sacrifici, il nostro contingente ha saputo guadagnarsi la stima e la considerazione della popolazione e degli alleati.

Genti e radici dell'Asia Centrale, di Giovanni Bucciol (p. 56).

Sono riuniti in un blocco geografico omogeneo i sette Stati che terminano con il suffisso persiano «stan», che vuol dire «terra di». Essi sono Afghanistan, Kazakistan, Kirghizistan, Pakistan, Tagikistan, Turkmenistan e Uzbekistan. Da lì passavano, fino a mezzo millennio fa, le vecchie vie della seta e delle spezie. Mercanti e popoli misteriosi percorsero le piste carovaniere che aiutarono la nascita di antiche civiltà. Eserciti del passato e condottieri famosi le batterono: da Ciro il Grande a Dario di Persia, da Alessandro Magno ad Attila, da Gengis Khan a Tamerlano. L'Asia centrale torna oggi nuovamente alla ribalta. Ma forse alla ribalta vi è sempre stata, con tutta la sua storia e le sue multiformi realtà.

Le forze terrestri a base delle operazioni di stabilizzazione



e ricostruzione,

di Giuseppe Maggi (p. 64).

Mediante un'analisi ad ampio giro d'orizzonte, esaminiamo come l'attuale configurazione dell'Esercito Italiano e le capacità operative da esso esprimibili, sono attaggiate all'evolvere dei compiti e dei rischi che è chiamato a fronteggiare nei teatri d'impiego, con particolare riferimento alle operazioni di stabilizzazione e ricostruzione. Gli approfondimenti sono supportati da un confronto con gli studi in atto presso l'Esercito americano, per ricavarne analogie, scostamenti e inediti spunti di riflessione.

Bonificare per vivere,

di Salvatore Gravante (p. 74).

Dal Secondo dopoguerra fino ai nostri giorni, la bonifica da ordigni esplosivi è stato un problema con il quale ha dovuto confrontarsi ogni società uscita da conflitti di vario genere. Ecco come i genieri dell'Esercito Italiano hanno saputo evolversi e fare scuola in Italia e nel mondo.

Carlisle fucina di Comandanti,

di Pietro Serino (p. 86).

Entriamo in uno dei più esclusivi centri di studi militari del mondo per conoscere come l'Esercito degli Stati Uniti d'America prepara i migliori dirigenti e comandanti. I programmi di studio e le

tecniche d'insegnamento, estremamente innovativi, sono creati appositamente per estrarre, dai principali fatti vissuti dal genere umano, utili ammaestramenti per il futuro professionale e per la società.

L'immortale fascino dell'uniforme,

di Giuliano Ferrari (p. 96).

Quelli che a prima vista potrebbero apparire semplici accessori hanno spiegazione in utilità ataviche per i combattenti. Essi vanno dalla protezione all'esaltazione della figura del guerriero, dal riconoscimento per le imprese di valore alla gratificazione sociale. Alcuni di questi particolari, pur avendo perso la loro funzione originaria, rimangono quasi come relitti evolutivi che, non più usati, sono portatori di significati etici che è bene conoscere e che sono stati considerati per progettare i corredi delle donne soldato.

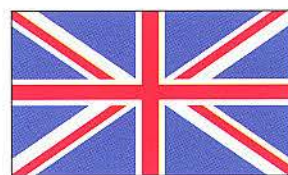
Tutto ricominciò

a Monte Lungo,

di Girolamo Garonna (p. 104).

Dall'8 al 16 dicembre 1943, con la battaglia di Mignano Monte Lungo, l'Esercito Italiano avviò l'atteso Secondo Risorgimento morale e materiale della Patria. I nostri soldati, dopo aver conquistato la fiducia degli anglo-americani, si guadagnarono sul campo la vittoria e il rango di

cobelligeranti. Il senso del dovere e i sentimenti dei giovani di allora, soldati di un'Italia in rinnovamento, rivivono oggi nei fatti e anche nelle parole di alcuni dei protagonisti.



Security Evolves with the Changing Threat,

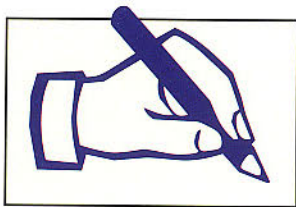
by Maurizio Coccia (p. 2).

Unfortunately, the roots of evil come up again with every generation. The threat is the expectancy of a real and imminent danger brought about by fellows who carry out hostile actions. Security is a situation in which a person lives in absence of risks, peacefully leading his private and relation life. More than ever in the front line for the achievement of the targets, the military apparatus are pursuing various trend lines: reducing both one's own and civilian casualties; shrinking enemy's losses; destroy as little as possible. Also because the damages would be paid by the winner.

Towards a New World Order, by Antonio Ciabattini

Leonardi (p. 22).

The bipolar world has left a heritage still-existing today,



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which we need to know and understand so as to be able to create a future world-order. The economical and political choices of the 70s and the 80s have determined decisive consequences for vast areas of the planet. The process of settlement is still in progress. The coming years will be of significant importance in finally establishing a new international balance, provided that the States and the International Organizations come to an agreement on the great themes of resources and human rights; hoping for a real growth opportunity for the whole world, in a framework of collective stability and security.

The «NATO Response Force», by Salvatore Farina (p. 32).

The new reality is the NATO Response Force, readily employable, which completes the reaction capacities of the High Readiness Force HQ. Capable of operating in the three dimensions and under joint command, it will be operational in 2006 and made up of 20,000 soldiers.

The Resolute Flight of «Nibbio 1»,

by Giorgio Battisti (p. 38).

The Task Force «Nibbio 1» was based on the 9th Alpini Regiment of the «Taurinense» Brigade and reinforced by personnel of other Arms and Corps. The soldiers have

effectively prevented and opposed terrorism, helping in a determining way the moral, social and material reconstruction of a people which had been deeply suffering for a long time. Let us see how, among inconveniences, risks and sacrifices, our contingent could earn the esteem and consideration by both the people and the allied armies.

Peoples and Roots of Central Asia,

by Giovanni Buccioli (p. 56).

The seven States ending with the Persian suffix «stan», meaning «the land of», are reunited in a homogeneous geographical block. They are Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Till 500 years ago, the old routes of silk and spices lay across there. Merchants and mysterious people travelled through the caravan routes which helped the birth of ancient civilizations. They were even used by the armies of the past, led by famous personages: from Cyrus the Great to Darius of Persia, from Alexander the Great to Attila, from Gengis Khan to Tamerlane. Today, Central Asia is back in the limelight. But maybe it has always been in the limelight, with all its history and multifarious realities.

The Land Forces as Foundation of Stability and Reconstruction Operations, by Giuseppe Maggi (p. 64).

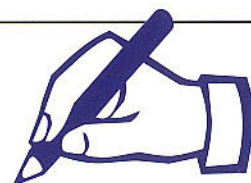
Through a wide general survey, let us examine how the present Italian Army configuration and its operational capacities are suited to the evolution of tasks and risks it is called to face up to on the employment theatres, with a special reference to stabilization and rebuilding operations. The investigation is supported by a comparison with the studies which are taking place with the U.S. Army in order to draw analogies, discrepancies and new hints for thought.

Mine-clearing to Save Lives, by Salvatore Gravante (p. 74).

Since the second post-war period, reclaiming from booby-traps has been a problem which every society has had to face after coming out of any kind of conflict. Here is how the Italian Army sappers have known how to evolve and instruct throughout Italy and the rest of the world.

Carlisle. Moulder of Commanders, by Pietro Serino (p. 86).

Let us enter into one of the most exclusive military studies centres in the world to learn how the U.S. Army prepares the best managers and



commanders. Study plans and teaching techniques, which are extremely innovative, are specially created to obtain useful lessons from the main events experienced by mankind for the sake of a more professional future and society.

The Everlasting Glamour of the Uniform,

by Giuliano Ferrari (p. 96).

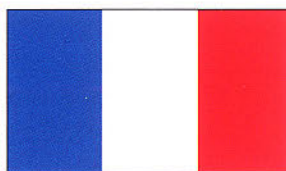
What in the uniform, at first sight, may seem ordinary accessories have an explanation in their atavistic usefulness for fighting men. They range from protection to exaltation of the warrior's figure, from acknowledgement of his brave deeds to social gratification. Some of these particulars, although they have lost their original function today, are still on the uniforms almost as evolutionary relics and bear ethical meanings which is a good thing to know. They have been taken into consideration when designing the outfit of women soldiers.

At Monte Lungo All Started Anew,

by Girolamo Garonna (p. 104).

From December 8th to 16th, 1943, with the battle of Mignano Monte Lungo, the Italian Army started off, both morally and materially, the long-awaited Second Risorgimento of our Homeland. After winning the

trust of the Anglo-americans, our soldiers gained victory on the field and the rank of co-belligerence. The sense of duty and the feelings of those young men, soldiers of a reviving Italy, still live on today in the facts and words of some of the protagonists.



La sécurité évolue en fonction de la menace, **par Maurizio Coccia (p. 2)**

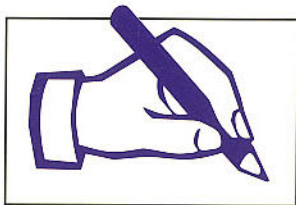
Malheureusement, les racines du mal repoussent à chaque génération. La menace consiste en la prévision d'un danger réel ou imminent représenté par des sujets susceptibles de réaliser des actes hostiles. La sécurité est une situation dans laquelle l'individu n'est exposé à aucun danger et mène une vie tranquille aussi bien sur le plan privé que des relations sociales. Pour atteindre leurs objectifs, les appareils militaires, plus que jamais en première ligne, ont adopté les lignes de conduite suivantes : réduire les pertes militaires et civiles et limiter les pertes adversaires et les destructions matérielles. Et ce d'autant que les dommages devraient être payés par le vainqueur.

Vers un nouvel ordre mondial, **par Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (p. 22).**

Le monde bipolaire a transmis un héritage qu'il nous est indispensable de connaître et de comprendre pour construire le nouvel ordre mondial. Les décisions prises sur les plans économique et politique au cours des années 70 et 80 ne sont pas allées sans se répercuter de façon décisive dans l'ensemble des régions de la planète. Aussi, le processus d'ajustement est-il encore en cours. Les années à venir seront décisives aux effets du nouvel ordre international, à condition cependant, que les Etats et les Organisations internationales s'engagent à affronter les questions liées aux ressources et aux droits de l'homme. Il est dans nos vœux que le monde entier trouve enfin une véritable occasion de croissance dans un contexte de stabilité et de sécurité globale.

La «NATO Response Force», **par Salvatore Farina (p. 32).**

La nouvelle réalité s'appelle «NATO Response Force» (Force de Réponse de l'OTAN). Cette force, qui est à même d'intervenir promptement, vient renforcer la capacité de réaction des Commandements HRF. Capable d'intervenir dans le cadre des trois Forces, elle est placée sous le commandement conjoint et deviendra opérationnelle en



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2006 avec ses 20 000 militaires.

Le vol tenace de «Nibbio 1», par Giorgio Battisti (p. 38)

La Task Force «Nibbio 1» avait sa base au 9 Régiment alpin de la Brigade «Taurinense», renforcé par du personnel d'autres forces armées et d'autres corps. Les militaires ont prévenu et contrecarré le terrorisme avec efficacité, en contribuant de façon déterminante à la reconstruction morale, sociale et matérielle d'un peuple qui vivait depuis longtemps une situation extrêmement pénible. Malgré les difficultés, les risques et les sacrifices, le contingent italien a su gagner l'estime des populations et des alliés.

Populations et origines de l'Asie centrale, par Giovanni Buccioli (p. 56).

Il sont au nombre de sept, englobés dans un bloc géographique homogène, et leur nom se termine par le suffixe «stan» désignant «la terre de». Il s'agit de l'Afghanistan, du Kazakhstan, du Kirghizistan, du Pakistan, du Tadjikistan, du Turkménistan et de l'Ouzbékistan. C'est à travers ces pays que passait, il y a cinq ans, la voie de la soie et des épices. Marchands et populations mystérieuses parcoururent les pistes caravanières donnant naissance

aux anciennes civilisations. Des personnages célèbres à la tête de leur armée, tels que Cyrus II le Grand, Darius de Perse, Alexandre le Grand, Attila, Gengis Khan et Tamerlan, s'en servirent pour leur conquêtes. L'Asie centrale occupe de nouveau le devant de la scène. Mais ne l'a-t-elle pas toujours occupé avec son histoire et ses multiples réalités?

Les forces terrestres à l'appui des opérations de stabilisation et de reconstruction, par Giuseppe Maggi (p. 64)

D'une étude tous azimuts il ressort que, de par sa configuration actuelle et ses capacités opérationnelles, l'Armée de Terre italienne est susceptible de s'adapter aux changements qui caractérisent les tâches et les risques qu'elle est appelée à affronter dans le cadre des théâtres d'opération, en particulier des opérations de stabilisation et de reconstruction. Des approfondissements ont été réalisés à travers une comparaison avec les études en cours au sein de l'Armée américaine, l'objectif étant de souligner les analogies, les différences et des éléments de réflexion inédits.

Déminer pour vivre, par Salvatore Gravante (p. 74).

De la Seconde guerre mondiale à nos jours, le déminage n'a cessé de représenter un

problème auquel ont été confrontées toutes les sociétés ayant connu un conflit. Les sapeurs de l'Armée italienne ont su se distinguer et faire école en Italie et dans le monde.

Carlisle une pépinière de Commandants, par Pietro Serino (p. 86).

Nous avons rendu visite à l'un des Centres d'études militaires les plus exclusifs du monde pour voir comment l'Armée des Etats-Unis prépare ses meilleurs commandants. Les programmes d'études et les techniques d'enseignement, hautement innovateurs, ont été conçus expressément pour que les futurs professionnels et la société en général puissent tirer des enseignements utiles des principaux événements vécus par le genre humain.

Le charme éternel de l'uniforme, par Giuliano Ferrari (p. 96)

Ce qui à première vue pourrait sembler un simple accessoire, renferme en réalité une signification et une utilisation ataviques pour le combattant : protection ou exaltation du guerrier, reconnaissance d'un exploit, gratification sociale. Bien qu'ayant perdu leur fonction originale, certains de ces éléments sont des objets évolutifs porteurs de significations éthiques qu'il convient de connaître et dont il



faudra tenir compte au moment de réaliser les tenues des femmes soldats.

**Tout recommença à Monte Lungo,
par Girolamo Garonna (p. 104).**

Du 8 au 16 décembre 1943, avec la bataille de Mignano Monte Lungo, l'Armée italienne entama le Second Risorgimento moral et matériel de la Patrie. Après avoir gagné la confiance des anglo-américains, les soldats italiens non seulement remportèrent la victoire sur le champ de bataille et mais méritèrent le rang de cobelligérants. Le sens du devoir et les sentiments des jeunes soldats qui assistaient alors à au renouvellement de l'Italie, revivent aujourd'hui au travers des actes et des paroles de certains d'entre eux.



**Die Sicherheit mutiert in Bedrohung,
von Maurizio Coccia (S. 2).**

Leider tauchen die Wurzeln des Bösen in jeder Generation wieder auf. Die wahre Bedrohung liegt in der Erwartung der Gefahr, für

deren Umsetzung feindliche Subjekte verantwortlich zeichnen. Sicherheit ist eine Situation in der eine Person das Dasein in Ruhe und ohne Risiken leben kann. Mehr denn je - und aus vorderster Front - werden von den militärischen Apparaten verschiedene Tendenzen bei der Erreichung ihrer Objekte gesetzt: reduzieren der eigenen Verluste aus eigenen Reihen und die der Zivilisten, gering halten der Verluste der Gegner, so wenig wie möglich zerstören. Letzteres auch deshalb, weil die Schäden vom Sieger bezahlt werden würden.

**Zu einer weiteren Weltordnung,
von Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (S. 22).**

Die bipolare Welt hat ein Erbe hinterlassen, das noch heute existiert und es ist unumgaenglich dieses zu kennen und zu verstehen, um die naechste Weltordnung konstruieren zu koennen. Die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Entscheidungen, die in den 70er und 80er Jahren getroffen wurden, ziehen entscheidende Konsequenzen fuer ganze Gebiete unseres Planeten nach sich. Die Regelungsprozess ist noch immer am laufen. Die kommenden Jahre werden entscheidend dafuer sein, endlich das internationale Gleichgewicht zu finden. Allerdings nur unter der

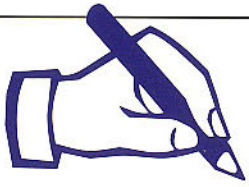
Bedingung, dass die Staaten und die internationalen Organisationen sich mit den wichtigen Themen, die Ressourcen und Menschenrechte betreffend, konfrontieren. Im Zusammenhang mit Stabilitaet und allgemeiner Sicherheit liegt die Hoffnung auf der realistischen Chance zum Wachstum fuer die ganze Welt.

Die «NATO Response Force»: ein Instrument der Atlantikallianz und eine Opportunitaet fuer die nationalen Streitkraefte, von Salvatore Farina (S. 32).

Die neue Realitaet heisst NATO Response Force (Rueckschlag-Kraefte der NATO). Prompt einsetzbar hat sie die Faehigkeit, die Reaktion des Kommandos der abrufbereiten Einsatzkraefte (HRF HQ) zu ergaenzen. Sie ist in der Lage in allen drei Dimensionen zu operieren, und unter vereintem Kommando wird die - aus 20 000 Soldaten bestehende - Einheit im Jahre 2006 einsatzbereit sein.

Der zähe Flug der «Nibbio 1», von Giorgio Battisti (S. 38).

Die Task Force «Nibbio 1» basierte auf dem 9° Alpinregiment der «Taurinense-Brigade», das durch Personal aus anderen Armeen und Corps verstärkt



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wurde. Diese Militärs haben dem Terrorismus effizient widerstanden und vorgebeugt, und sind dadurch ausschlaggebend für die Wiederherstellung der sozialen und materiellen Moral eines Volkes verantwortlich, das seit langer Zeit schlimmste Qualen litt. Lesen Sie, wie sich unser Kontingent - allen Entbehrungen, Risiken und Opfern zum Trotz - die Achtung und Anerkennung der Bevölkerung und der Alliierten zu verdienen wusste.

Voelker und Wurzeln aus Mittelasien, von Giovanni Bucciol (S. 56).

Die sieben Staaten, die mit dem persischen Suffix «stan» d.h. «das Land von» enden, stellen einen homogenen geographischen Block dar. Diese sind Afghanistan, Kazakistan, Kirghizistan, Pakistan, Tagikistan, Turkmenistan und Uzbekistan. Durch diese Laender gingen, bis vor einem halben Jahrtausend, die alten Seiden- und Kraeuterstrassen. Kaufleute und mysterioese Voelker zogen entlang der Karawanenwege, dadurch die Entwicklung antiker Zivilisationen foerdernd. Diese Strassen wurden auch von den Streitkraeften der Vergangenheit benutzt, die von beruehmten Persoenlichkeiten angefuehrt

waren: Kyros dem Grossen, Darius von Persien, Alexander dem Grossen, Attila, Gengis Khan, Tamerlan. Mittelasien tritt heute wieder in den Vordergrund. Vielleicht stand dieses Land mit all seiner Geschichte und seiner vielfaeltigen Realitaeten in Wirklichkeit aber immer im Vordergrund.

Die Landstreitkraefte als Basis der Stabilisierungs- und Wiederaufbauoperationen, von Giuseppe Maggi (S. 64).

Mittels einer weitreichenden Analyse prüfen wir, wie einschneidend die aktuelle Konfiguration der Italienischen Wehrmacht, und ihre sich daraus ergebenden operativen Fähigkeiten, von der Aufgabenentwicklung und den Risiken, mit denen sie auf den akuten Schauplätzen konfrontiert wird, betroffen ist. Dabei wird besonderer Bezug auf die Stabilisierungs- und Wiederaufbauoperationen genommen. Die Vertiefung wird durch den Vergleich mit einer aktuell laufenden Studie der Amerikanischen Wehrmacht durchgefuehrt, aus der Analogien, Unterschiede und bisher noch unveroeffentlichte Ideen hervorgehen.

Entminen um zu leben, von Salvatore Gravante (S. 74). Vom Zweiten Weltkrieg bis in heutige Zeiten stellt das

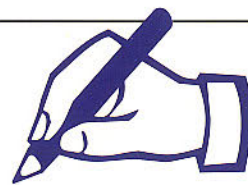
Entminen von Sprengkoerpern ein Problem dar, mit dem sich jede Gesellschaft, die aus verschiedensten Konflikten hervorgeht, auseinandersetzen musste. Lesen Sie hier wie die Entwicklung der Pioniere der Italienischen Armee Schule im Lande und in der ganzen Welt macht.

Carlisle die Kommandanten-Schmiede, von Pietro Serino (S. 86).

Betreten wir einen der exklusivsten Zentren fuer militaerische Studien der Welt und lernen wir, wie die Wehrmacht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika ihre besten Fuehrungskraefte und Kommandanten vorbereitet. Die Studienprogramme und die extrem innovativen Unterrichtstechniken wurden eigens dafuer kreiert, um aus den wichtigsten Lebenserfahrungen der Menschheit die notwendigen Lehren fuer die professionelle Zukunft und fuer die Gesellschaft zu ziehen.

Die unsterbliche Faszination der Uniform, von Giuliano Ferrari (S. 96).

Das, was auf den ersten Blick als einfaches Zubehoer erscheinen koennte, findet seine Erklaerung in atavistischen Nuetzlichkeiten fuer den Kaeampfenden. Diese erstrecken sich von der



Schutzfunktion bis zur Hervorhebung der Figur des «Kriegers», von der Anerkennung für wertvolle Einsätze bis hin zur sozialen Gratifikation. Einige dieser Details, auch wenn sie mittlerweile ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung verloren haben, könnte man als evolutionäre Relikte bezeichnen. Zwar werden sie nicht mehr genutzt, haben aber ethische Bedeutungen, deren Kenntnis wichtig ist. Außerdem wurden sie für die Aussteuer der Frauen der Soldaten in Betracht gezogen.

Alles beginnt von Neuem am Monte Lungo, von Girolamo Garonna (S. 104). Vom 8. bis 16. Dezember 1943, mit der Schlacht von Mignano Monte Lungo, startete das Italienische Heer das erwartete moralische und materiale Zweite Risorgimento des Heimatlandes. Unsere Soldaten, nachdem sie das Vertrauen der Angloamerikaner gewonnen hatten, verdienten sich auf dem Feld den Sieg und den Rang der Mitkriegführenden. Das Pflichtbewusstsein und die Gefühle der Jungen von damals, Soldaten des Italiens der Erneuerung, leben heute noch einmal in den Tatsachenberichten durch die Aussagen einiger Hauptdarsteller auf.



La seguridad evoluciona conforme cambia la amenaza, por Maurizio Coccia (pág. 2)

Las semillas del mal, lamentablemente, vuelven a brotar con cada generación. La amenaza es la señal o el presagio de la proximidad de un peligro real o inminente, representado por sujetos que generan actos hostiles. La seguridad es una situación en la que el individuo, sin correr riesgos o peligros, puede vivir con tranquilidad su vida cotidiana y sus relaciones personales. Hoy, como nunca en primera línea, los aparatos militares se proponen lograr sus objetivos a través de distintas tendencias: reducir las bajas militares y civiles, limitar las bajas del adversario, destruir lo menos posible, ya que, además, los daños los pagaría el vencedor.

Hacia otro orden mundial, por Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (pág. 22).

El mundo bipolar nos ha transmitido una herencia que es indispensable conocer y entender para edificar el próximo orden mundial. Las

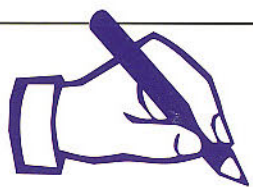
decisiones económicas y políticas tomadas en los años 70 y 80 tuvieron repercusiones decisivas en todas las regiones del mundo, a tal punto que el proceso de ajuste aún no se ha finalizado. Los próximos años serán determinantes a la hora de establecer, por fin, el nuevo equilibrio internacional. Ello, siempre y cuando los Estados y las Organizaciones internacionales se comprometan en encarar los grandes temas relacionados con los recursos y los derechos humanos. Con el anhelo de que el mundo tenga por fin una oportunidad real de desarrollo en un contexto de estabilidad y de seguridad colectiva.

La «NATO Response Force», por Salvatore Farina (pág. 32).

La nueva realidad se llama «NATO Response Force» (Fuerza de Respuesta de la OTAN). Dicha Fuerza, con capacidad para empleo inmediato, completa la capacidad de reacción de los Mandos HRF, y está en condiciones de operar en el ámbito de las tres fuerzas, bajo el mando conjunto. Será operacional en 2006 y contará con 20 000 militares.

El vuelo tenaz de «Nibbio 1», por Giorgio Battisti (pág. 38)

La Task Force «Nibbio 1» tenía su base en el 9 Regimiento alpino de la Brigada «Taurinense», reforzado por



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personal de otras Armas y Cuerpos. Los militares lograron prevenir y contrarrestar eficazmente el terrorismo, contribuyendo en forma determinante a la reconstrucción moral, social y material de un pueblo que llevaba largo tiempo sufriendo las peores penas. Entre dificultades, peligros y sacrificios, el contingente italiano logró conquistar el aprecio y la consideración de la población y de los aliados.

Pueblos y raíces de Asia central,

por Giovanni Bucciol (pág. 56).

Están reagrupados en un bloque geográfico homogéneo los siete países cuyo nombre finaliza con las letras «stán» o sea «tierra de». Son Afganistán, Kazajstán, Kirguizistán, Pakistán, Tadzhiistán, Turkmenistán y Uzbekistán. Por ahí pasaban, hace quinientos años, las antiguas vías de la seda y de las especies. Mercaderes y pueblos misteriosos recorrieron las pistas de las caravanas, dando origen a las antiguas civilizaciones. Hasta los cruzaron al frente de sus ejércitos grandes personajes como Ciro el Grande y Darío de Persia, Alejandro Magno y Atila, Gengis Khan y Tamerlán. Hoy día, Asia central está de nuevo en candelero. ¿Pero acaso no lo estuvo siempre con

su historia y su multitud de realidades?

Las fuerzas terrestres apoyan las operaciones de estabilización y reconstrucción, por Giuseppe Maggi (pág. 64)

De un estudio de gran amplitud, se desprende que el Ejército italiano, debido a su configuración actual y a sus capacidades operacionales, resulta particularmente indicado para hacer frente a los cambios que caracterizan las funciones y los riesgos que ha de afrontar en los distintos teatros de empleo, en particular en los referentes a las operaciones de estabilización y reconstrucción. Hemos ahondado en dicho estudio comparándolo con estudios llevados a cabo en el Ejército norteamericano, con el fin de destacar analogías, diferencias, elementos de reflexión inéditos.

Desminar par vivir, por Salvatore Gravante (pág. 74).

Desde la Segunda guerra mundial, el levantamiento de minas de un terreno siempre representó un problema que tuvieron que encarar todas la sociedades que experimentaron conflictos da alguno u otro tipo. Los gastadores del Ejército italiano supieron distinguirse dando ejemplo en Italia y en el mundo entero.

Carlisle fábrica de Comandantes, por Pietro Serino (pág. 86).

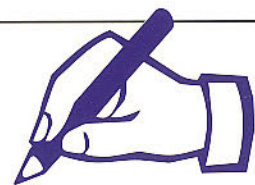
Visitamos uno de los más selectos centros de estudios militares del mundo para enterarnos de cómo los Estados Unidos de América preparan a los mejores directivos y comandantes. Los planes de estudio y las técnicas de enseñanza, sumamente innovadores, fueron concebidos expresamente para que los profesionales y la sociedad puedan sacar fruto de la experiencia humana.

El imperecedero atractivo del uniforme, por Giuliano Ferrari (pág. 96)

Ciertos detalles que de entrada podrían parecer unos meros accesorios tiene en realidad una utilidad atávica para el combatiente: protección o exaltación de la figura del guerrero, reconocimiento por las acciones destacadas o heroicas, gratificación social. Aunque hayan perdido su función primera, algunos de estos detalles se mantuvieron como piezas evolutivas portadoras de significados éticos que cabe conocer y tomar en cuenta a la hora de diseñar los uniformes de las mujeres soldados.

Todo empezó de nuevo en Monte Lungo, por Girolamo Garonna (pág. 104).

Del 8 al 16 de diciembre de 1943, con la batalla de



Mignano Monte Lungo, el Ejército italiano inició el anhelado segundo Risorgimento moral y material de la Patria. Los soldados italianos, tras conquistar la confianza de los anglo-americanos, consiguieron la victoria en el campo de batalla, mereciéndose el rango de aliados. El sentido del deber y los sentimientos de los en aquel entonces jóvenes soldados que experimentaban el renacimiento de Italia, vuelven a vivir a través de las actuaciones y de las palabras de algunos de ellos.



A segurança desenvolve-se ao mudar da ameaça, de Maurizio Coccia (p. 2)

Infelizmente, as raízes do mal reapresentam-se a cada geração. A ameaça é a expectativa de um perigo real e impendente, procurado por indivíduos que originam actos hostis. A segurança é um estado no qual a pessoa vive em ausência de riscos, conduzindo com tranquilidade a própria vida privada e as próprias convivências. Mais do que nunca em primeira

linha, no alcançar dos objectivos, os aparatos militares perseguem várias linhas de tendência: reduzir as próprias perdas e as dos civis, conter as perdas adversárias, destruir muito pouco. Até porque os danos viriam a ser pagos pelo vencedor.

Em direcção a uma ulterior ordem mundial, de Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (p. 22).

O mundo bipolar deixou uma herança existente ainda hoje, que é indispensável conhecer e compreender para construir a próxima ordem mundial. As escolhas económicas e políticas dos anos 70 e 80 determinaram consequências decisivas para áreas inteiras do planeta. O processo de adaptação ainda hoje está a decorrer. Os próximos anos serão determinantes para estabelecer, finalmente, o novo equilíbrio internacional. Com a condição de que os Estados e as Organizações Internacionais se confrontem sobre grandes temas dos recursos e dos direitos humanos. A esperança é a de uma real ocasião de crescimento para todo o mundo, num contexto de estabilidade e de segurança colectiva.

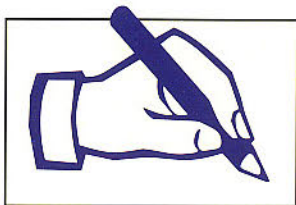
A «Nato Response Force», de Salvatore Farina (p. 32).
A nova realidade é a «NATO

Response Force» (Força de Resposta da NATO), imediatamente empregável, que vem completar as capacidades de reacção dos Comandos de Alta Presteza (HRF HQ). Capaz de operar nas três dimensões, posta sob comando conjunto, entrará a regime em 2006 e terá uma consistência de 20 000 militares.

O tenaz vôo do «Nibbio 1», de Giorgio Battisti (p. 38)
A Task Force «Nibbio 1» era baseada no 9º regimento de alpinos da Brigada «Taurinense», reforçados por pessoal de outras Armas e Corpos. Os militares preveram e combateram eficazmente o terrorismo, contribuindo de modo determinante para a reconstrução moral, social e material de um povo que sofria há muito tempo das piores amarguras. Vejamos como, entre incómodos, riscos e sacrifícios, o nosso contingente soube ganhar a estima e a consideração da população e dos aliados.

Gentes e raízes da Ásia Central, de Giovanni Bucciol (p. 56).

Estão reunidos num bloco geográfico homogéneo, os sete Estados que terminam com o sufixo persa «stão», que significa «terra de». São o Afeganistão, Kazaquistão, Kirguizistão, Paquistão,



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Tagiquistão, Turquemenistão e Uzbequistão. Por ali passavam, até há meio milénio atrás, as antigas rotas da seda e das especiarias. Mercadores e povos misteriosos percorreram os caminhos de caravanas que ajudaram o nascimento das antigas civilizações. Até mesmo os exércitos do passado as usaram, conduzidos por personagens famosos: de Ciro, o Grande a Dário da Pérsia, de Alessandro Magno a Attila, de Gengis Khan a Tamerlano. A Ásia Central volta hoje de novo à ribalta. Mas talvez na ribalta tivesse sempre estado, com toda a sua história e as suas realidades multifórmes.

As forças terrestres na base das operações de estabilização e reconstrução, de Giuseppe Maggi (p. 64)

Mediante uma análise de vasto horizonte, examinemos como a actual configuração do Exército Italiano e as capacidades operativas por ele expressáveis, são moldadas ao desenvolver das tarefas e dos riscos que é chamado a enfrentar nos teatros de operações, com especial referência às operações de estabilização e reconstrução. Os aprofundamentos são suportados por um confronto com os estudos que decorrem no Exército americano, para

procurar analogias, afastamentos e inéditos pontos de reflexão.

Beneficiar para viver, de Salvatore Gravante (p. 74).

Desde o Segundo Pós-Guerra até aos nossos dias, o benefício de engenhos explosivos tem sido um problema com o qual se teve que confrontar cada sociedade saída de conflitos de vários géneros. Eis como os soldados-engenheiros do Exército Italiano souberam evoluir e fazer escola em Itália e no mundo.

Carlisle oficina de Comandantes, de Pietro Serino (p. 86).

Entremos num dos mais exclusivos centros de estudos militares do mundo para ter conhecimento de como o Exército dos Estados Unidos da América prepara os melhores dirigentes e comandantes. Os programas de estudo e os métodos de ensino, extremamente inovativos, são criados expressamente para extrair dos principais factos vividos pelo género humano, adestramentos úteis para o futuro profissional e para a sociedade.

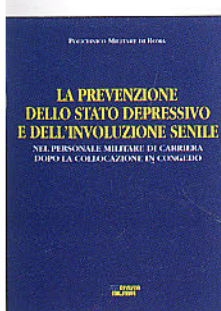
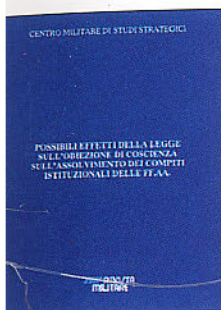
O imortal fascínio do uniforme, de Giuliano Ferrari (p. 96)

Aqueles que à primeira vista

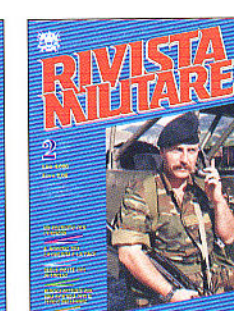
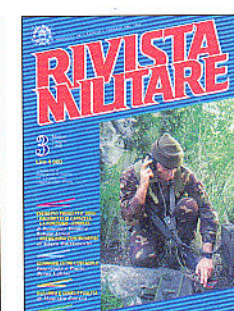
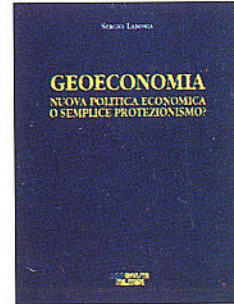
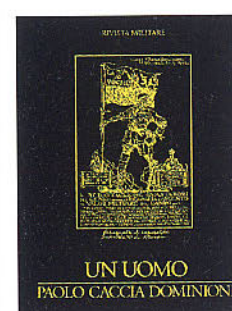
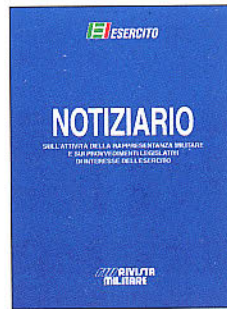
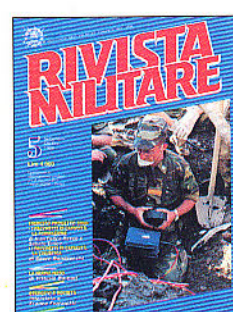
poderiam parecer simples acessórios têm explicação em utilidades ornamentais para os combatentes. Estes vão desde a protecção à exaltação da figura do guerreiro, do reconhecimento por tarefas de valor à gratificação social. Alguns destes pormenores, mesmo tendo perdido a sua função original, permanecem quase como despojos evolutivos que, não mais usados, são portadores de significados éticos que se devem conhecer e que foram considerados para planear os enxovais das mulheres soldado.

Tudo recomeçou em Monte Lungo, de Girolamo Garonna (p. 104).

De 8 a 16 de Dezembro de 1943, com a batalha de Mignano Monte Lungo, o Exército Italiano encaminhou o esperado Secondo Risorgimento moral e material da Pátria. Os nossos soldados, depois de terem conquistado a confiança dos anglo-americanos, ganharam no campo a vitória e o grau de cobeligerantes. O sentido do dever e os sentimentos dos jovens de então, soldados de uma Itália em renovação, revivem hoje nos factos e também nas palavras de alguns dos protagonistas.



THE EDITORIAL STYLE OF RIVISTA MILITARE



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RIVISTA MILITARE

JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856

THE VALUE OF LIBERTY

**Water: the liquid gold
of the third millennium**

**Garibaldi:
an endless myth**

Overcoming stress

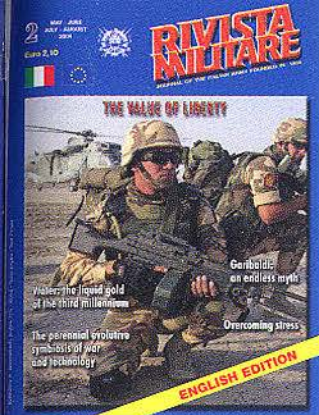
**The perennial evolutive
symbiosis of war
and technology**

ENGLISH EDITION



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“RIVISTA MILITARE”
magazine



Dedication, spirit of sacrifice and high sense of duty characterize our personnel. The men and women of the Italian Army serve with honour, at home and abroad, to bring peace and liberty in a framework of security. A new year opens to the history of the world, and our soldiers, with their silent and diligent daily work, continue to give to many peoples the possibility of enjoying the precious good of democracy.

FOUR-MONTHLY

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Rivista Militare aims at broadening and updating the technical and vocational training of the Army personnel. It is thus a means of propagating the military way of thinking and a forum of study and debate. Through the publication of articles of technical and scientific interest, Rivista Militare also aims at informing the general public on the Army and on military issues.

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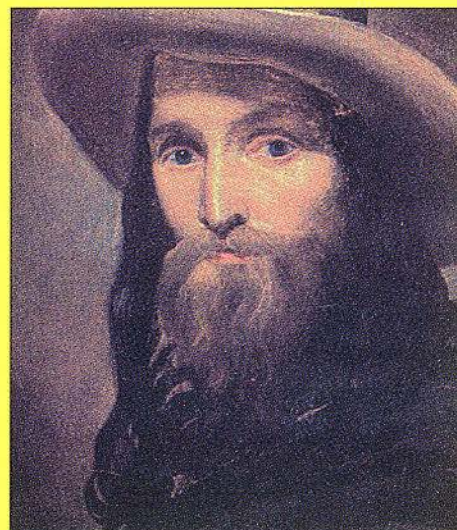
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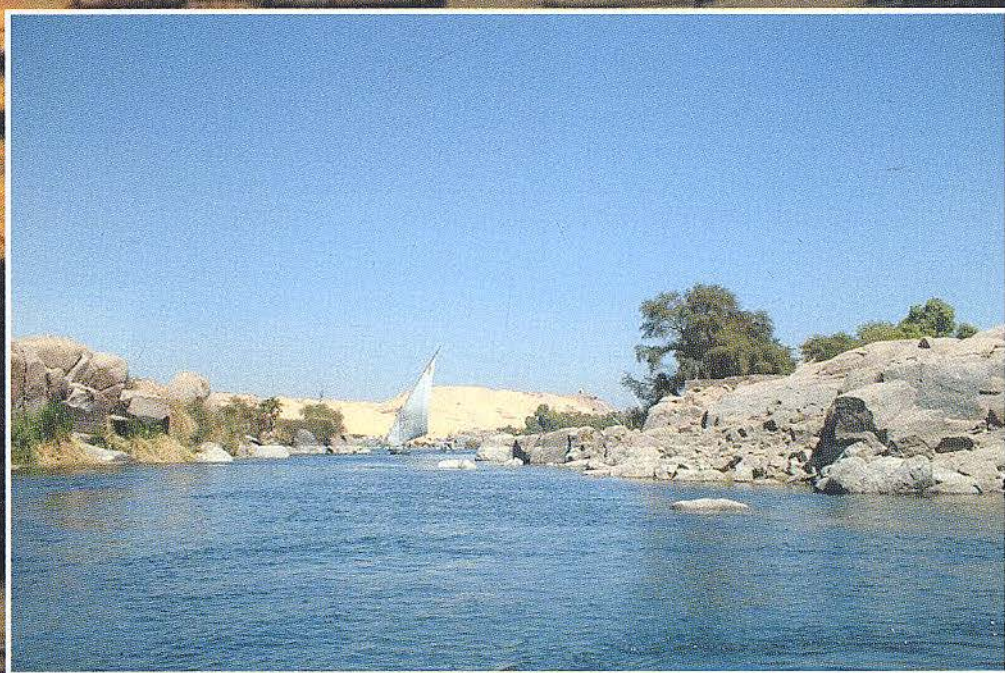
**HYDROSTRATEGY WILL RULE
THE FUTURE WORD SCENARIOS**

THE LIQUID GOLD OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

More than on oil, the survival of civilizations is based on water, and now, in the third Millennium, the moment has come to give the right weight to this very unevenly distributed and yet irreplaceable wealth

by Giovanni Marizza *

Hydrogeostrategy is a science bound to become more and more important in the years to come. Conflicts are increasing in the areas where water is lacking owing to scarcity or unequal distribution. In other words, water seems to be destined to displace oil as a cause of contrast among states, unless the impending problems are urgently solved



Four years ago, in these very columns, there was an article in which water, its availability and the possibility and capability of managing it were identified as the world's new strategic objective. There were fond hopes that a new discipline, hydrogeostrategy, would be developed and predictions that future wars would be fought for water rather than for political reasons or for oil. Today, all this seems more likely than ever.

Drinking water is not scarce on Earth, yet the problem lies in its irregular distribution in time (climatic seasons), and, even more, in different areas. Fresh water is very irregularly distributed along the year, and this causes excesses in some places and droughts somewhere else. Irregularity regards space too: a German baby consumes 40 times more water than an Indian one and a Swedish newborn 45 times more water than a baby in Bangladesh. In proportion, we Italians are the greatest consumers of mineral water in the world, and to buy it we spend an average of 500 euros per person a year. Still, as in all industrialized countries, also in Italy the levels of water purification are increasing, but we prefer not to drink it but use it for cooking, to operate electrical appliances and to water the plants in our gardens. Meanwhile, on the other side of the world one billion and 400 million people do not have drinking water and it is estimated that this is the main cause of the so-called "avoidable mortality".

A PRECIOUS BUT BADLY DISTRIBUTED RESOURCE

Fresh water availability is being drastically reduced because of man, who on one side massively pollutes it and, on the other consumes it so rapidly that the supplies have not enough time to

re-form. But the problem is more political, economic, legal and philosophical than environmental. How can it be otherwise explained that in countries quite rich in drinking water, like Brazil and Congo, most people have no access to water resources? Or, how can it be explained that in California each person has at his disposal an average of 4100 liters a day, although that State has no large water resources?

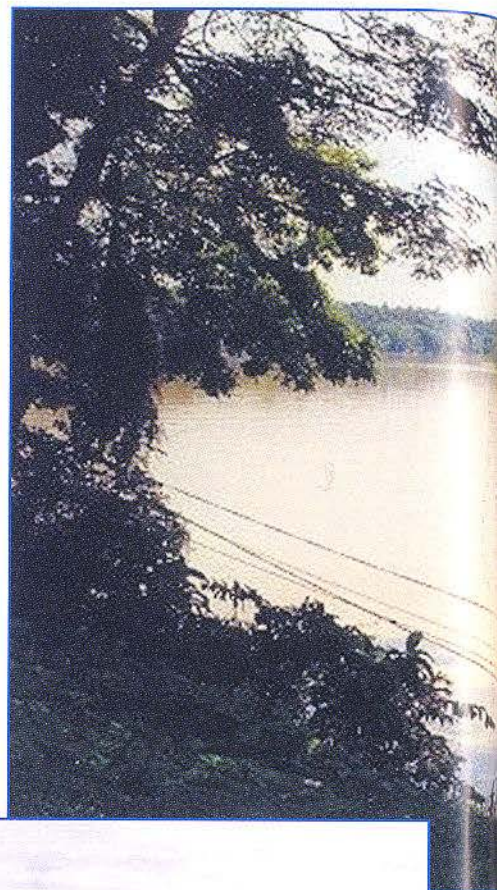
There is no doubt that the world population growth affects water consumption, but its destinations do not effectively change: 70% of the water is

Right

The Tembeling river in Malaysia.

Below.

The Kana river in Togo.



consumed by agriculture, 20% by industry and only 10% is for domestic use. Sixty per cent of the world farmable land is cultivated for fodder, in particular for the cattle that will feed that 11% of the "rich" mankind, which owns 90% of the resources and consumes 90% of the global goods and services.

Canada, a country quite rich in

water but scarcely populated, is willing to sell part of its copious water wealth to the rest of the American continent. A delicate aspect is represented by the fact that in many countries of the south of the world, from Cameroon to Mozambique and Bolivia, the Governments – on request from the International Monetary Fund and the World



the rivers Somme, Seine, Loire and Garonne. Lothair received the basins of the Rhine, Meuse, Rhone and Po, along with the title of "Caesar" in memory of Julius Caesar who, precisely along these watercourses, had succeeded in controlling the West, laying the foundations of the future colonization of the Danubian region. Ludwig the German received the North, i.e. the plain of parallel rivers, with no connection among them, extending from the Scheldt to the Vistula; he also received the mission to conquer the Danube in order to re-establish the Roman order in that region. This was the prelude of the alliance with Hungary, the ancient Roman Pannonia, which began on the 10th Century.

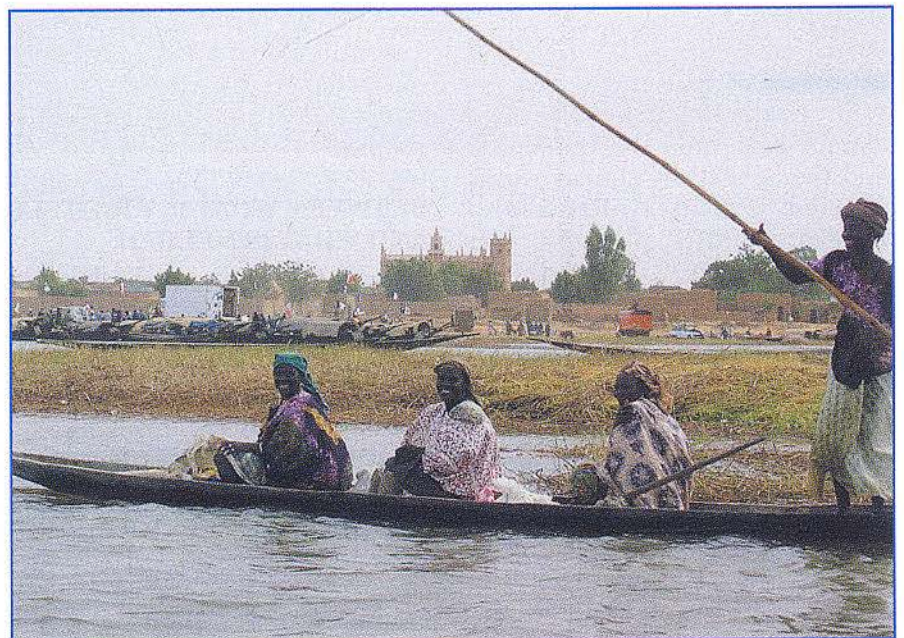
Since ancient times the Rhone has been an essential geostrategic junction, so much so that MacKinder, the founder of British military geopolitics, in his works pointed out the failure of Genseric, King of the Vandals who was unable to link his conquests to the Rhone artery. He described the adventure of the Saracens who sailed up the Rhone, the Saône and the Doubs as far as the gates of Burgundy, and underlined the importance of

Bank – are selling the distribution of water to private Western companies. Today in many capitals like Djakarta, Manila, Casablanca, Dakar, Nairobi, Mexico City and Buenos Aires, water is already in the hands of private companies and the immediate effects are rises in prices and the withdrawal from areas which are commercially less "interesting", even if they are the most disadvantaged.

Since ancient times water has always been considered an essential means of survival and good health for human beings: the Holy Scriptures (and in particular Leviticus and the Book of Numbers) are sensitive to the risks for men's health deriving from failing to respect the sanitary regulations, and impose accurate regulations about it.

As time went by, even tactics, strategy and politics were

influenced by water. In 843 Charlemagne's grandchildren practically shared among themselves the fluvial basins because, at the time, the rivers were the safest and most rapid lines of communication.. Charles the Bald received the basins of



Konna, Mali.



Lake Dieng in Java, Indonesia.

the alliance among Savoy – power of the Rhone – Austria and England during the Spanish War of Succession.

In Germany, the III Reich, by realizing the link between the Main and the Danube, thanks to the plans of Frederick II of Prussia and the economist List for the canalization between the Elba and the Rhine (the latter had already been linked to the Meuse and the Scheldt by similar works carried out in Holland and Belgium), did nothing but organize a continental geostrategic defence against the English thalassocracy.

Germany, led by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, continued those works and organized the waterways in a very good manner by digging the canal linking the Rhine, the Main and the Danube.

Today in Europe, with the Danube linked on one side to the

Rhine, and thus to the Atlantic, and on the other to the Pontic region and the Russian and Ukrainian rivers, to the Don and, through the Lenin canal, to the Volga and the Caspian Sea, the old geopolitical and hydropolitical project which the Roman Empire had started but was interrupted because of the Romans' fall in the face of the barbarian invasions, found its conclusion (curiously, this completion took place thanks to the progeny of those barbarian people).

BETWEEN WHAT IS RIGHTFUL AND WHAT IS NEEDED

Going back to drinking water, today's political approach is a sort of litmus paper of the therapy that the world powers intend to apply to mankind, after having shown their lack of authority (or will) to eradicate poverty. In 1992, at the Environment Conference in Rio de Janeiro, they decreed that the access to water is a human right, but eight years later the

second world forum on water, which took place in The Hague in March 2000, marked an epochal turning point, stating that it is not a right anymore, but a need (and quite oddly also the Governments of many Southern countries signed this declaration). The difference is not a trifle: while a right is something to which a human being is entitled, something which is not to be deserved, and implies that everybody's duty is to make any possible effort to grant it, the concept of need, instead, does not imply any idea of collective responsibility: every individual person has to provide himself with the means to satisfy such a need. And if he does not, then it is his fault.

The logical consequence is that water can be considered a commodity as any other, and therefore it can be privatized and commercialized on a global scale according to the rules of WTO (World Trade Organization). As a commodity it must have an

economic value fixed by a price which includes the real costs, the risks connected with the investment as well as the profit of the investor: according to new free-trade criteria asserted in The Hague, this would be the most effective method to reduce water waste.

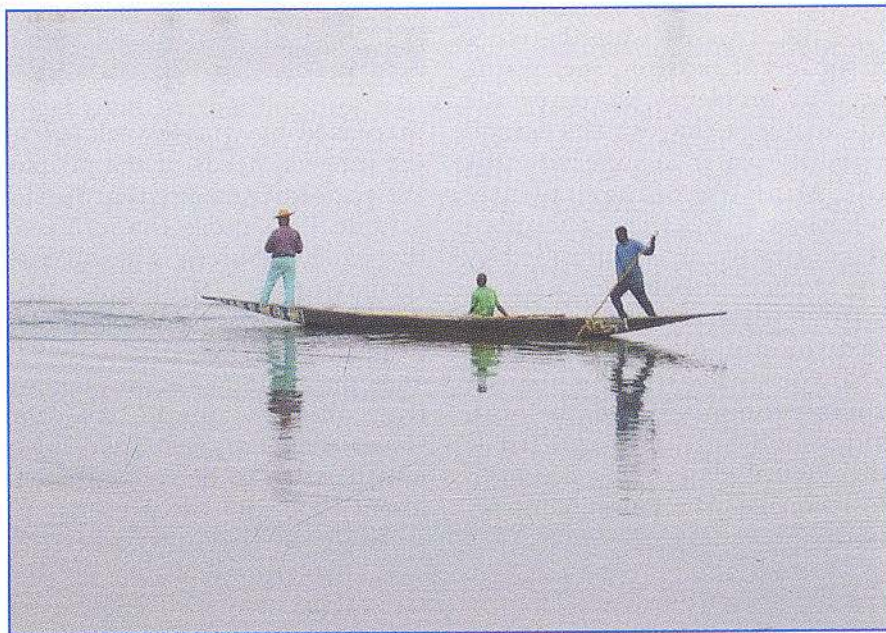
Another method to manage the available water resources is to build large dams. In 1950 there were five thousand of them, in 1970 thirteen thousand, today there are about twenty thousand. The larger dams, at least those higher than thirty metres, obtained some results, but they also contributed to damage our planet's hydro-geological system, dispossessed millions of people of their land, in many cases forcing them to resettle somewhere else, created big tensions among countries, altered the course of rivers, the local climate, forests, downstream waters and sometimes favoured phenomena of soil instability. Moreover the cost-effectiveness ratio is all but positive. Big dams last at most 50 years because the basins are rapidly filled with debris. Besides, the hydroelectric energy output is never over three quarters of the estimated one, while 70% of the plants, after all, supply less water than expected for agricultural irrigation. Moreover, these huge infrastructures sometimes favours floods instead of preventing them and, on top of it, they make the greenhouse effect worse.

If, in spite of everything, we keep on building them, it is because there is still a 19th Century vision of engineering, meant as mastery of nature: besides, these great works give prestige to those who realize them, not to mention the fact that the World Bank makes things easy for them (up to this moment it has financed, for approximately eight billion dollars, about 600 big dams in about 100 Countries).

Besides the repercussions on the people and the environment, we

should not disregard the risk of geopolitical instability due to the bizarre distribution of water resources. A war for the control of territories rich in oil is nothing new but, in the future water may cause more political conflicts than "black gold". In some areas of the world, the scarcity of water could become what the oil-prices crisis was in the 1970s: a primary source of economic and political instability.

Today nearly 40% of the world population depends on fluvial systems shared by two or more countries: India and Bangladesh quarrel over the Ganges, Mexico and the US over Colorado, the Czech Republic and Hungary about the Danube, as we are going to see in the following survey.



The Niger in Mali.

THE THIRSTY HOLY LAND

The Middle East is one of the driest regions of our planet, but the situation has not always been like this. The Bible says that God created the world in six days and on the seventh He rested. On the eighth day He decided to present Adam with an Eden that, as the Book of Genesis tells us, was rich

in vegetation and fruit-trees, and was crossed by four majestic rivers. Two of these, the Tigris and the Euphrates, are still well-known nowadays, whereas the names of the other two, the Piason and the Ghicon, are not on today's maps, although, with some imagination, some suppose they are the Nile and the Jordan. Anyway, the Biblical descriptions are sufficient to establish that, as God wanted to give man an earthly paradise He, after having looked around, chose the area that we now call Middle East. Perhaps by that time the region crossed by the four rivers was really a paradise of fertility and abundance, but should the Almighty choose today, He would probably choose his Eden somewhere else.

The area we are considering occupies 10% of earth's surface, hosts 5% of mankind, but has only 0.4% of world water resources. The four biblical rivers, including the Nile, which is the longest river in the world, are not sufficient to irrigate it, and not even the rainwater falling from the sky is enough: the Middle East receives only 2% of it.

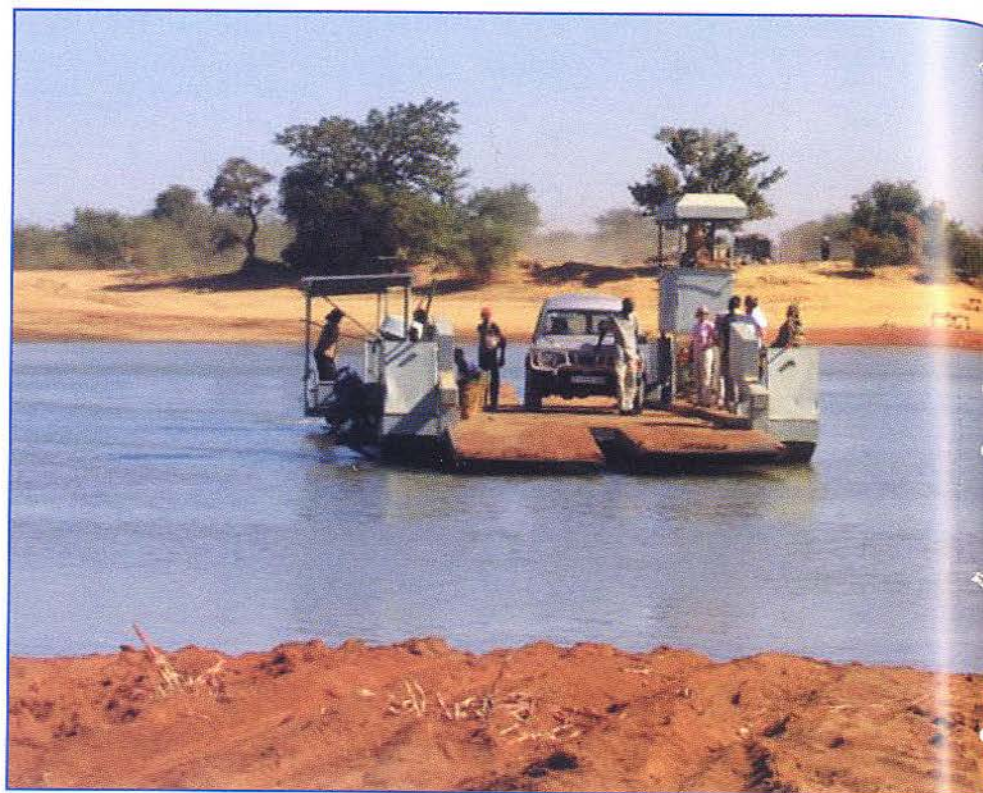
Israel, in order to change its condition of downstream country

to that of upstream country, conquered by dint of arms the region of mount Hermon, rich in springs and groundwater tables. Already in 1917 Chaim Weizman, Chairman of the World Zionist Organization, insisted that the borders of the future Jewish State should to be determined taking water into consideration. Fifty years later, in 1967, Golda Meir warned that the Countries which tried to divert the Jordan river "were not only playing with water, but also with fire". According to hydrologist Thomas Naff, in the Middle East "there cannot be peace till the water problems are solved". How can we say he is wrong?

So the access to water becomes a source of tension, increasing security problems. Moreover it is no accident that on the Israeli territory water is supervised by the Ministry of Agriculture, whereas in the occupied territories water is controlled by the Ministry of Defence.

Difficulties seem to be insurmountable and influence also the peace talks, since the socio-economic needs of both sides combine with politico-ideological claims that are hard to reconcile. The Palestinians lay historical claims on the exploitation of the water resources preserved in the aquifers that originate in the West Bank, including those that naturally flow to Israeli territory and are exploited by the Jewish State. Only when the exercise of such rights is restored, they say, cooperation agreements can be negotiated, in order to coordinate the management of the resources and the joint development of initiatives, such as desalination plants.

These international disputes, which interest not only the Arab-Israeli side but extend also to inter-Arab relationships, are



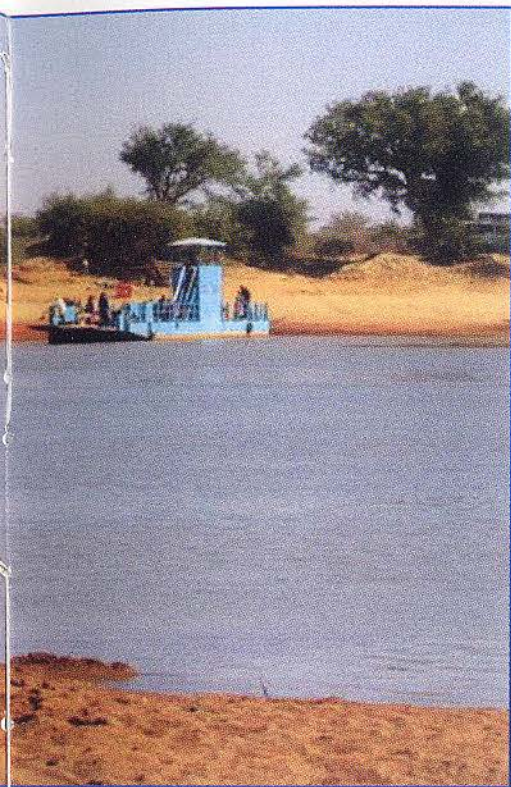
increased by worries related to the internal needs of the people. We should consider that in the Middle East more than 70% of the water resources is destined to irrigation, although the contribution given by agriculture to production and occupation is declining. The factors explaining the choices made by the Governments on water allocation are the wish to be self-sufficient about food and the presence of influential lobbies exerting pressure in defence of the farmers' interests, besides secondary reasons such as the need to restrain phenomena of potentially destabilizing urban migration..

The efforts to reach an agreement on water sharing in the Jordan basin date back to the beginning of the 1950s when, in 1953, a Northern American company drafted a water plan which was sent to the Middle East through a special representative of President Eisenhower. After four sessions of difficult negotiations which lasted for 2 years, all parties involved

agreed on the technical details of the project. The talks were first interrupted for political reasons, mainly because the Arab countries did not want to increase in any way the prospects of development of the new State of Israel, then they came to an end for good in 1955. Since then, many attempts have been made to mediate specific issues as, for example, the dam on the Yarmuk river; but a solution of the water disputes in the Jordan basin has never been found.

FERTILE CRESCENT? NO, THANKS!

Apart from Israel and Palestine, the whole Middle East has to face water scarcity and all experts agree that these problems will negatively influence the stability of the region. In 1987, Turkey and Syria signed a protocol concerning the water of the Euphrates at the boundary point between the two countries. The agreement grants Syria a minimum amount of 500 cubic metres per second, which is about



half of the available water. But now Syria wants to increase its share, and Turkey has always turned down this claim. The remark of a member of the Turkish Government is quite significant: we do not say that we should share their oil, therefore they cannot say that we should share our water".

A possible trump card in Syrian hands is the fact that Turkey needs a water agreement with its downstream neighbours in order to get the financial support from the World Bank and other international agencies it needs to complete the "South-Eastern Anatolian Project", a complex of 23 dams whose cost has been estimated at about 30 billion dollars. The benefits that Syria and Iraq would get from an agreement concerning water security are evident. Calculations related to the future population growth in the region (the average yearly growth rate is between 2.2 and 3.7%) and to its climatic and

hydrologic development, seem to promise an unsolvable imbalance between demand and supply of water resources in the years to come, with consequent socio-political tensions, both at internal and international level.

The importance of water is confirmed by its inclusion in one of the "baskets" (we could be ironic on the shrewdness of using a basket to hold water) in the programme of the Multilateral Talks for the Middle East, which has been dealing with themes concerning the peace process since 1992.

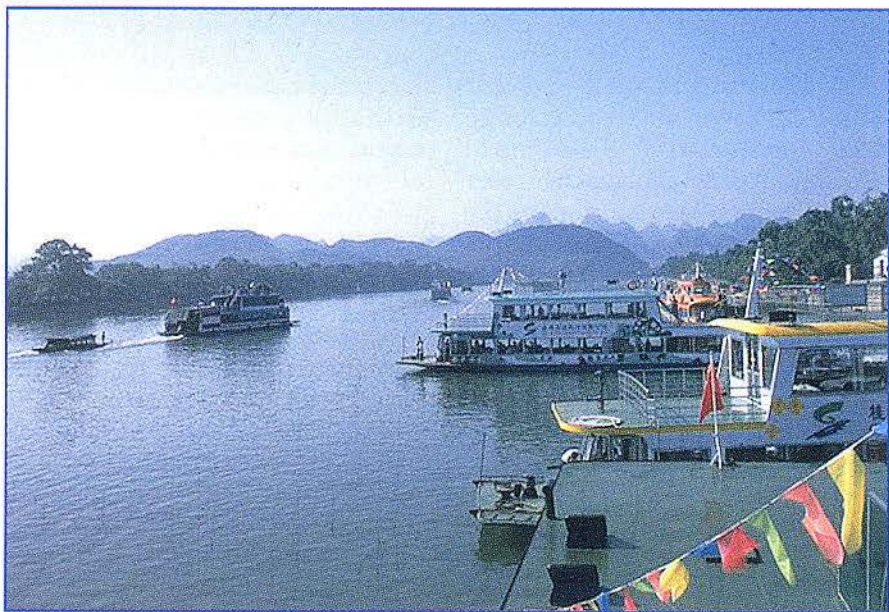
But if Turkey should realize upstream, on the Tigris and the Euphrates, the 23 dams of the project, Syria and Iraq, downstream, would be deprived respectively of 50% and 90% of their water requirements, a scenario that would foreshadow armed conflicts, and this time not for oil.

IN THE BLACK CONTINENT

More than 40% of the world population lives in water basins divided among various Countries, and the Black Continent provides many examples of this. Botswana, Congo, Egypt, Gambia, Mauritania, Sudan, all receive more than 75% of their water

supply from rivers originating in upstream neighbouring lands. Africa has no scarcity of water, but its resources are very unevenly distributed, so that sometimes serious conflicts arise, like those between Mauritania and Senegal.

The most striking example is that of the Nile. In 1989 Boutros-Ghali, at that time Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, referring to the water problems, said that "Egypt's national security is in the hands of at least eight other African Countries". This sentence explains pretty well the importance of water both as a natural resource and as economic and political factor, as well as the power exerted by the upstream countries on their neighbours downstream. Egypt exemplifies the dilemmas and uncertainties that must be faced by Countries with a fast population growth and a very limited water supply on their territory. In Egypt no less than 60 million people depend almost completely on the Nile, but the river sources are quite far off the borders of the country. 85% of the Nile water is generated by the generous rainfall of the Ethiopian tablelands, where the blue Nile has its source, from where it flows through Sudan before entering



The Li river in China.



The Suez Canal.

IN ASIA

Asia is becoming the Continent of mammoth dams, such as that of the Three Gorges on the Yang Tse in China. It is 186 metres high, should be the biggest in the world and will cause the displacement of one million and a half people. Then there is the complex of 130 dams in the area of Namada in India, where another million people will have to move somewhere else. Now, a financing by the World Bank of these projects is dubious, and this adds one more question to the numerous ones already existing.

China is facing a scarcity of drinking and irrigation water, although in its territory there is a concentration of more than 40% of the world water resources. The reason is to be found in the choice of the Peking Government to put industrial growth in the forefront, overlooking the protection of the environment, with the result that one third of the rivers is polluted and in the towns 50% of the water is undrinkable.

Also the case of the Indus river and its tributaries, and the sharing of their water between India and Pakistan, is emblematic and should serve as an example and a warning. During the first year of independence, war was avoided thanks to an agreement, financed by massive international help, to build huge containment barriers and a canal system. The costs of the operation, though very high, have certainly been inferior to the human and financial losses that a war would have caused.

The basins of the Ganges and the Mekong, too, show the same risks of conflict, and those areas are to be kept "under special surveillance".

Egypt. The remaining part depends on the system of the White Nile, whose sources are at Lake Victoria in Tanzania, and merges with the Blue Nile near Khartoum. The longest river in the world supplies a total of nine countries, and Egypt is the last one. On the basis of an agreement signed in 1959 between Sudan and Egypt, the latter has at its disposal 55.5 billion cubic metres of Nile water each year, while the former has been assigned 18.5 billion cu. m. In order to meet its needs, Egypt supplements the Nile water with: small quantities taken from groundwater tables and agricultural drainage water as well as with processed and purified town waste-water. In 1990 Egypt had at its disposal 63.5 billion cubic metres of water that, although it is more than the expected 55.5, is still not enough. In 2000 the Egyptian water demand has gone up to 70 billion cubic metres and the future forecasts show a continuously growing trend.

In order to find a political solution, negotiations are carried out, but most of the time it is a dialogue of the deaf. All the Countries of the Nile basin, for example, take part in a Forum for

cooperation called *Undugu*, meaning brotherhood in Swahili. For the immediate future, though, there is no significant collaboration in view, certainly not among Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan. Since the "Africa Water Summit", a very important meeting which took place in Cairo in June 1990, Ethiopia has showed its total lack of willingness to share with its neighbours even essential information, such as basic hydrogeological data. Ethiopia feels that cooperation is conditioned by a renegotiation of the abovementioned Agreement on water sharing, reached by Egypt and Sudan in 1959. Ethiopia considers that treaty unjust and unfeasible, because it allots an enormous amount of Nile water to these two Countries, which give little contribution to the river's flow capacity. Therefore the future management of the water resources appears complex and delicate and at the same time underestimated by those who do not fully understand the potential socio-political risks which could derive from an irrational and short-sighted use of this essential environmental resource.

IN THE NEW CONTINENT

Not even America is exempt from tensions due to drinking water, as is the case with the friction between Ecuador and Peru. Or in Bolivia, where there is no shortage of water, and yet the state of siege has been proclaimed to stop the protests against an increase of 20% on water tariffs, following a specific law which entrusts a European multinational syndicate with their management.

There are marked differences also in the Northern part of the Continent. At El Paso, Texas, 50% of the water is used for luxury purposes, like swimming pools, golf courses and air conditioning. The average yearly consumption is 750 liters per person, whereas in the Mexican twin town, Ciudad Juarez, which takes water from the same river, Rio Grande, the yearly consumption per person is only 285 liters. The United States has ongoing litigations with Mexico and Canada, and an old domestic quarrel among Alabama, Georgia and Florida for the sharing of the Chattahoochee river. When the need for water increases, due to population growth or industrial reasons, the American federalism shows its limits, which must necessarily be overcome in the name of a superior unitary conscience.

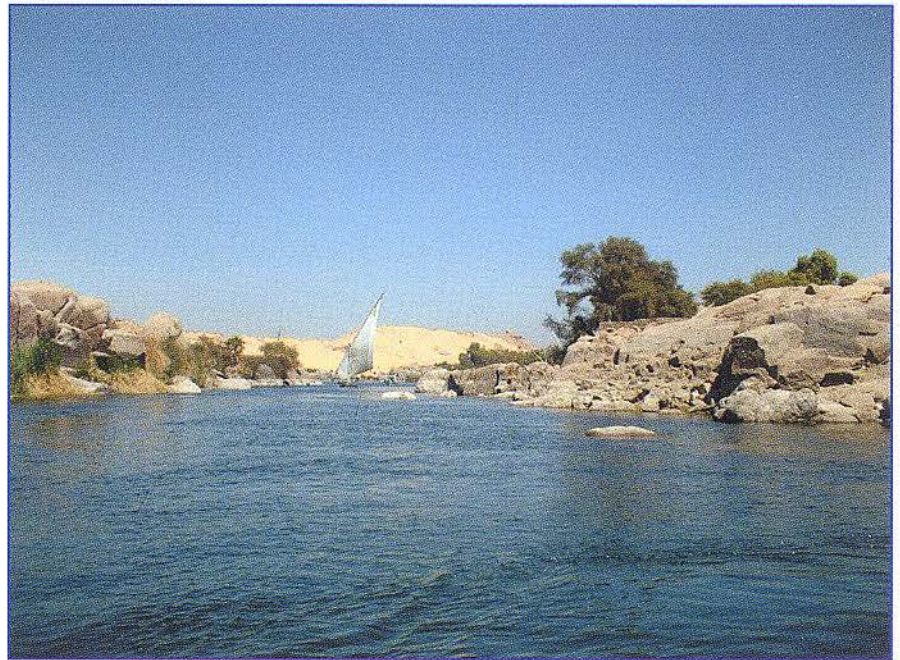
WHAT CAN WE DO?

Our planet is almost dry and perhaps we realized it too late. Owing to the population growth, the water available on Earth is today 40% less than thirty years ago, and it is foreseen, not without concern, that in 2020, when there will be 8 billion people on Earth, at least 3 billion people will be left without water. The strongest countries have already begun to exploit the situation in order to transform this resource in a marketable commodity, so the suspicion lingers that only the

weak ones will have to suffer the consequences.

There are many possible technical solutions, such as the fight against waste, carried out by re-using sewage waters, the desalination of sea water, the resort to solar energy. But we also need economical and legal remedies, which could save water from extreme measures, such as market ideology or gratuitousness. The solutions presented so far have tried to increase the supply instead of reducing the demand, with ineffective results. The big dams are being discussed because

The Elephantine island on the Nile.



they cost a lot in human terms, environment and ecological functionality, while desalination is extremely expensive, and is not advisable from the environmental and energetic point of view. These and other stratagems show all their limits when compared to the complex ecosystem of the water cycle. Vis-à-vis the failure of technology, the catastrophic forecasts about the planetary battle which has already begun to have access to the "blue gold" of our century are increasing.

In a context where water is unevenly distributed and some areas are heavily short of it, we may finally single out two types of solutions: the technical and economic ones, which tend to rationalize the use of water and the institutional and legal ones, which should be aimed at neutralizing and solving the conflicts arising from its use, starting and promoting a serious cooperation at regional and international level.

The politics of power based on blackmail (which tend to maintain the scarcity of water in order to favour one's own mechanisms) and on causing supply difficulties to the enemy

do not seem the best way to solve the problem. Also the proposal to consider water as a rare commodity, giving it a market price reflecting its scarcity, does not help peace and cooperation, as some would have it, but leads, instead, to a sort of assimilation of water to oil, which does not look promising at all.

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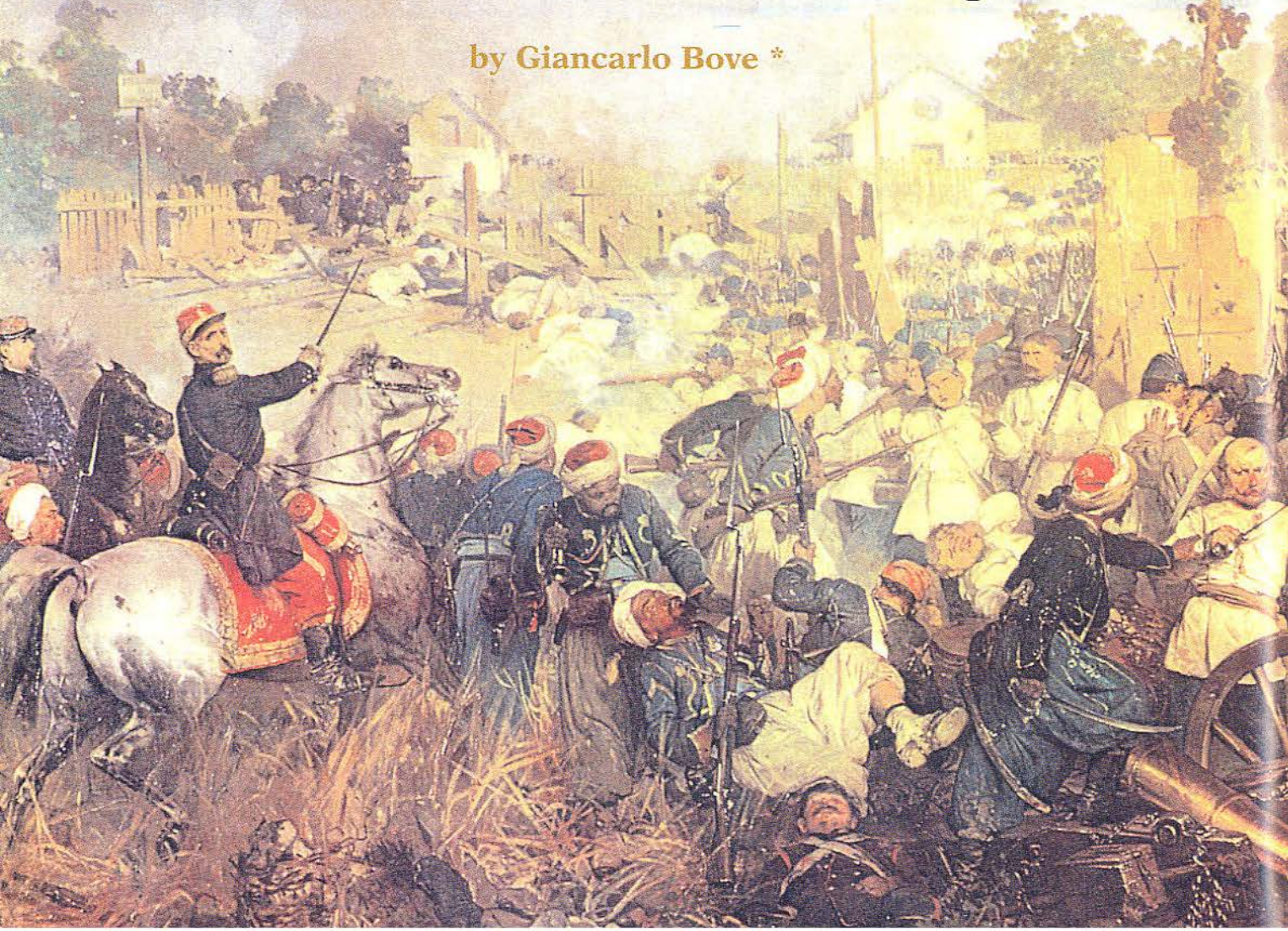
**Major General,
President, Institute
For High Military Studies*

Scientific evolution and technological innovations are partly the outcome of researches destined to military programmes

THE PERENNIAL EVOLUTIVE SYMBIOSIS OF WAR AND TECHNOLOGY

The bond is explained by man's necessity to make more and more efficient weapons on which the survival of society could depend

by Giancarlo Bove *



The bond between war and technology is very deep. This binomial has always influenced the science, planning and conduct of military operations. The present times confirm that there is a need for research and development of military technologies, but also for investments destined to the modernization of the Armed Forces and the industry of defence. Here we analyse the aspects correlated with the conditions of war and peace, between past and present, and how these aspects may be connected with technological development, in order to work out considerations which could be useful for reflecting on the evolution of the future war scenarios.

The phenomenon of war is as ancient as civilization and impends on mankind like the sword of Damocles, with terrifying consequences.

This phenomenon has been examined and studied in its manifold aspects by scientists, philosophers, theologians, sociologists and experts in the art of war and yet, up to this day, its uncertain and ambiguous nature is similar to the face of Janus, the two-faced god of transition from war to peace and vice versa.

In the past, war accompanied the projection on the battlefield of certain values and cultural aspects of ancient civilizations. The Persians used to fight with their traditional carts, ornaments, feathers and costumes with which they terrified their enemies. In substance, it was a symbolic conflict with anthropological connotations similar to the Maya's and Inca's. The Greeks, on the other hand, conceived war as a place, i. e. a space within which their Gods decided the fate of the warriors and the outcome of the battle, respectively as life or death, victory or defeat.

In some tribes, such as the Jivaros of Amazonia, lacking institutions and stable political organizations, war takes on the

meaning of "total social event" which mobilizes the main instrument of cohesion, i.e. the family ties. On the basis of these bonds, in case of attack, the people are called to side with the offended protagonist and fight with him.

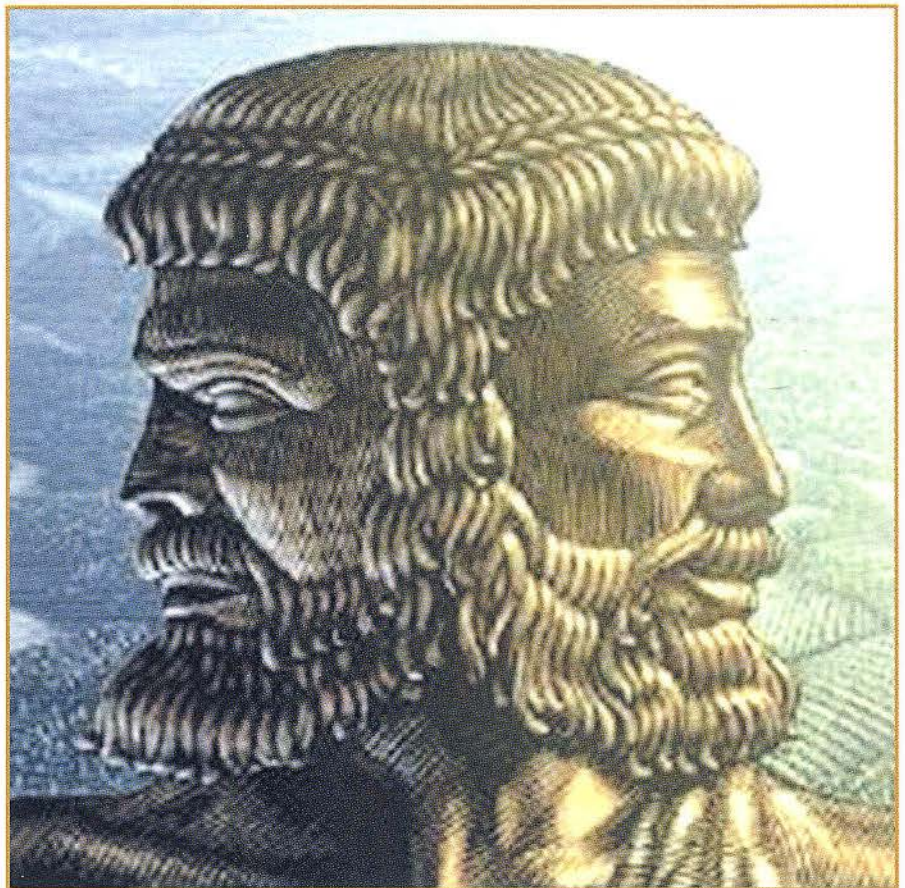
War breaks the normal elapsing

of time, rejects the normal daily habits and concentrates every energy on the common effort against the enemy.

The war events are the quintessence of the Jivaro culture and have a strong influence on peacetime. The collective memory preserves those events and the authority acquired with victory contributes to strengthen the tribe's superiority and to organize economic and social exchanges. Therefore, it should not be surprising that all aspects of social life are related to "war matters".

This shows that war is a cultural fact and, even if this concept could seem terrible and alarming, still we must admit that every civilization fights according to its reasons, traditions and religions.

From the psychoanalytic viewpoint, war is closely connected with human destructivity, which is the mind's primary characteristic. It is





worth noting that it is especially after the war experience that Sigmund Freud conceives the "death instinct". In general, psychoanalysis acknowledges that war is the institutional realization of a destructive urge.

SI VIS PACEM PARA BELLUM

As a consequence, war leads to the exportation of violence, both when the primary destructivity is simply exported outside against others and when it seems to be a mere paranoid response to the alleged violence of others.

The exportation of this violence to other Countries takes place through the language of war, a special language governed by the rigid and rational rules of politico-military grammar and logic.

After all, war and peace are two sides of the same coin and are comparable to scale pans that diplomacy tries to keep in constant balance through the availability and the possible use of force. As Henry Kissinger used to

say: if the recourse to force were practically impossible, diplomacy would also lose its effectiveness, and the impossibility of using force, far from leading to the solution of disputes, could perpetuate them. The renunciation of force would leave the international community to the mercy of their most unscrupulous and irresponsible members.

The concept implied in this statement is very old and goes back to the time of Heron, the Alexandrian mathematician of the 1st Century B.C., who said that philosophers had long been looking for a means for living in peace but only the technicians were able to provide it by employing applied ballistics which, in modern terms, is the scientific and technological knowledge contained in the "Military Technical Revolution – MTR" that, in its turn, has produced a deep evolution of the military thought, adapting it to the new strategic culture of the "Revolution in Military Affairs – RMA".

The development of the

military technologies produced a situation characterized by the same fears and disputes that in the 16th Century had marked the transition from the bayonet to the firearm.

Today we are witnessing the rising of the same delusions that in the past, in Machiavelli's times, were nourished by those who believed that war could be escaped through unilateral disarmament, thus avoiding the recourse to force. Besides, one cannot speak of "Pax Romana" or "Pax Universalis" since there is only the peace of the winners and the resignation of the defeated.

"He who wants peace must prepare for war", Vegetius, a famous writer and military expert, said in the 4th Century A.D., and he was only repeating an ancient Latin saying: "Si vis pacem, para bellum". This sentence actually hides an ambiguous and disturbing message, expressed by the dual symbolism of Janus' face which translates into "he who wants war should prepare peace". This

means that if war is planned for obtaining peace, to speak about peace is instead much more dangerous, because the same concept and the reasons lying at its foundations could be instrumentally exploited.

We can say that the bipolar era, marked by what was defined as "cold war", was really the mask of a "cold peace", since neither the East nor the West employed their strength on the battlefield, but faced each other in an armaments race which was decisive for strengthening the concept of strategic deterrence through nuclear technologies and related armaments.

To avoid war, seen as armed conflict and show of force, means to apply deterrence which, in the words of the French writer Raymond Aron today as yesterday, deterrence depends on the material means available to the State that wants to stop another one, and on the resolve that the State, object of the deterrence, ascribes to the State that threatens it. Today as yesterday the essential problem of deterrence is psychological and technical at the same time.

History teaches us that deterrence, meant as strategic tool for dissuasion, mostly conceived as defensive element, can be combined with the military applications of technology as, for example, that connected with the weapons of mass destruction.

As a matter of fact, the beginning of the atomic era, marked by the events of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the summer of 1945, opened a new historical chapter which showed how the nuclear military technologies could make deterrence a credible and effective concept.

Thus it was possible to demonstrate to the world that, in the future, it would be profitable to avoid war. Since then, the history of deterrence coincides with the

history of atomic weapons.

Today the concept of war has changed and, as a consequence, it is necessary to improve the principle of deterrence and dissuasion, both on the technological and psychological plane, as one can see in Raymond Aron's statement: today as yesterday, the essential problem of deterrence is psychological and technical at the same time.

Later on we shall see how the dual concept "strategy - technological evolution" affects the planning of modern wars.

From the historical viewpoint the polyhedral aspects of war are the outcome of that *Polemos* which Heraclitus believed was at the root of every deed connected with man's agonistic and conflictive nature; a concept that contradicts the opinion of the philosophers who consider the human being as an image of God and therefore naturally peace-loving.

But it is a quite conflicting peaceful nature if we consider that peace is a prerequisite for

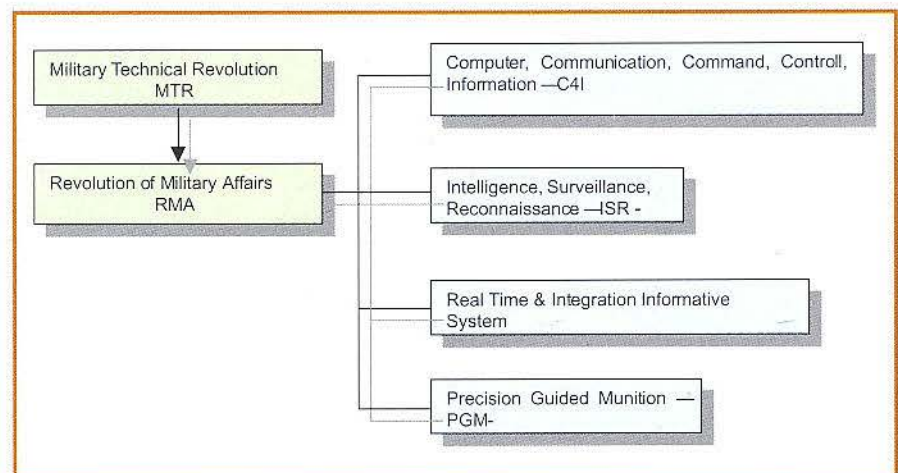
and accords, which are fixed and signed not only for justice's sake but also for political ends.

This consideration is in keeping with the thought of Karl von Clausewitz, the Prussian general who considered war a continuation of politics, against General Erich von Ludendorff's ideas. The latter, in his treatise "Total War", refusing the subordination of political power, conceived war as a phenomenon independent of politics and expression of the strongest living will of a nation.

War, therefore, is not caused by political reasons but by the demographic and technological development of the Nations.

THE STRATEGIES OF DETERRENCE AND WAR

Together with the Armed Forces' modernization there is a deep evolution in war planning because the background has changed. The development of armaments and the economic factors connected with



life and, at the same time, justifies war as necessary for justice. This conception is the foundation of the international laws on war, represented by multilateral conventions such as the London Agreement of 1933, the UN Charter of 1945 and the Kellogg-Briand Treaty of 1927.

War is governed by legal rules

globalization and international politics have been accompanied by the birth of new territorial configurations and new States, such as those generated by the disintegration of the former Soviet Union.

Furthermore, all this has partly caused the replacement of the classic concept of "war" with that of "wars",



shaped according to the military high technology, which includes information nets, microelectronic and optoelectronic devices, biotechnology, new materials, "stealth" technology (which makes weapon systems and equipment undetectable), and direct energy. An important characteristic of the military high technology is its integrability with other technologies suitable for forming various groups, which give rise to a multiform fragmentation of war.

One should also distinguish between Deterrence Strategy and War Strategy and have availability of two instruments of analysis known as "Deterrent" and "Flexible Answer", which should both be employed when studying conflicts.

"Deterrent" refers to any means capable of preventing a given action; our French colleagues

interpret this term as "Dissuasion", meant not as a means but simply as an action.

Actually it would be more appropriate to translate "Deterrent" with "Dissuasive" – even if in the ordinary language "Deterrent" is a synonym of "strategic strike force" – at least according to the classic concept of defence, which considers as such whichever means capable of dissuading.

According to the above consideration also natural obstacles, such as geological characteristics of the ground represented by mountains, distances and net-hacking, should be considered deterrents.

Furthermore, the strategy of deterrence should not be considered in strictly military terms if we bear in mind that the new wars will be fought on very different fronts, such as

economic competition, industrial espionage, speculation on the international market and, in general terms, terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

Historically, the Strategy of Deterrence goes back to long before the Latin maxim "Si vis pacem para bellum" and today, in the era of modern military technology, it requires many other means in order to guarantee a model of peace like the one conceived by Pailevé through the institution of a special "Peace College" as an alter ego of the "War College".

The basic idea applied by Pailevé considered only the moral and political aspects, according to a pure perspective of intellectual idealism while, in the case of the Strategy of War, to these aspects one should add material motivations which are meant to compel the adversary to

reflect rather than raise his moral standards, for the simple reason that if the enemy does not yield he must necessarily be destroyed, according to the saying that "desperate ills demand desperate remedies".

Besides, we should not forget that when a war breaks out the Strategy of Deterrence ends up by showing its failure to the international community, together with the failure of all the means that were adopted to ensure peace, and is replaced by the Strategy of War and its analytical instrument, represented by Flexible Answer.

In order to apply a Flexible Answer, one has to define the objectives and targets fixed by Strategy which, in its turn, conveys them to Tactics, for selecting the means needed for the conflict.

It is important to specify that the terms "objective" and "target" are two distinct and independent concepts. The "target" is in practice the material infrastructure that has to be hit, such as important lines of communication, airports, bridges and military bases, while "objective" is a concept not easily defined, connected with the thought of the Prussian military strategist Carl von Clausewitz when he said that "war is the continuation of politics".

This concept was more concisely taken up by Liddel Hart, a British officer and war theorist, who defined war, or rather strategy, as the art of using military means to achieve a political goal.

The objective therefore has a political value that in modern wars could be, for example, the achievement of victory against terrorism, while terrorism itself implies the notion of a war fought through a suitable combination of every available means, appropriately proportioned through the Flexible Answer.

For instance, in planning a War

Strategy against terrorism, the Flexible Answer consists of the appropriate combination of the theories and instruments of Sanctions, Intelligence and Networks.

Another example of a possibly successful combination can be found in the strategic planning adopted by NATO during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, which envisaged Sanctions, Intelligence, Diplomacy and Electronics.

In the civilian environment, precisely during an economic conflict, such as the one that took place in 1998 between the Government of Hong Kong and financial speculators, a commercial War Strategy was worked out which contemplated the combination of "Norms, Finance, Network" and achieved positive results.

The term "war" derives from the Germanic word "Werra", meaning dispute, quarrel,

struggle, and is regulated by very precise norms which remained unchanged throughout time, even if the technological evolution contributed to the modification of some features of the face or, if we prefer, of the image of war, which is now characterized by the employment of modern weapon systems. The basic rules of what the great Chinese strategist Sun Tzu defined as the "Art of War" are: Organization, i.e. the first operation conducted in anticipation of a conflict, consisting in the procurement and organization of the necessary resources and means: men, vehicles and armaments; Strategy, a term deriving from the Greek word *Stratos* and *Ago* which mean, respectively, "army" and "I lead", i.e. the art of leading armies. Strategy is the part of the Art of War which defines the goals to be achieved by striking two types of targets: Infrastructure, i.e. what is



physically visible, such as lines of communication, airports and constructions in general, and Info-structure, not visible, such as the flow of information managed by the military or civilian computer nets of the systems of communication, command and control; Tactics, through which one determines the means and resources needed to achieve the objectives fixed by strategy. Tactics also deals with the employment in combat of the traditional units of the Army, such as Regiments, Brigades and battalions. In substance, its task is to make Strategy operational by planning the operations more suitable for the situation: advance, retreat, relocations, with

characterized by a close interdependence with strategy, scientific and technological research, industrial and logistic organization, in order to adapt them to the specific scenario represented by the three configurations mentioned above: Military War, Trans-military War, Non-military War.

Each of these configurations requires the application of a strength resulting from the sum of all human, economic, scientific and industrial components which, in their turn, are synthesized and represented by three vectors: Man, Environment, Equipment.

Each vector is a power in itself which with a perfect integration

include only the weapons that technology provides in relation to the objectives and targets to be achieved, but also the communication and reconnaissance equipment indispensable for the information net.

The "Environment" vector has instead an intrinsic value deriving from the physical characteristics of the natural habitat, such as land, sea and air, where man operates, to which we must add the conquest of space.

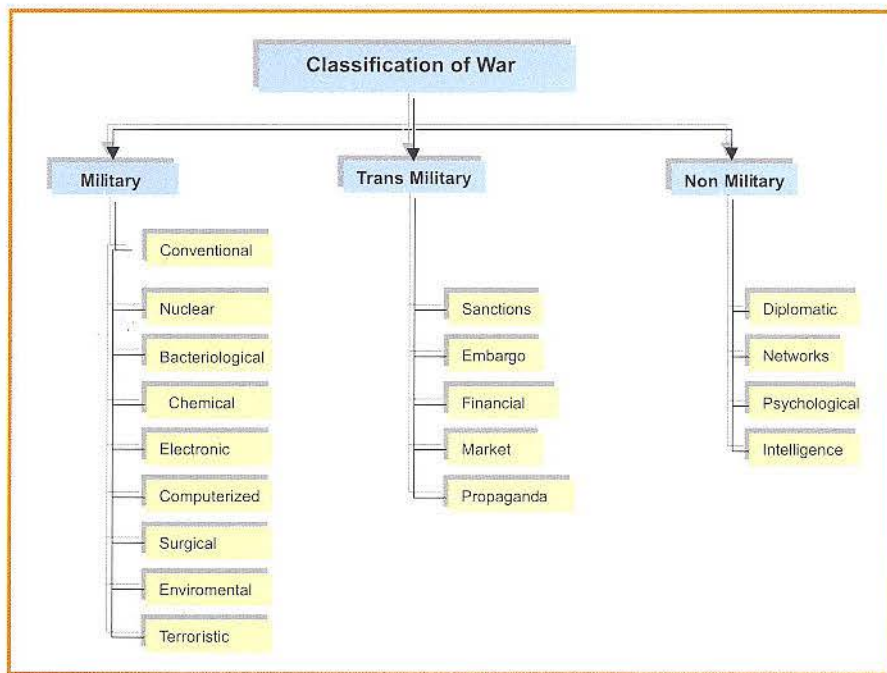
One should pay great attention to the Environment because the transformations occurred in the 20th Century have changed the relations among the States and the nature of the international activities, conforming the methods and techniques of war to the ways in which wealth is produced.

The Environment is in fact comparable to a space limited by boundaries within which the modern technologies are applied. This place involves not only geographical coordinates, such as latitude and longitude, but also the space where the artificial satellites used for military and civilian reconnaissance are orbiting.

To understand the importance of the Environment suffice it to think of NATO's commitment in Kosovo, marked by a reduction of the component of the "Man" vector, as compared to the one mobilized for the first Gulf War, but offset by the component of the "Equipment" vector, constituted by the satellites employed in support of intelligence missions such as SIGINT, COMINT and ELINT.

Space is an environment where powerful interests concentrate, and not only military but also civilian ones, particularly on the economic plane.

We should not forget that several private firms manage and distribute satellite images by leasing intercontinental



the ultimate goal of attaining victory; finally, Logistics, from the Greek term "Logisticos", i.e. calculator, which is the element of Strategy which solves the organizational problems connected, for example, with transportation and supplies.

THE WAR'S INSTRUMENTS OF ANALYSIS

Today, war employs continuously evolving means,

and harmonization permits to get the best results.

In any case, we should remember that the fundamental component or vector of any war is Man, with his moral and intellectual qualities that play an important role in the strategic planning of all operations and not only the military ones.

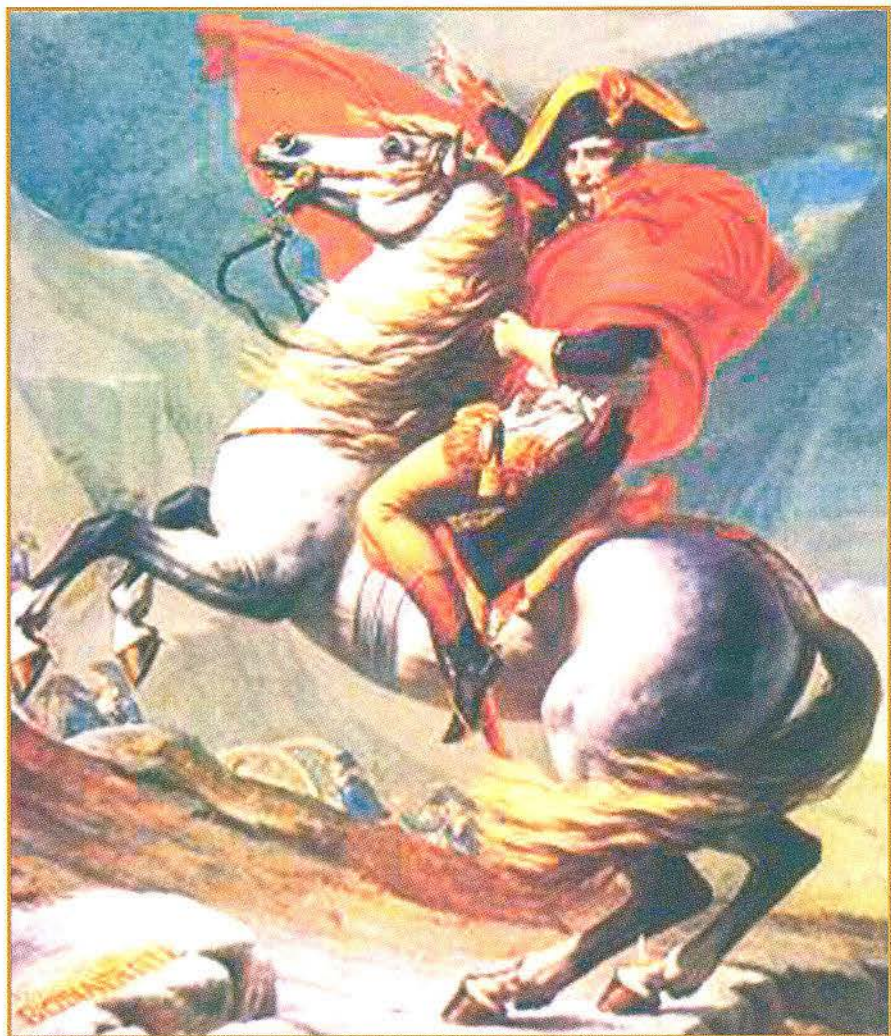
The "Equipment" vector, which can be classified according to the specific use of defence or offence, does not

communication channels and sell to many Countries the technologies that are indispensable for designing and building the entire infrastructure, i.e. the communication net.

To witness the birth of a cooperation between military and civilians is therefore nothing new, as proved by the recent Iraqi war. Actually in this case the U.S. purchased part of the information material concerning the images filmed by commercial satellites flying over the Persian Gulf. Images that were broadcast by the TV networks, in public programmes, long before the war's outbreak.

In view of these considerations, we can understand that in the future some military structures will become integrated with the civilian ones, in a fusion of synergies destined to create flexible organizations capable of meeting any need. Suffice it to mention the "Private Security Companies", the 'Defence Completion Forces' and the reservists recalled for support duties together with the military contingents.

Going back to the "Environment" vector, we can also define it according to four variables that describe the scenario of a possible conflict. Alessandro Ceci, an expert in charge of the scientific committee of the Centre for High Studies against terrorism and political violence (CeAs), in his interesting essay "Intelligence in collaboration and conflict strategies in the system of international relations" describes "Intensity" as the profit deriving from victory and the cost of defeat in the various clashes; "Frequency" is the number of times in which the opponents must confront each other with conflict strategies; "Location" is the place, meant a physical area of interaction between enemies, habitat and socio-cultural



microclimate; "Entity" is defined as a distinction between "Hawks", i.e. a synonym of the military or, if we want to put it in more diplomatic terms, peacemakers, and "Doves", i.e. pacifists. Also in this case there is a war, intended as an ideological non-armed clash between opposite entities, precisely "Hawks" and "Doves".

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION

The scientific and technological contribution to the development of a modern military infrastructure derives partly from the Defence research centres engaged in the elaboration of projects entailing complex and delicate problems, and it is practically impossible to

discuss them thoroughly in the space of an article. One of these problems is how to adapt the more and more sophisticated technology to the various armaments and their systemic integration in a basic logistic net where at present the computerized technology plays a determinant role.

The decision-making process aimed at overcoming this problem is carried out through the continuous formulation and exploration of an enormous amount of often abstract ideas, solutions and concepts, which are destined to be abandoned later for practical and budgetary reasons and which are replaced by other solutions that are nonetheless valid on the plane of operational requirements and technical specifications.

However, on other occasions

the opposite is true: an idea or a concept, born as a low-priority and low-interest research programme, with time acquires importance in such a way that its technical and economic feasibility, as well as its operational merits, become more and more evident so that, at the end, the previous concepts are dropped and the new idea is adopted as the best solution.

An example of how methods, concepts and weapons soon become obsolete is represented by the first modern technological war against Iraq, during which Russia, together with the rest of the world, was amazed by the practical uselessness of the Iraqi Mig aircraft and Scud missiles vis-à-vis the US military technology.

But what was most impressive was not the armament in itself but rather the tendency to systemize the development and employment of the weapons. For instance, the US Patriot antimissile system intercepted the Scuds and, once launched, neutralized them. Everything seemed so easy but in fact, behind the scenes, there was a complex multitude of devices located thousands of kilometres away: as soon as the potentially most dangerous and closest-to-the target Scud missile was spotted and selected through a Defense Support Programme (DSP), equipped with six thousand sensors able to perceive an infrared radiation given off from the exhaust of the propulsion unit of the enemy missile, an alarm signal was transmitted to a USAF ground station near Alice Springs, Australia. The signal was successively sent to the Central Command in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, through the US Missile Warning Centre space command, concealed inside the Cheyenne Mountain in Colorado, and finally to the operators of the Patriot emplacements, who were

ordered to start the attack procedure. All this activity took place with a warning time that could vary from 90 to 120 seconds, with a maximum of about five minutes, thus permitting to perfect the successive launching operations.

Thirty years ago this level of operational and organizational efficiency would have been unthinkable. As a matter of fact, history has taught us that for millennia the military technological evolutions have been very slow: they could perhaps be measured by centuries, and the great commanders were also brilliant strategists. The Macedonian phalanx, the Roman legion, the Carolingian heavy cavalry were, in their times, great innovations which made possible the supremacy of the great empires.

The same was true for the Mongolian bow of Genghis Khan's horsemen and of Napoleon's artillery: they were partial innovations or ingenious and flexible applications of some fundamental logistic rules. Julius Caesar often paid more attention to his *frumentarii* (victuallers) and to the legionaries' skill in digging moats than to their weapons. Bows, javelins and swords were almost identical on both sides and the Austrian cannons were not very different from Napoleon Bonaparte's at Austerlitz and Friedland. Neither were the British guns fired by the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo nor those fired by Admiral Nelson at Trafalgar more powerful than the French ones.

Still during World War II the weapons of the opposing armies were more or less comparable, but the superiority of the Germans was due to their capability of blending technologic development with the new organizational doctrine of Blitzkrieg which, in a certain sense, anticipated the modern "Revolution in Military Affairs".

Blitzkrieg, i.e. "lightning war", war of the coup de main, aimed at destroying the entire enemy Communication, Command and Control network. The German armoured troops had two-way radios on each tank and this detail was a very effective multiplier of their military power.

This advantage was clearly seen in the duels with the Russian tanks which, albeit more



numerous and technically superior, were penalized by the inability to coordinate movements and orders through radio communications.

However, we must also remember that the technologic superiority of armaments and strategy is not always a winning card if there is not an adequate synergic integration between professionalism and intelligence.

Man and his ideas always remain at the centre of every decision: the Germans learned this at their expenses when,

during the occupation of Poland, they confronted the Polish cavalymen who, armed with rifles and swords, forced the German armour to follow them into the swamps, where the tanks got bogged down with no way out.

That was an unforgivable mistake, which proves the great importance of the support of information aimed at gathering data concerning the enemy and

scientists at the NASA facilities at Huntsville, Alabama and Cape Canaveral, Florida.

They did not know the radar, but had built equally effective infrared devices. They did not invent silicones, but had developed a completely new organic chemistry based on eight-atom carbon rings. Behind these rather radical technological differences, also a different

German research, were able to produce no less than two hundred thousand international patents in the field of military and civilian technology.

The value of the scientific and technologic documents is enormous, since the return to industry can be assessed at countless billions of dollars.

Even the officials in charge of Washington's technical service declared that tons of documents had been piled in the offices of the US capital.

It is reasonable to believe that at least one million German programmes found their application in the U.S. If we consider all the victorious Countries, the number comes to about three million paper documents which were subsequently computerized at special research centres for further study and development.

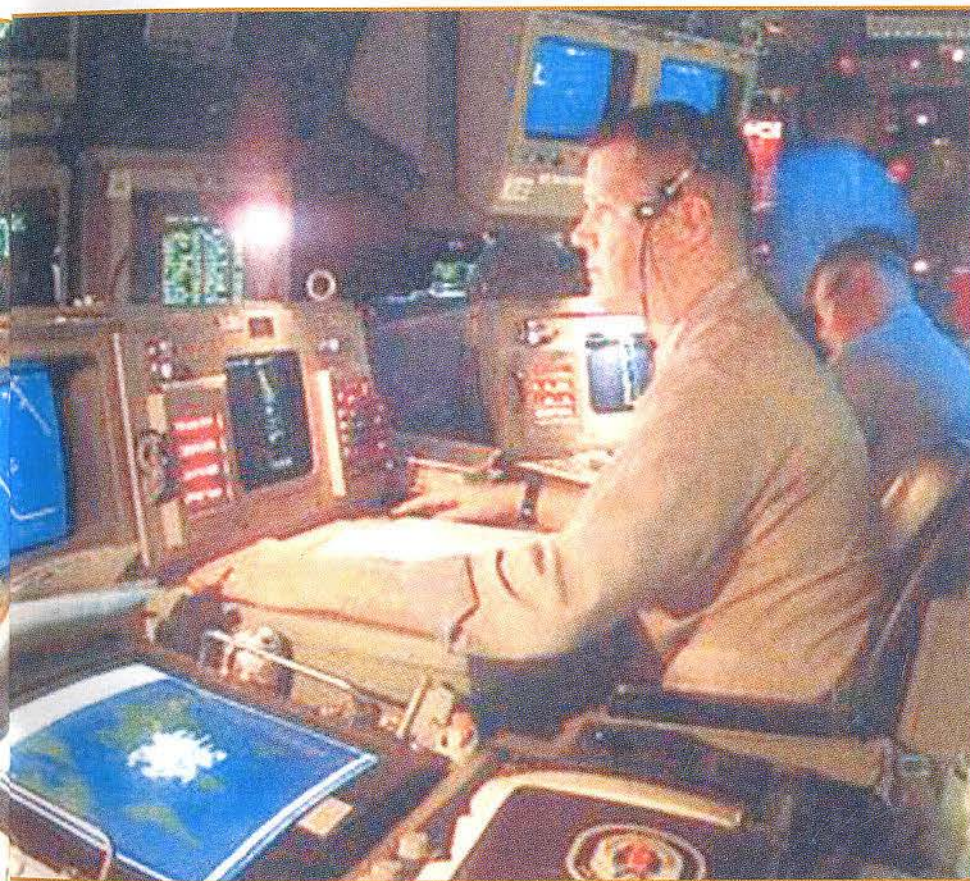
We can mention that firms like "I.G. Farben" and "Hoechst" alone, unintentionally provided the U.S. more than fifty thousand patents.

In the civilian environment some technologies were not exploited – and industrialized – to avoid damaging the economy.

As the German missile specialist Eugene Sanger said: as strange as it may seem, despite the very accurate descriptions contained in the patents, scientifically very precise, some of the envisaged inventions could not be realized.

From the end of WWII to this day, instead, the general development of technology has introduced immeasurable disparities in terms of innovation, design and production of the various Eastern and Western weapon systems.

Just consider the technological gap between the U.S. and the former U.S.S.R. at the time of the Cold War, characterized by the American supremacy in the field of semiconductors and electronics vis-à-vis the Russians



the nature of the ground where the military operations take place.

Nevertheless, at the time, the German military technology was very advanced, even if Germany had cut itself off from the rest of the world since 1933, following a way completely different from that of traditional research. In fact, the Germans were late in developing the atom bomb but, on the other hand, they had started a missile programme which was later resumed in the United States by Wernher Von Braun and other German

philosophic and scientific thought had taken shape which refused the principle of relativity and also, in part, the theory of quanta or photons. These theories were the foundation of the so-called Deutsche Physic, which is not the classic atomic or terrestrial quantum physics but the "German Physics", whose concepts were described in a book which was kept at the library of the University of Rome but is no more available.

At the end of the war, both the West and the East, thanks to the



who, instead, had progressed in the research concerning magnetohydrodynamics and bacteriologic warfare. With regard to the latter, particularly alarming are the statements made by Ken Alibek, a scientist of Kazakh origin, who graduated in medicine and epidemiology at the Russian school of Tomsk before emigrating to the U.S. Alibek is now an advisor to the U.S. Armed Forces and president of "Advanced Biosystem", a Maryland firm that studies countermeasures and vaccines for biological warfare. Until 1992, he had the scientific responsibility for Biopreparat, a secret Russian research programme, dealing with the construction of bacteriological intercontinental warheads which carried the viruses of haemorrhagic fever, smallpox, anthrax and tularemia. In 1992, the U.S. secret services helped him to expatriate with his family

and thanks to his disclosures it was possible to understand the situation prevailing in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. A situation that was made worse not only by the illegal transfer of armaments and technologies, but also by the flight of experts and scientists who sold themselves to the highest bidder.

In all likelihood, many sealed containers full of test-tubes with viruses and bacteria have been stolen from the Biopreparat laboratories and could be used in the preparation of bacteriological weapons.

In any case, the most disquieting aspect of military technology is that some Nations, especially the Third-World emerging ones, see it as a potential means to impose their hegemony on the battlefield, at least according to an old conception of war.

Well, if this statement were

really truthful, Europe would have lost, on the armament plane, some of its strength vis-à-vis the developing Countries.

To make things worse about the alarmism concerning the risk of possible nuclear conflicts, we hear the statements made by Mohammed El Baradei, director general of the International Agency for Atomic Energy, who, in an interview given to the German weekly *Der Spiegel* said that "the risk has never been so great, an atomic war is approaching unless we agree on a new system of international control".

This technological black market probably enabled some Countries to develop their programmes for producing nuclear weapons.

In various Countries there are highly specialized engineers and technicians capable of planning attacks to the world computer nets.

They are the same engineers, educated in the best western universities, who participated in planning the systems now employed at international level by the computer industry.

THE FUTURE MILITARY TECHNOLOGIES

After the Cold War, the military technologies in general underwent some significant changes.

The political and military leaders noticed that the civilian technologies were developing faster than the military ones and that, in many sectors – computer technology in particular – this trend oriented part of the activity of the organizations, such as the military centres for research and development, towards the pursuit of the activity of their civilian counterparts and the adaptation of its results in the field of military applications. Simultaneously there were attempts to promote new research programmes which from the beginning envisaged a dual use, i.e. civilian and military. We should not forget that every revolution deriving from the introduction of scientific discoveries and technological innovations implies also changes in the military and strategic field and that, without these changes, the new technologies could not find their full expression.

Actually they risk clashing with military structures characterized by strategic and command doctrines tied to theoretical and

operational concepts which are anachronistic, considering the new requirements set by the modernization of the weapon systems.

Clearly this entails a radical change of mentality produced by the technological impact on the "Man" component, not only at psychological, behavioural and organizational level, but also from a philosophical viewpoint, i.e. as a way of thinking and

problem of a greater integration and modernization of our mentality from the point of view of the decision-making, information and psychological relations.

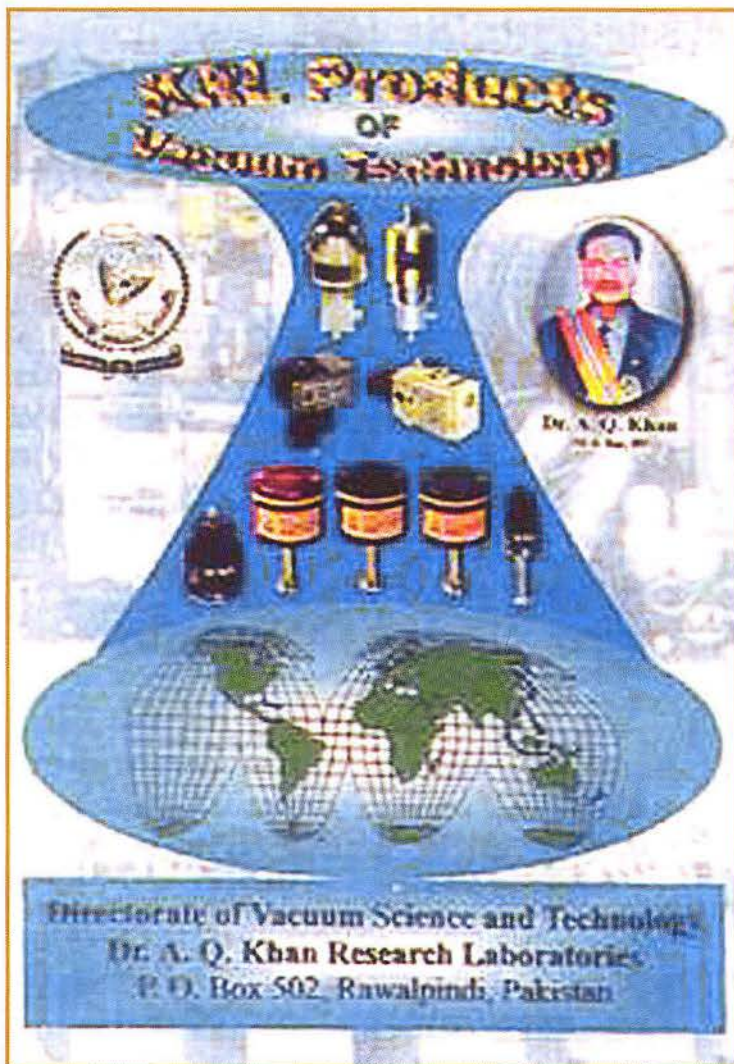
However, if the users are unable to make the most of the new capabilities or are even refractory to the new technologies, which they consider incomprehensible and unreliable sci-fi inventions which

jeopardize the orderly flow of professional principles, there are two possibilities: convincing the users of the concrete advantages of the technological innovations on armaments, hoping for a thorough professional update and training, or renouncing the acquisition and modernization of the future weapon systems. In this latter case, the projects should be implemented in such a way as to simplify the entire conventional decision-making process, for example reducing to the essential the employment of computerization, such as data banks and automation of communications.

This could lead to the abandonment of the old technological conceptions without

learning, appreciating and accepting the real importance of the new ones in the process of modernization of the military instrument.

On this point a debate is open and no opinion can be considered as final. The Country which better than everyone else,



conceiving the new reality arisen from the modern technologies.

Besides the centres for research and development of military technologies, which fix the operational requirements and translate them into project specifications, one should also carefully study the solution of the

with the exception of the U.S., gives a positive answer to the impact of the new technologies in Japan, since it is accustomed to live with a modern mentality.

In order to understand the choices and the innovations of the Country in the political, military and technological field, one should take a step back, precisely to September 2, 1945, the date marking its surrender in World War II.

The American General Douglas MacArthur imposed the disbandment of all educational structures connected with the traditional Japanese militarism, the dismantlement of the armament industry and the discontinuance of the military programmes of research and development.

Being a man of profound biblical education, the General should have remembered that man proposes, but God disposes. In fact, in 1950, at the outbreak of the Korean war, almost all the troops that garrisoned the archipelago were sent to the front line, leaving the Country practically defenceless vis-à-vis the possibility of a Chinese or Soviet attack against what, at any rate, was still the main logistic base.

That was the beginning of the Japanese boom, owing to the extraordinary occasion offered by the market of the Korean war.

As regards the future developments in the sector of military production and technology, it could be useful to refer to the concepts of the "Revolution in Military Affairs" (RMA) and "Military and Technical Revolution" (MTR) which are closely connected and are defined by the American Admiral William Owens as the "System of Systems".

Through this revolution the U.S. has organized the future modernization of its Armed Forces, applying the new "futuristic" technologies within

two distinct periods: 2010 and 2025.

It is a fact that with the introduction of the new technologies, in a sense the classic definition of the Art of War disappears, leaving its place to the Science of War.

In other words, the guidelines and principles of the strategic planning of military operations provided by strategists like Karl von Clausewitz and Sun Tzu are now being updated.

This updating consists in the application of the scientific and technological knowledge, especially computer science, to the Art of War which, until the 18th Century was considered as an application of mathematical and probabilistic theories to the strategic actions developed through the observation and the experience made on the battlefield.

These are the same observations that enabled von Clausewitz to write "von Kriege" a treatise on the synthetic study of over one hundred military campaigns.

It should be specified, as the Prussian strategist himself did, that his writings do not represent the theory itself, but rather a tool for the theory. This explains why his doctrine is still applicable today. It is only a matter of completing and adjusting it to the new model of military culture which Europe will necessarily have to implement in order to keep abreast of the times.

Military technology has made the U.S. Armed Forces practically invincible. Their war machine destroyed the Iraqi Army in about five weeks.

All this is sound according to the traditional conception of war, which envisages a confrontation with an equally traditional enemy, represented by an army.

Quite different is the situation in an asymmetric war waged by terrorists. In this case the vectorial components, Man-Environment-

Equipment, change very deeply.

The terrorists, in fact, have neither real armed forces, with ships and tanks, nor borders, names and addresses. In substance, they are an invisible enemy who has no force of his own but can use the strength and the technology of the antagonist, more or less as in Ju-Jitsu, the oriental wrestling technique



which uses the opponent's strength and élan to win.

The "empire of terror" lives and feeds on fear, because the objective of terrorism is psychological and, more precisely, aims at making people live in fear and deter them through fear.

Therefore one should not be surprised if the terrorist's mind understood long ago the importance of the concepts

contained in Raymond Aron's sentence "today like yesterday, the essential problem is psychological and technical at the same time".

Therefore, a real Revolution in Military Affairs will have to envision the development of models and theories in which scientific, technological and psychological knowledge are

and more complex and wide-ranging. Furthermore, in the future the Armed Forces will have to face sudden and probably less foreseeable threats, on account of the situations imposed by the new world order and by dangers such as international terrorism.

The war against terror has also an impact on the NATO

new technologies make the military commands lighter and more flexible, with no difference between war and peacetime; the decision-making process becomes faster, owing to more reliable logistic networks and less personnel.

In any case, technological innovations require large investments and for this reason NATO decided to concentrate some strategic decisions in the Allied Command for Operations (ACO), ensuring at the same time, through the Allied Command for Transformation (ACT), the modernization of the military structures.

CONCLUSIONS

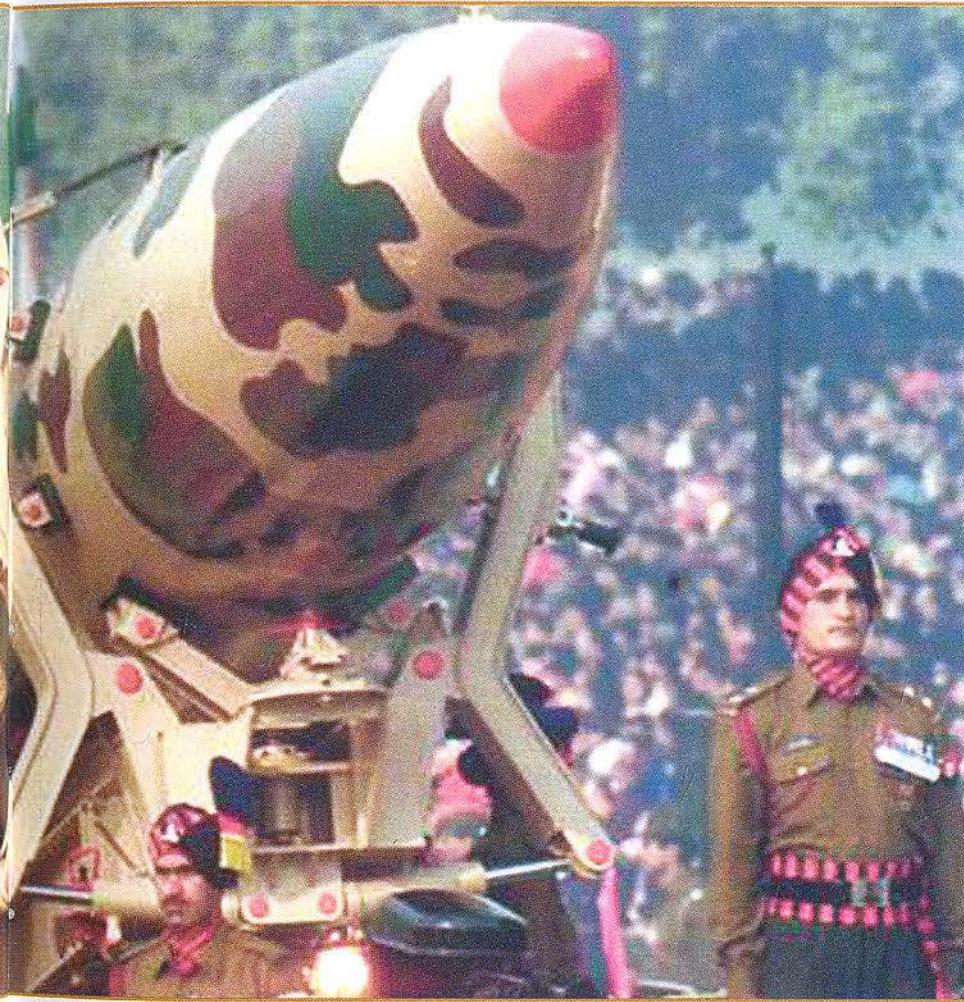
History teaches us that scientific progress and technological innovations are partly the result of researches designed for military programmes.

This fact emphasizes the long-known connection between war and technology, reinforced by man's need to produce more and more perfect and effective weapons. Since the survival of a given society depended on those weapons, clearly, in time, this need has continued to confirm not only the importance of research and development in the sector of military technologies, but also that of the investments aimed at modernizing the Armed Forces and the Defence Industry.

The slow and gradual mobilization of resources and equipment is destined to transform the military culture, fashioning it according to the new technologies through a continuous updating, limited in costs and times of realization, in line with the requirements and resources available to the Nations, also in peacetime.

□

**Researcher
in Strategic Sciences*



mixed together, especially in order to know every single detail about the enemy and fight him with the same weapons, the same techniques and the same way of thinking and acting; in short, trying to penetrate the mind of the enemy, so as to foresee and interpret his strategies in advance.

These considerations enable us to understand that the defence instruments will become more

command structure, wiping out the configuration devised in 1999. The precision of the new weapon systems and the acquisition of the technologies which led, for example, to the development of GPS, make possible the numerical reduction of the "Man" vector.

What today can be done by one hundred soldiers, ten years ago could only be accomplished by one thousand men. Besides, the

The use of force implies a legitimate and controlled action, violence, instead, lacks any ethic and moral content and, above all, aims at striking the weaker subjects.

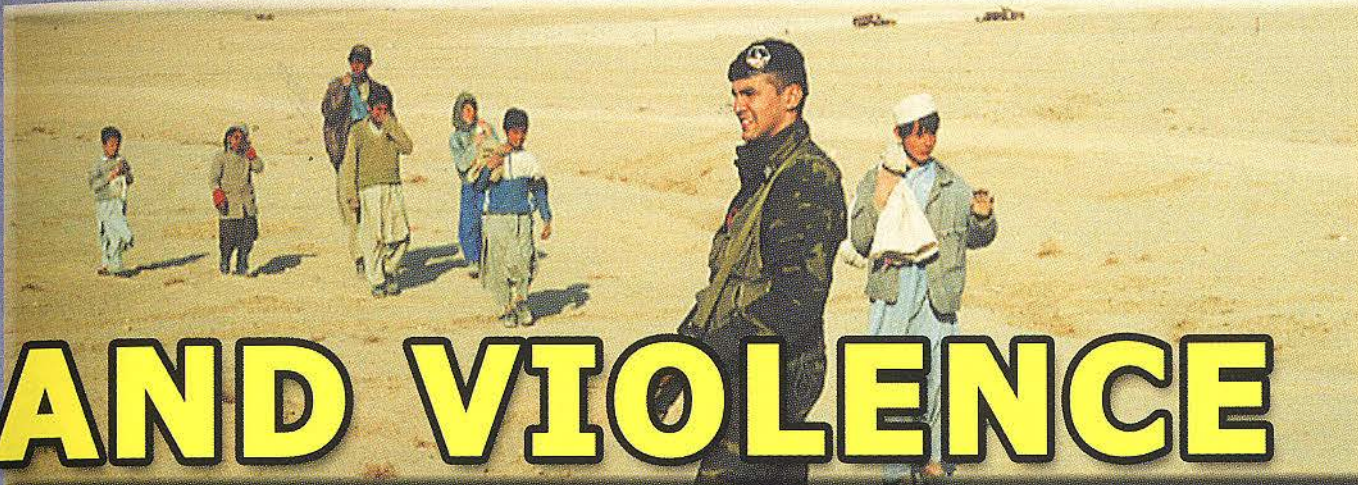
BEYOND FORCE

The two terms could make us think of two sides of the same coin, but actually their objectives are antithetic and their application is completely different



The present historical and social moment, as well as the increasing number of out-of-area missions, suggest to clarify the real meaning of the words "strength" and violence".

The legitimate use of force protects the defenceless, chooses its objectives, refers to Humanitarian Laws and International Conventions, has a solid ethic and moral basis. Violence, instead, uses strength in an indiscriminate and deceitful manner, and cowardly strikes the weak in order to injure the democratic societies.



AND VIOLENCE

by Enzo Gasparini Casari*

As is always the case for concepts whose meanings are very abundant or difficult, and which are frequently used also with regard to "violence", we note how much easier it is to detect it during the examination of historical events or in our everyday experience, rather than define it as a category in itself.

If we were to trust only our impression and the evocative power of the term "violence", which can be immediately connected with a situation of crisis, chaos, disorder or even transgression, we would consider it an abrupt and serious exit from a condition of recognized normality. In this case, therefore, violence would be a sudden, more or less temporary subversion of a precise reference situation, with different degrees of gravity.

While we acknowledge that the concept has progressively acquired an increasingly negative meaning, and that there are schools of thought which demand its condemnation in toto, we must also admit that violence in itself can be categorized neither as negative nor as positive. Its possible acceptability is actually indirectly determined by the situation against which it is applied, i.e. its position in the field of law or, on the contrary, in that of abuse of power, with all the nuances that this distinction imply. In this regard, doubtlessly, violence, as an extreme form of contempt of the law, of intimidation, transgression, repression of the individual and the community to which he belongs, denial of their inalienable rights, annulment of their dignity and legitimate expectations, can only be judged as utterly negative, with no possibility of appeal. On the other hand, the recourse to violence, when it is indispensable – and in the forms and ways allowed by the law – is not only fully justified, but even necessary.

Similarly, the use of violence – or to put it better, of force – is also justified in order to restore, at international level,

an arbitrarily subverted state of legality, to safeguard a right and to contrast or repress individuals or groups who, because of their ideology, commit acts which are clearly contrary to the law of nations.

In any case, from the etymological viewpoint, "violence" derives from the Latin word "violentia" which, in its turn, comes from the adjective "violens", whose root can be found in "vis", i.e. force. Violence, therefore, is the exercise of an act of strength aimed at getting the better – for the most disparate, lawful or illicit, reasons – of another will which either opposes or simply disagrees with that expressed by the party concerned. The latter, always in the original context of a clash of wills, can be subjected to equally violent defensive reactions.

Thus, on the basis of the lawfulness or illicitness of its use, one can refer to a so-called "good" or "bad" violence. To put it better, since the term "violence" has been assuming an increasingly negative meaning, making it almost a synonym of arrogance, oppression, coercion and criminality, today we prefer the word "force" to define its use for licit or right ends, while "violence" is employed to describe its use for wicked aims. Furthermore, there is a gradation also in the merits of this "surrogate", thanks to the employment of qualifying adjectives such as "controlled" or "unrestrained" which, by specifying a larger or lesser degree of control in the application of force, describe also its level of acceptability. Clearly a "controlled force" is one deriving from the conscientious and responsible employment of arms which implies, besides the sense of responsibility and moderation of the user, also an accurate training and the development of a process of planning and evaluation carried out by its leaders. In the case in point, they will have to define clearly and impose the purposes, priorities and,



above all, the limits of the mission assigned. On the contrary, the "uncontrolled" or "indiscriminate" force, precisely because of the disproportion between the countermeasures adopted vis-à-vis the nature and degree of the challenge accepted or endured, is perceived and judged as morally unacceptable. Furthermore is very often accompanied by poor planning and lack of self-control and this is considered an indication of scarce professionalism and even moral decay of the legitimate users of violence. Who, today more than ever, are identified with the Armed Forces and the Police.

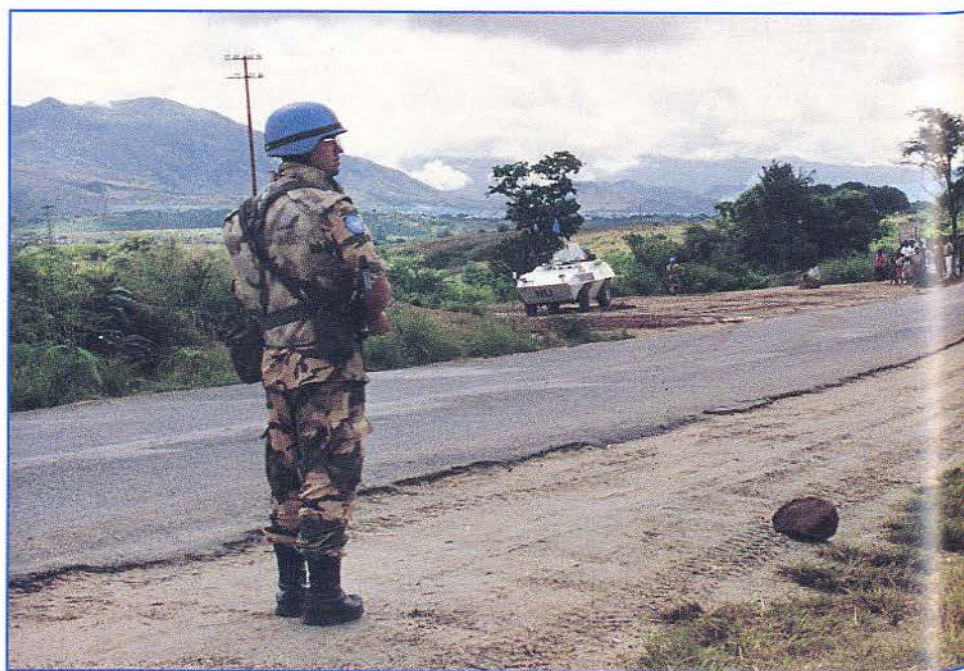
In other words, loss of control or excessive exertion of a "right" violence by the legitimate users in the performance of their institutional tasks is in no way excusable anymore. All the more so, because there seems to be another direct consequence of the use of force: the so-called "collateral effects", i.e. the consequences on people or things, completely foreign to the clash of wills in progress and

the resulting exchange of blows, but who end up by being the first sufferers of their consequences

VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSIVENESS

If we examine the contents of violence more thoroughly, we

come across the notion of "aggressiveness". With regard to this, the following consideration should be made: if from the military viewpoint aggressiveness has always been considered an attitude professionally valid in a soldier or unit, the same disposition has progressively acquired a less and less negative connotation also according to the

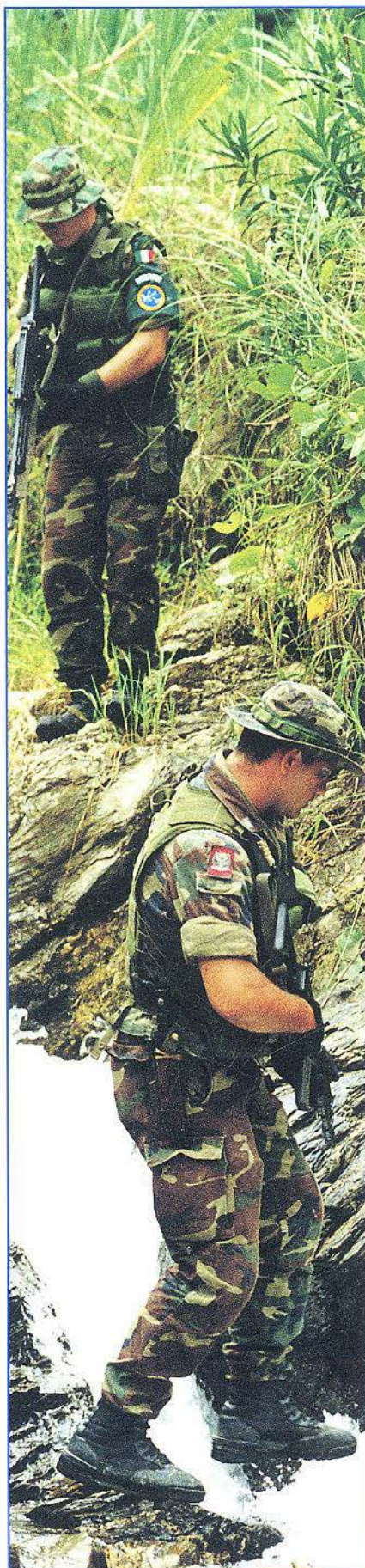


Facing page.
Patrolling the streets of Kabul.

Below.
Italian armoured vehicles in Mozambique.

Right.
Italian servicemen in East Timor.

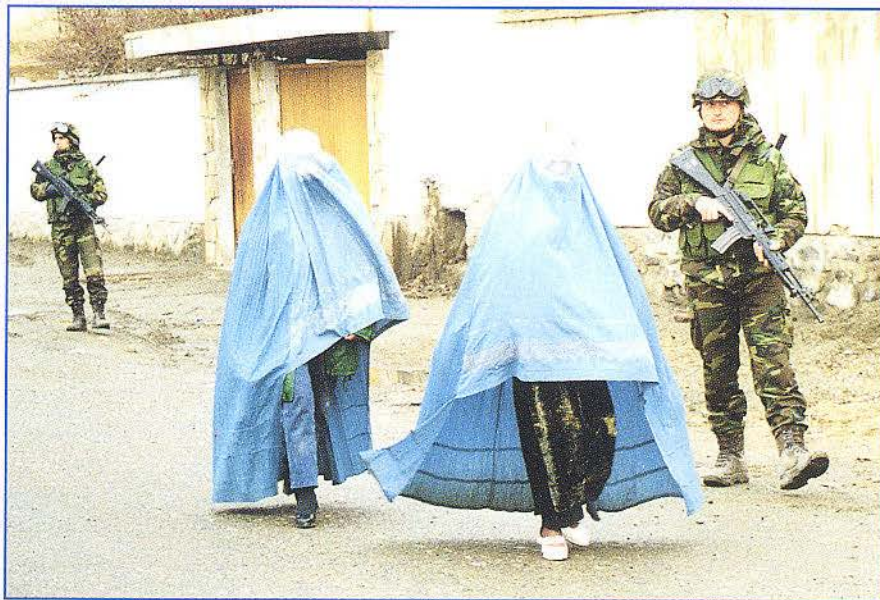
evaluation standards typical of the civilian sensitiveness. Suffice it to think, for example, of the world of sport, trade and finance, politics and even entertainment. When this stance, marked by hyperactivity, initiative, combativeness and, in some cases, lack of scruples, is assumed by their operators, it comes to mirror skills and qualifications whose possession is considered desirable at every level. The aggressive behaviour of a military leader or fighter, aimed at overcoming the enemy even in a condition of inferiority or difficulty, as well as that of a manager who adjusts his strategy in such a way as to resist and overmatch his competitors in order to get an access to the market or the exclusive sales



rights for a product, proves to be winning in most cases. Provided that this be supported by the appropriate psychophysical resources (willpower, energy, intellectual capabilities), by non-indifferent material and financial resources and be guided by a constant and careful examination of the results, in a cost-effectiveness outlook. Last but not least, a behaviour of this kind must also be submitted to an introspection about the indefeasible moral values which should be the common heritage of all men.

If we were moreover to make a very short historical and markedly military digression to bear out what we have just said, we could think of El Alamein. In particular, there is no doubt that the continuous aggressiveness that had marked General Erwin Rommel's actions up to then, with winning results from any point of view, just at El Alamein ended by being completely counterproductive for a favourable continuation of the war effort in Africa. The causes were chiefly the rapid decrease of the material resources available to the Axis' forces but also the decline of their spiritual "charge": less confidence in victory and in their leaders, in their own residual fighting spirit and stamina.

Aggressiveness therefore is the origin of violent behaviours, even when they are emotionally very aseptic and proceed and develop on rational bases. Nevertheless, aggressiveness can be sublimed – as, after all, can violence or, to say it better, force – when the latter is not subject to irrational instincts but is addressed to the performance of a mission. A sublimation that directs it towards goals that go beyond a pure and simple expression of physical overpowering. This is true also when it concerns sports and competitions of any type.



Similarly, the military peace missions have obviously imposed a redefinition of the aggressiveness prerequisite, since the personnel participating in these missions must be able to combine their usual pure and simple reactivity, attention, swiftness and ardour with self-control, pondering and a marked capability of perception and evaluation.

VIOLENCE AND THE NEW SENSITIVITIES

As regards violence in general, it is equally evident that it has been assuming certain aspects that are less and less typical of a pure and simple expression of physical strength exerted in order to achieve coercive goals. There are forms of pressure, psychological constraint, forced acquiescence or submission, pseudo-reeducation and more or less open conditioning which, even when they are not psychic torture, a wide range of which we have seen in recent history, are expressions of violence in every respect. We must add to the above the less devastating modern forms of misuse of power (the so-called mobbing) which are no less insidious for



the psychophysical balance of the individual, and seem to occur in various working environments. The term "moral violence" is increasingly and correctly used to show where it has stricken and left its mark (the soul, not the body) although undoubtedly the psychology of an individual can never come out completely unharmed of the effects of

physical pain. Similarly, in the climate of increased sensitivity and awareness shown by a public opinion certainly more attentive and socially involved than in the past, human beings are not the only ones being considered victims of violent abuses. Also animals (experimentations, vivisection, living conditions, breeding techniques, indiscriminate exploitation for profit and entertainment, and even their use as food), the environment (pollution, defacement, uncontrolled impoverishment, adulteration, genetic manipulation) and the social

sector (social injustice; economic exploitation; unfair wages and bonuses; non application of the indispensable safety and hygienic norms in working places; exploitation of minors; racial, sexual, political and religious discrimination) are seen today, especially in relation to clear situations of degradation and intolerance existing in many Countries of

Facing page.
Italian soldiers in Afghanistan.

Below.
APCs of an "Alpini" unit during an exercise in a snowy environment.

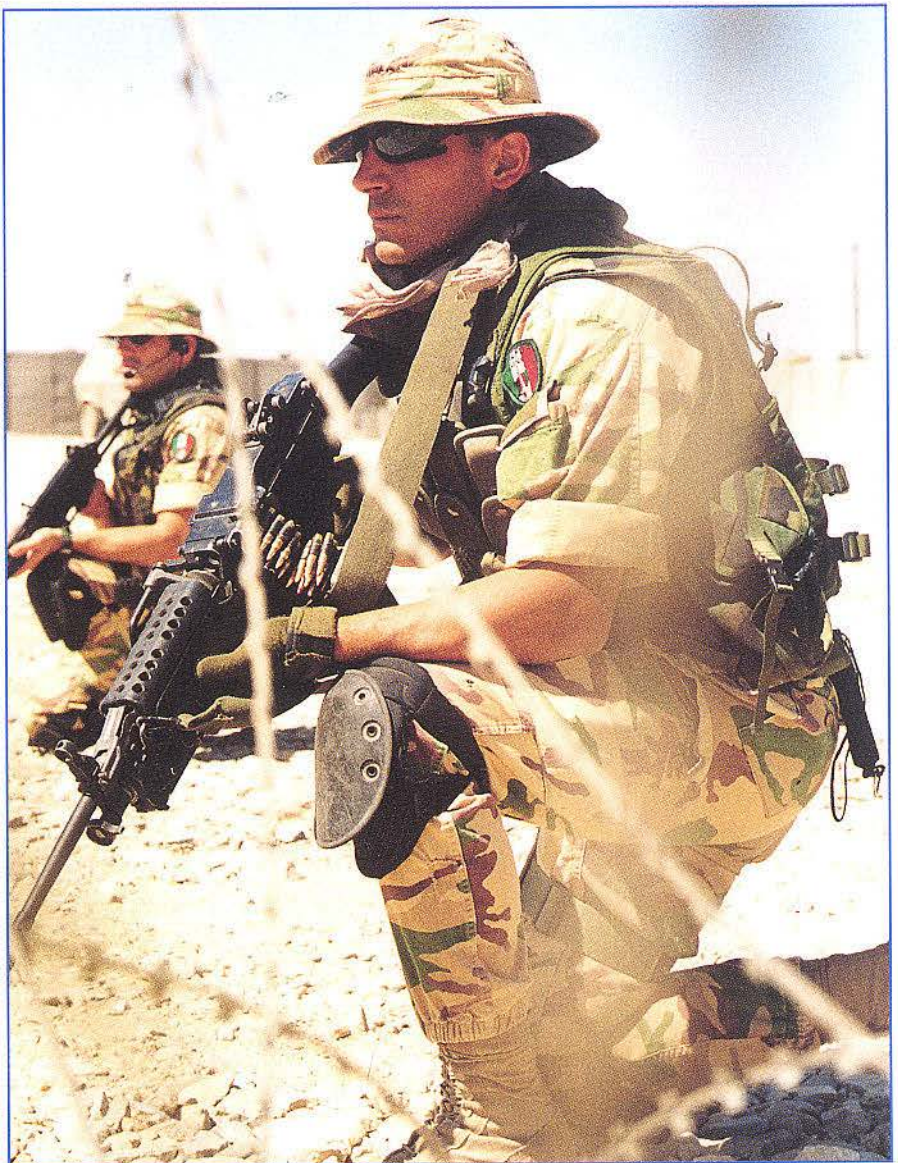
Right
Italian servicemen on surveillance duty in Iraq.

the Third World, as eloquent and increasingly unacceptable displays of violence against the individuals and the society to which they belong. Also the nearly unanimous refusal of the



death penalty, both in the so-called "civilized" nations and by public opinions is – beyond any consideration of ethical or legal nature – a sign of this increased, and in a certain sense exaggerated, sensitivity of our times about anything that can cause excessive suffering or constraint.

In a word, with time the concept of violence has been



progressively widening, reaching subjects and sectors which previously had been overlooked or neglected, with an acceleration particularly felt in the last decades. Likewise, violence has become less and less acceptable. This reality, if on the one hand can be considered a sign of the increased human sensitiveness towards one's fellowmen and environment of life and development, on the other, if the trend is no more regulated by a sense of measure and the wisdom deriving from normal common sense, it risks to cause, sooner or later, a sequence of well-known self-locking effects.

A "STRONGER" AND "LESS AND LESS VIOLENT" VIOLENCE

Going deeper into the aspects of more specific military interest, it should be underlined that this study does not have the purpose of tackling issues which have already been amply discussed and popularized by the abundant production on the subject of Laws on Armed Conflicts and violence. We shall therefore restrict ourselves to general considerations, one of which is that also the common concept of violence for military purposes has been slowly and continuously evolving in a diminutive sense,



particularly in the last twenty years.

Once violence was brutal and fierce, like the blow of a mace on the helmet of an unsaddled horseman at the mercy of the enemy, but we must admit, to its credit, that that kind of violence was rather selective in its chosen targets (which were almost exclusively of a military nature), even if this was due more to the weapons' scarce technical efficiency than to a particular humanitarian spirit of the users. Subsequently, the growing sensitivity of the high military leaders, increasingly integrated in the social and cultural reality and in the debates of their time, made violence more controlled in its effects and more discriminative in its objectives, and this produced the

mitigations induced by the Humanitarian Law on Armed Conflicts and by the War Conventions. Nevertheless, while all this occurred there was an enormous increase in the effectiveness, damaging power and range (with an ensuing increase in collateral effects) of the armaments, as they were made available by technological and scientific progress and unflinching introduced into service.

Going back to a particularly significant period, such as that of the Cold War, it becomes evident that, during all its course, the main *raison d'être* of the Armed Forces was the external defence of their Countries and Institutions against attacks launched by antagonistic Nations or blocs. But it is also clear that,

despite the further improvement and development of the international laws on conflicts, precisely in those years the procedures on which the defence was based envisaged the practically automatic recourse to deterrent and offensive instruments with a destructive power never seen before.

Later the traditional types of military operations were joined by new missions "other than war" which had become necessary in a rapidly changing international environment and had purposes and goals very different from the previous ones. This led to adopt new parameters in the conduct of conflicts. These parameters, specifically represented by the rules of engagement, clearly defined the circumstances,

Facing page.
"Alpini" on patrol in Kabul.

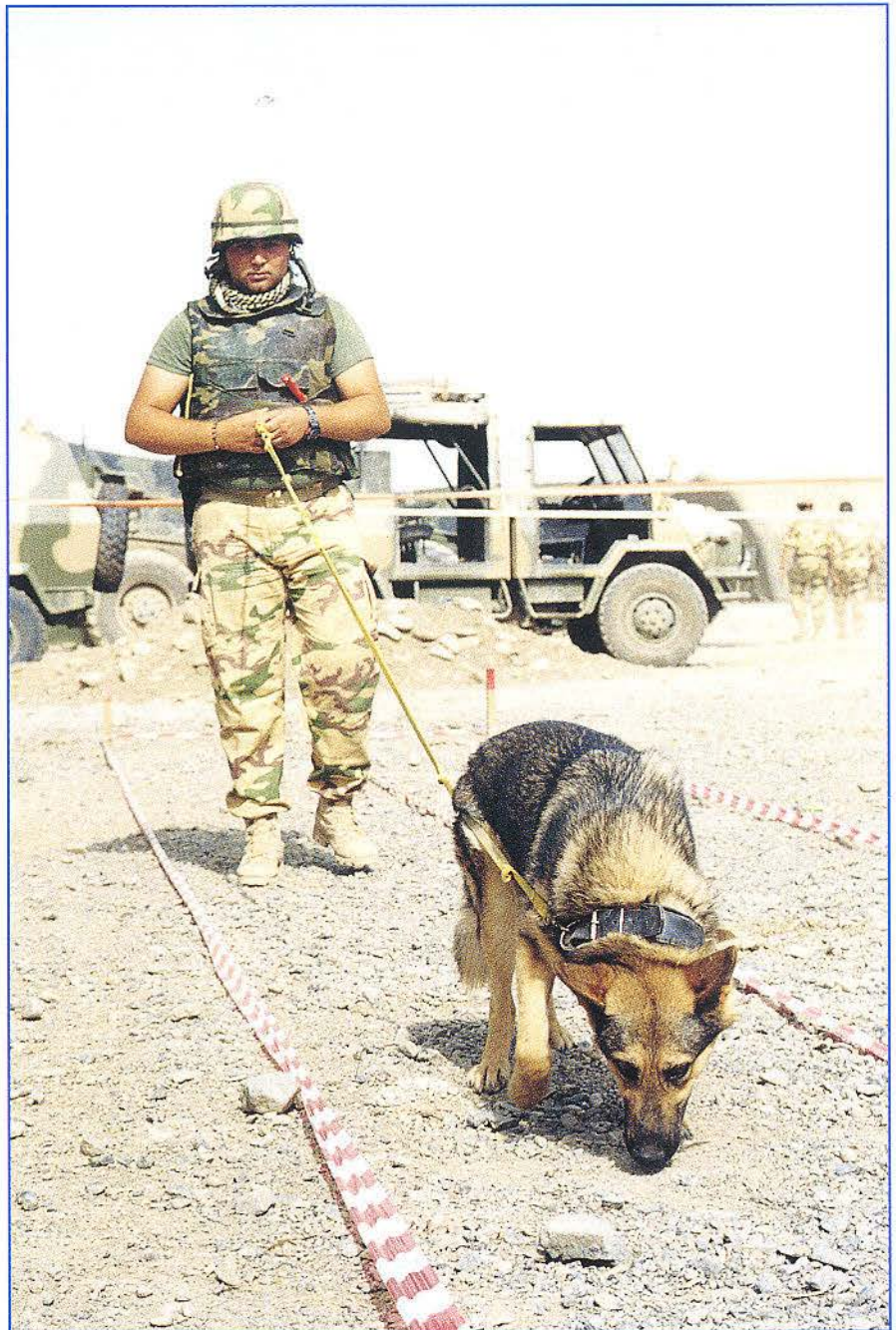
Right.
Canine units in Afghanistan, in their first "out of area" employment.

limits and modalities of the application of violence/force beyond the strictly technical and tactical requirements considered by the previous discipline of fire. In other words, through the "Rules of Engagement" (RoE) the modalities of employment of military violence were subjected to a thorough control, which was moreover extremely detailed. As matter of fact, the said Rules of Engagement, besides envisaging almost always a kind of checking list of the typical situations which could cause an armed reaction, actually deal with the lowest organizational levels of employment – in this case the individual soldier – destined to carry it out. At the same time, the intensity of force that can be used in these reactions is reduced to the lowest quantitative and qualitative levels (minimum force) necessary for the task, in order not to infringe the limits of the mandate, practically eliminating the risk of collateral damages. Needless to say, all this must be closely correlated with the type of operation and its objectives. Also the successive studies and debates on the adoption of the so-called "Non Lethal Weapons" (NLW), which have been going on for a decade, should be seen in the perspective of a further gauging of the use of force according to the situation, and of a progressive reduction of the level of violence. For this reason, the NLWs are fully entitled to be placed within this trend.

All things considered, it was precisely from the moment when the particular nature and

the full identity of the "Operations Other than War" (OOTW) were sanctioned and compared with the traditional "War Operations" (WO) that, within the military, the separation of force from violence was somehow made official, even if its premonitory signs date back to the stipulation of the first agreements on the war laws. The employment of a military unit to fulfill a mandate in order to limit a conflict, to stand between

opposing armies or paramilitary militias, to contribute to restore law and order, now as never before imposes limits to the concept of the use of force and, at the same time, it compels to unequivocally distinguish it from that of recourse to violence. The latter, refused also by the media, is now described as a procedure only typical of the "other" irregular or paramilitary forces operating in the Theatre, which are usually at odds with each other and often



refuse to cooperate with the peace Contingent in the performance of the task. These are "violent" forces, whose characteristics are moral unreliability, improper fighting procedures and techniques, treacherous acts and brutal behaviours. To resist these forces, the Contingent's units – especially in the face of all kinds of provocations and in a generally uncertain environment – must use power with great caution in their interventions, be selective in the choice of targets and well-balanced in their reactions. Last but not least, the personnel must have the peace of mind deriving from the firm belief of legitimately serving in the name of justice and for the achievement of a disinterested and superior goal.

THE TYPOLOGY OF VIOLENCE

Let us see now, at least in their essential characteristics, the main archetypes of violence by which the men of a peace Contingent could be confronted, often simultaneously, while they carry out an in-Theatre mission.

In every case, Cadres and privates must be able to apply the appropriate countermeasures, in order to prevent new outbreaks and the transition to an escalation that would be clearly antithetic to the dictates and purposes of the mandate. Precisely for this reason, the countermeasures can be considered, beyond the military requirements of defence, an integral part of a composite set of measures and provisions which, together, form the category of "management of violence".

In broad outline, base mainly on the causes of their occurrence, these expressions of violence can be divided into some reference groups whose boundaries are often unstable and subject to overlaps.



Left.

An Italian servicemen on surveillance duty with a personal weapon equipped with a night/day sighting device.

Facing page.

An operations room during an exercise.

Therefore, there could be an insurrectional violence caused mainly by the hardships, sufferings and tensions endured by the resident population, often aggravated by a condition of protracted deprivations. These more or less latent tensions can of course be exploited and, once they come out in the open, directed towards specific objectives by occult (or not so concealed) centres of power associated with factions or political groups, such as the leaders of the Palestinian "Intifadeh" or Somalia's "clans", with the intention of causing political and social chaos, obviously in the exclusive interest of these factions and within the context of a specific destabilizing design. The forces of the peace Contingent can fight this type of violence essentially by implementing the most effective measures of security and protection of their own members, obviously supported by appropriate forms of active intervention, both psychological and civil/military, towards the population. These measures could, if necessary, take the form of interventions specifically aimed at restoring law and public order.

There is also a criminal and Mafia-type violence, born of the institutional weakness of the State and the level of degradation and corruption reached by its organizational apparatus, which favours the establishment and rise to power of "parallel groups" determined to achieve the full politico-



economic control of the State, such as, for instance, the Colombian "narcos". This type of violence, which pursues more unmistakably private interests than the preceding ones, is certainly more difficult to identify, at least while it remains below a certain qualitative threshold as regards the level of the offences and the nature of their objectives. Usually it does not have a particular interest in acting directly against the forces of the Contingent, even if undoubtedly the latter could be involved, considering that their widespread presence and control of the territory inevitably brings them into contact with those responsible for unlawful manifestations and criminal activities. For this reason the military units need to acquire a thorough

knowledge of the topography of crime and of the criminal districts existing within their jurisdiction, as well as the techniques and modalities employed by the criminal gangs, the degree of intimidation and pressure exerted on the population, the level of the people's involvement and the nature of the risks. Our military forces will also have to be put in a position to protect themselves as best as possible and, if necessary, to give their contribution (Operations "Vespri Siciliani", "Partenope", "Riace") or to act autonomously (Operation "Alba") in order to oppose this kind of violence and stop its development.

There is also a so-called "committed" violence, i.e. in the service of a religious, political or social cause, which is generally supported by specific

factions which, even if they are usually elite groups, can take advantage of the not always fully conscious support of the masses (Taliban, Ayatollah, al-Qaeda). Terrorism is certainly the most insidious of its acting procedures. The extreme topicality of this type of threat is quite evident; to oppose it the Coalitions' military forces, with a remarkable contribution by Italy, are now engaged in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Contending with terrorism means, first of all, implementing a progression of measures and provisions which should permit to get rid not only of its most dangerous manifestations but also of its causes and motivations. Of course this can involve only in part the capabilities and responsibilities of a military Contingent. Nevertheless, owing to its



Left.
A Special Forces Unit in a "Fast Rope" exercise.

Facing page.
Controlling the area around Kabul.

Below.
VM wheeled vehicle armed with an MG 42/59.

ambitious as their expectations of success increase. In substance, institutional violence is what is made by the so-called "rogue states", which, together with a systematic repression of their internal opponents (discriminations, repressions and genocide), as regards foreign policy develop aggressive and destabilizing armament programmes. Furthermore, at international level, they support, in a more or less covert manner, the terrorist organizations around the world.

Clearly against this kind of enemies the Army cannot but operate within a perfectly legal, institutionally legitimated and ethical framework. Lacking even only one of these requirements, its action would risk being perceived in a distorted or at least suspicious way, thus laying open to

diffused presence on the territory, its equipment and methods, as well as the solidity and reliability typical of a military organization, the Contingent can give its decisive contribution to gather and screen the information useful for understanding causes and motivations, and implement, at the same time, the most appropriate opposition strategies. These strategies, could at worst be considered within the context of an "asymmetric" conflict.

Finally, there is an institutional violence carried out and fomented by totalitarian regimes, often undermined from within by oppositions which, although numerous at times, are denied any kind of legal recognition by the ruling bodies. In fact, the latter ground their existence and possible

development on a constant recourse to forms of coercion and violence whose quality becomes more diversified and





oppositions, even if these, in most cases, turn out to be clearly biased. Similarly, the context just outlined implies a sequence of rights and duties that must be taken into account once the intervention is decided. Among them, the Rules of Engagement are very important, precisely for preventing that an act of force could be interpreted as an act of violence and abuse of power.

CONCLUSIONS

The gap between "violence" and "force", which has always been accepted by the West and as such also acknowledged by its military institutions, has by now become unbridgeable and this also because of the

specificity of the Crisis Response Operations (CROs) within the "Operations Other than War". In other terms, the recourse to force, a modality of application of an act of coercion – legitimate, responsible, controlled and necessary for the accomplishment of a mission – appears to be motivated by very high moral and ethical ends while these are completely lacking the case of violence.

We see an actual regulation and self-limitation in the use of force by the Western-led coalitions, owing both to the RoEs and to the strict adherence to the dictates of the Humanitarian Laws in Armed Conflicts, as well as to the adoption of employment procedures and technological aids aimed at avoiding collateral

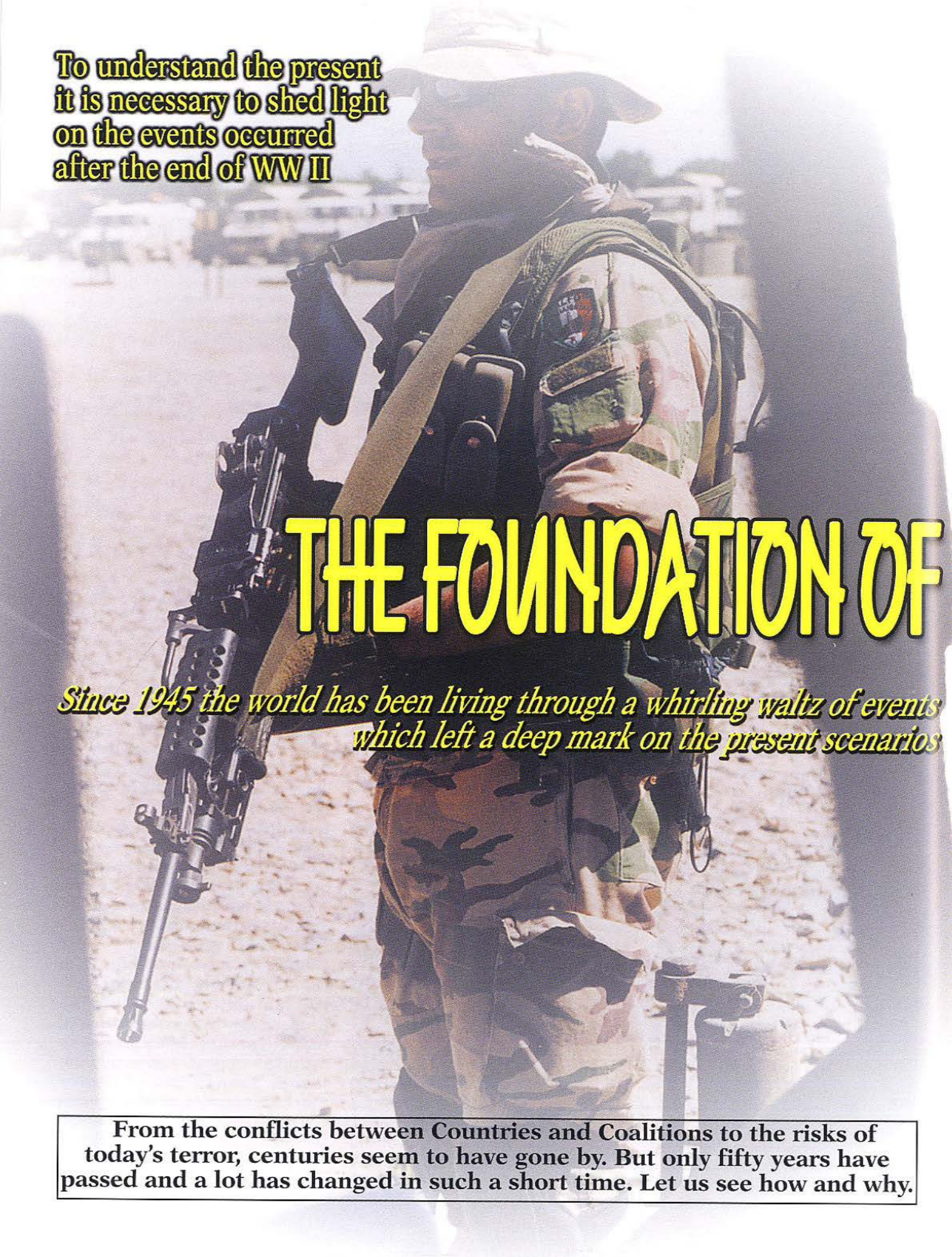
effects. It is also evident that there has been a progressively increasing insidiousness and impropriety of the fighting techniques employed by the paramilitary and irregular forces opposing the Coalitions in the Operation Theatres. At the top of these techniques there is obviously the recourse to shift and devastating forms of terrorism.

In substance, as regards operational violence, two different flows are now moving in opposite directions: one is evolving towards a regular force and the other which – owing to the brutality of its fighting techniques and lack of any form of discrimination – on the contrary goes back to a barbarity completely incompatible with our sensitivity, which moreover has become very acute and diversified as never before. In conclusion, military force is today the only legitimate form of a "just" and legal violence as opposed to a violence which is, at the same time, a manifestation of desperation and wickedness.

Since the degree of the self-control procedures for the use of force, and the ability to master it, seem to have reached a very satisfactory level, both in normative/legal and technical/operational terms, it is now time for the experts to turn their efforts towards the "management of violence". They should achieve first of all a full knowledge of the various types of violence, their specificities and the causes of their onset and development, subsequently proceeding to prepare the best strategies and employment techniques in order to oppose and eradicate them.

□

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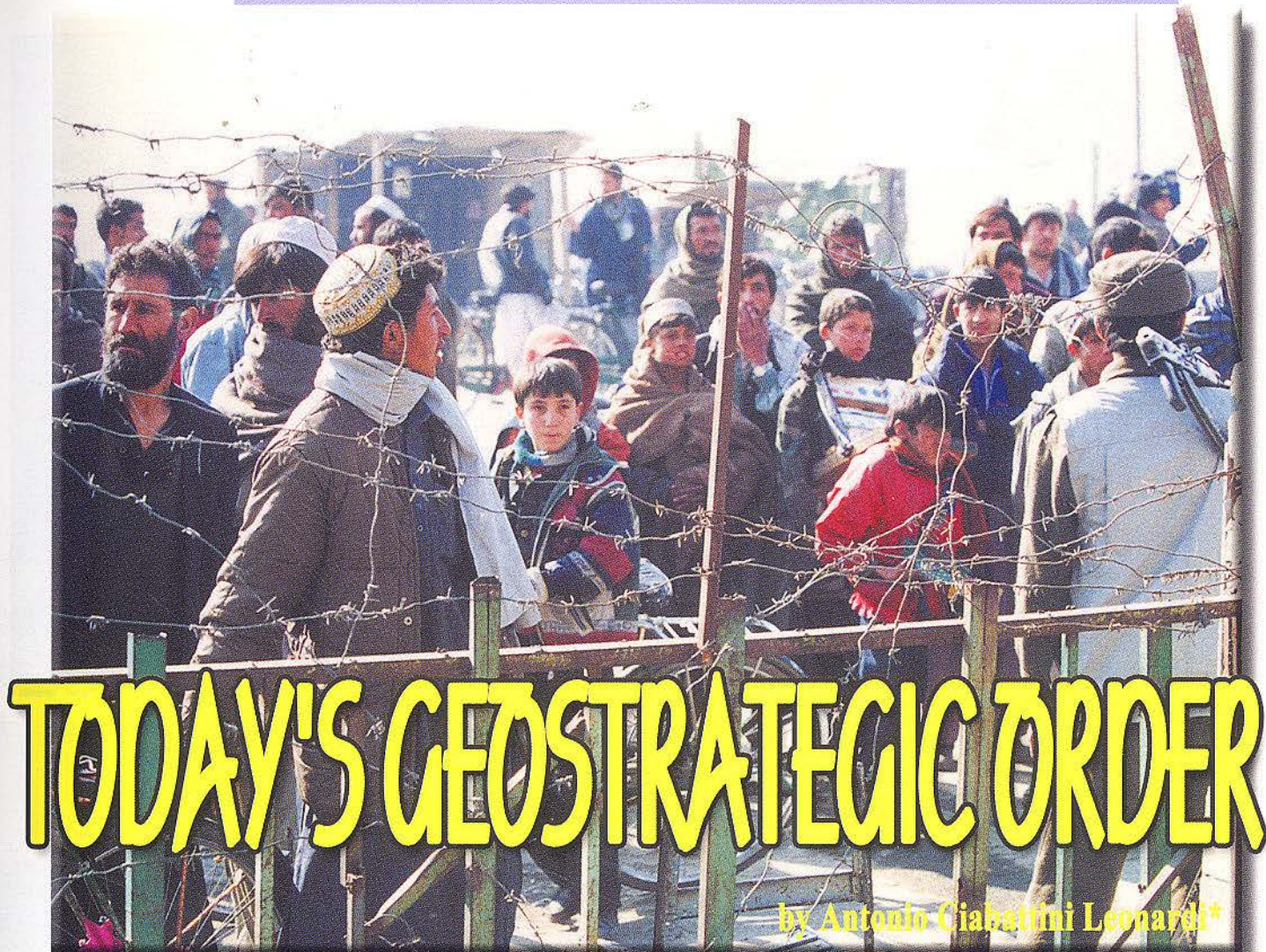


To understand the present
it is necessary to shed light
on the events occurred
after the end of WW II

THE FOUNDATION OF

*Since 1945 the world has been living through a whirling waltz of events
which left a deep mark on the present scenarios*

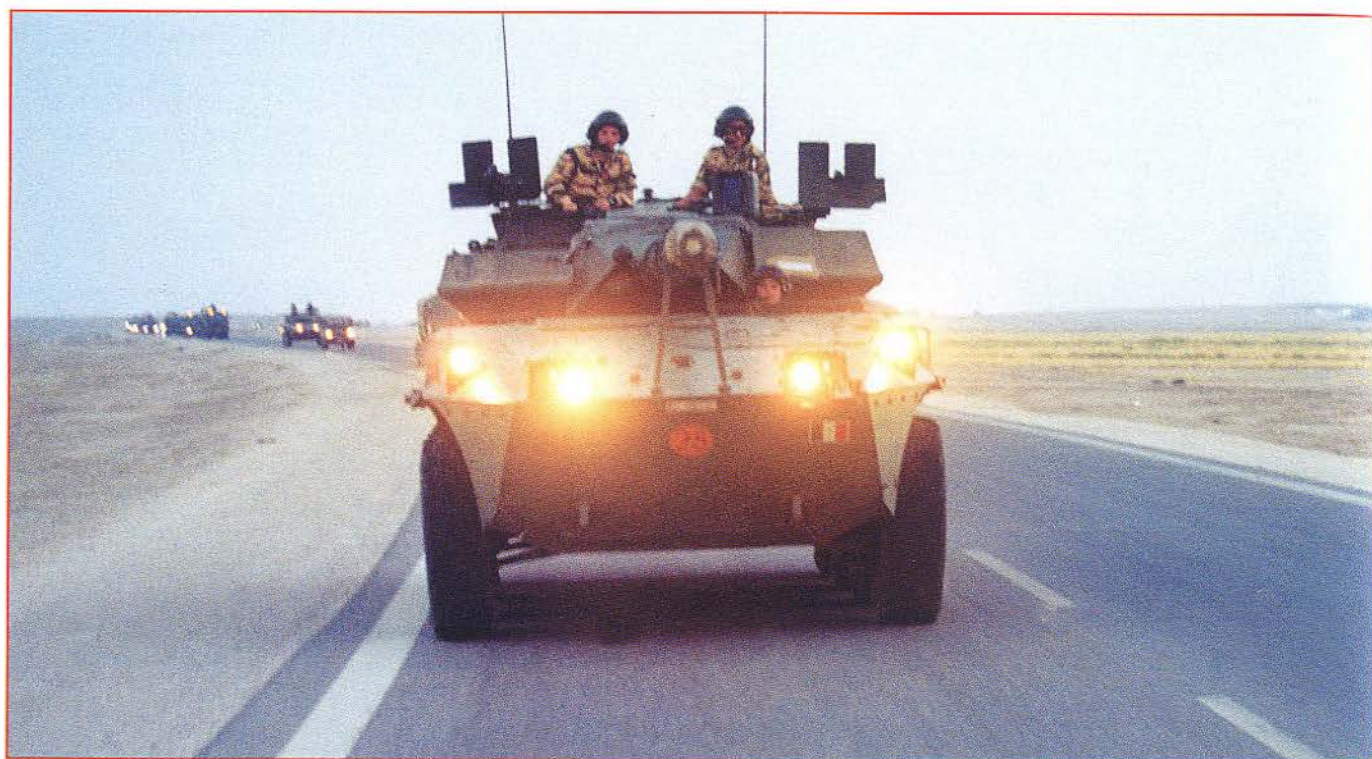
From the conflicts between Countries and Coalitions to the risks of today's terror, centuries seem to have gone by. But only fifty years have passed and a lot has changed in such a short time. Let us see how and why.



by Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi*

With the end of the last conflict a bipolar system is established: at Yalta: Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Iosif Stalin sign the Chart which, with the San Francisco Conference of 1945, will originate the United Nations Organization (UNO). The system envisaged by the new international order is not a bipolar one, but rather a system of collective security, linked to the creation of a new international organization that could overcome the limitations of the old League of Nations. Thus the UNO (or UN) appears to be the result of a kind of compromise between the system adopted by the Congress of Vienna and that of the League of Nations. In fact, the UN Assembly abides by a democratic principle: one seat-one vote, but in the Security Council the victorious powers are given a special privilege: the Security Council cannot make a decision without a unanimous vote. This principle (better known as "right of veto") was demanded by Stalin, who thought that after fighting together to win the war, it was unthinkable to split to keep the peace. Therefore it was necessary to operate by common consent. This axiom will later on be a hindrance to the functioning of the Organization.

Thus we can say that the system of collective security, born after WWII and envisaged already since the inter-allied conferences, is a result of the conflict much more than the League of Nations, which was born after WWI and within the peace conference. Actually the UN was born before the end of the war and came about as a compromise between a democratic principle, represented by the Assembly, and a principle of security and balance, represented by the concert of the great powers. The Security Council is not made up of European nations only



but also of powers playing a worldwide role, such as the United States, the Soviet Union and China. There are only France and Great Britain as European powers, but their weight has been greatly reduced by the results of the war.

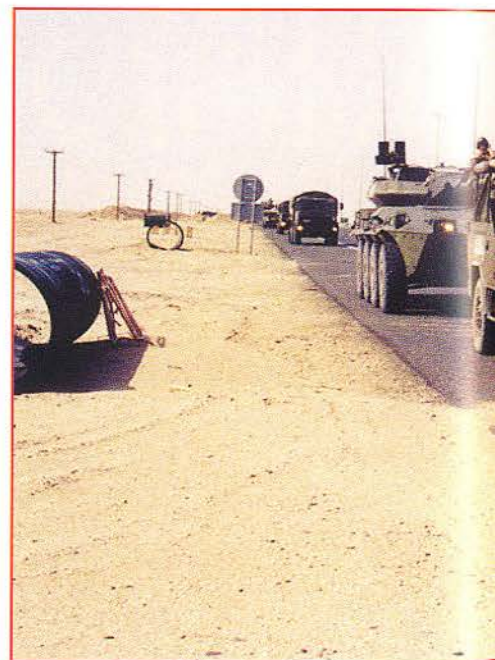
This is the project for the new international order, but the right of veto prevents it from working. The Soviet Union alone, in the first two years, imposes about fifty vetoes on the decisions taken by the Assembly. A serious split takes place, for example, when the western powers veto the entry of Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary into the UN, adducing as a reason their refusal to adhere to the principles of the declaration on free Europe. The Soviets will do the same about the proposal of Italy's entry. Stalin accuses the Western powers of interfering in the elections of 1948: therefore also Italy does not have a democratic government. The first skirmishes begin to show that the new international order is practically unrealisable.

Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and Italy will be able to join the UN only in 1955, after a change in the East-West relations.

For different reasons, the situation resembles that prevailing after WWI, when the defeated Countries had to sign the peace treaty with the Charter of the League of Nations as enclosure. This meant that they would not join the new international organization unless they signed the treaty. Also within the League of Nations there was a kind of discrimination, obviously with different motivations and contexts, with the result of paralysing the new organization.

The failure of the new international order poses the problem of how to restore stability and security to Europe and the world. This task naturally falls on the major powers emerged from WWII: the United States and the Soviet Union.

Thus we can understand that the balance problem of the post-war system cannot be solved rapidly, owing precisely to the presence of those two



superpowers. Only a decade later, from 1945 to 1955, it becomes possible to talk about the achievement of a certain equilibrium as a result of a series of weights and counterweights, which end up by balancing and adjusting their relations. They are called "super" in order to distinguish them from the "great" ones, in consideration of their

role, completely different from that of the former great powers.

A FIRST WORLD BALANCE

The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. establish a new world balance which lasts until 1989. Each of them adopts a different strategy: according to the Soviets it could be called "strategy of bilateralism"; the Americans instead adopt a "strategy of multilateralism". They conform to two different conceptions of security. For the Soviets the problem of security exists only on the strategic-military plane. Stalin's plan is to create his own anti-German system against the possible revival of certain ideologies. The U.S.S.R. has the same problem also in the Far



East, where the development of a great China is looming and this can hinder the Soviet Union's plans. As a matter of fact, Stalin does his best to reconcile Communist China and Nationalist China, i.e. Mao Dze-Dong and Chang Kai-Shek, since he believes that two entities are better than one, like the two Germanys in Europe. In fact,

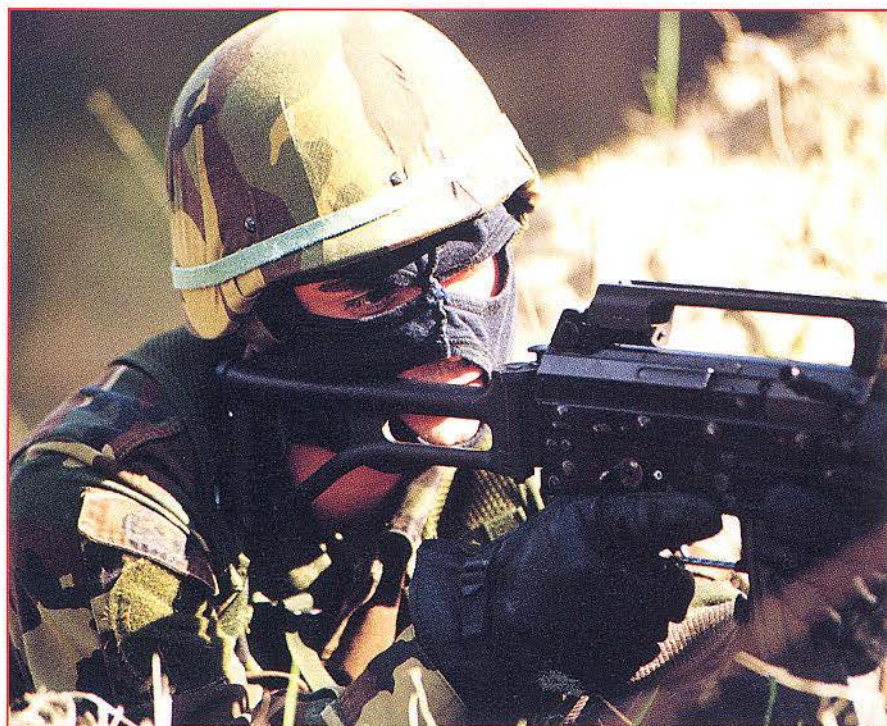
China remains divided in two, but while the Nationalist side is confined to the island of Taiwan the continental part becomes Great China. From this viewpoint Stalin fails and later will have to confront Mao.

The Soviet bilateralism, therefore, succeeds only in Europe where it can be easily realized because there are several

Countries, large and small, but weak as a result of the war events. Suffice it to think that in Central and Eastern Europe, from Poland to Czechoslovakia, from Hungary to Rumania, all went through the German invasion first, and later endured the Soviet occupation. They are weak Countries and, what is more, often in contrast with each other for ethnic and territorial problems. Thus it is easy for Stalin to implement bilateral accords with them, with an eye to the security interests of the USSR. To this end, the first instrument used by the Soviets is not economic, but military. In fact, the Red Army, which had arrived to "liberate" those Countries, remains there in order to guarantee their security against a possible revival of the German threat. The Soviet bloc is thus born, based on bilateral alliances which, in order to be stable and functional according to Stalin's design, must be managed by strong governments, well aligned with the Soviet positions.

It is true that in Eastern

Europe there are elections, according to the Yalta agreements, but they are held under pressure of the Red Army's presence. All those who have collaborated with the Nazis or oppose the Communist Party are persecuted. Thus the so-called "people's democracies" are born, but in none of them the Communist Party gets the majority, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, the only Country which had been allied with the Soviet Union already during the war. There, the Communists achieve 38% of the votes, while in all other Countries they reach a meagre 10-11%. They remain in power anyway, because this 10-11% enter the Government together with the democratic forces by virtue of a unanimous



Minister of Defence, i.e. all strategic posts. In Poland, actually, until 1955 the Minister of Defence has been the Soviet Marshal Rokossovski, imposed by the Red Army on its arrival. So there is a transition from a people's democracy to a one-party system since, with the Communists in power, the progressive democratic forces are deprived of power.

On the economic plane, initially there is a really unilateral exploitation. A distinction is made among these Countries, since some of them have been defeated, like Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, and they had to sign peace treaties which envisaged huge economic advantages for Moscow, while others have fought at its side. Among the defeated Countries, for instance, Rumania must hand over its oil production to the Soviet Union as compensation for war damages, and if this is not done with due regularity a fine of 5% is added. In substance, until the sixties the Rumanian economy is heavily conditioned by the Soviet interests, while Bulgaria becomes a real

recognition: they are the ones that have fought Nazism. The progressive democratic forces want to introduce radical reforms, the agrarian reform, for example. This is possible because these Countries come from systems where large estates were the main characteristic. The democrats believe that these

reforms can be realized only with the left and that with the Communists it is possible to collaborate. The people's democracies derive from this cooperation, but the Communist representatives end up by holding the key positions: Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Foreign Affairs,



protectorate, in line with the ancient czarist traditions.

The Soviet bloc should not be confused with the Warsaw Pact, which is born in a completely different context. The Soviet bloc dates back to 1945-1948 and the bilateral alliances are almost exclusively anti-German. When, with the East-West confrontation, these alliances become anti-Western, an actual network is set up in 1947-1949 among the satellite Countries which sign mutual agreements, such as those between Poland and Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Hungary and Rumania, Rumania and Bulgaria. The network is obviously controlled by Moscow. This is a success for the Soviet strategy in Eastern Europe, strengthens on the political plane what Stalin has accomplished at military level during the war, and stems from the new international order proclaimed at Yalta.

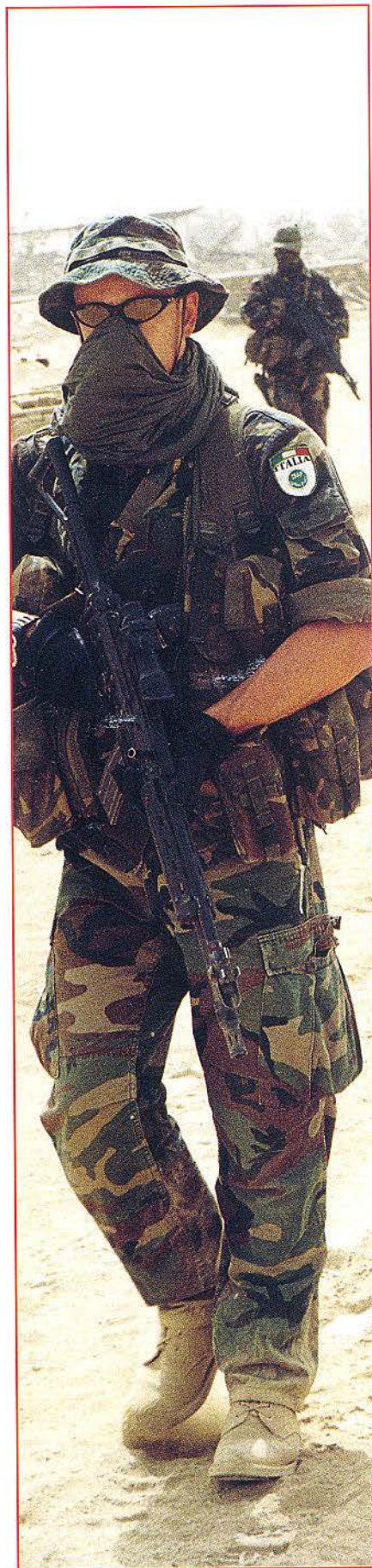
The bilateral strategy does not get the same result in the Far East, since it does not succeed in preventing the establishment of a great continental China. The only favourable element is that, at the

beginning, there is an ideological brotherhood, also because Mao is interested in the Soviet Union's support. Stalin's worry is that China could be re-included in the international community. The U.S., in fact, after the failure of the intermediation between Mao and Chang Kai-shek, begins to consider the recognition of Peking and its reintegration within the international community.

This would be a hard blow for Stalin's policy, which is aimed at subjecting China to the interests of the Soviet Union, but also at isolating it from the international context, in order to bind it more and more to the Soviet requirements. This objective is reached with the Korean crisis. With the Korean war of 1950, China is opposed to the U.N. and it is only after Stalin's death – and the consequent internal political crisis – that Mao can seize the opportunity to escape Moscow's influence, confronting the Soviet Union with a policy which, in the '70s, will lead China to be seen as a possible third pole.

THE AMERICAN EXAMPLE

Also the United States adopts its own strategy, definable as "multilateralism strategy". It succeeds in Europe but fails in the Far East for reasons that are different but anyway similar to the Soviet ones. Washington, unlike Moscow, does not have a problem of strategic security since it is militarily stronger, not only for having won the war and having suffered no invasions and damages, but especially because for some years it has been holding the monopoly of the atomic weapon. The war has brought wealth, the armament industries have been working at full steam supplying all battle fields, from Europe to the Far East, reaching a very high level of



production and employment. In this period the U.S. enjoys an unprecedented period of economic strength, but is also worried about the post-war period. There is the risk of a serious economic recession which could throw the nation in a situation worse than that of 1929. Without a strong economy it is difficult to remain a strategic-military power. It is necessary to proceed to an immediate industrial changeover and turn out consumer goods instead of armaments, keeping at the same time a high production level, because the troops returning home require new sources of employment. At the end of WWII, the main problem is to secure the markets. The "globalization" process is starting to take root, with the purpose of finding economic and commercial outlets. In fact, already before the end of the war, the Bretton Woods agreements marked the transition from a system linked to the pound sterling to a new one tied to the dollar. Not surprisingly the United Kingdom considers this system the most serious threat to its role as world power.

The British now feel more threatened by the American power than by the Soviets. The U.S. begins to replace them starting from 1940. When Great Britain succeeds in driving back the German invasion, it suffers heavy losses and, in September 1940, signs an accord with the U.S. called the "Destroyer Agreement" since it envisages the delivery of 40 of these craft. The ships are not delivered free of charge: in exchange the U.S. asks some bases in the Caribbean and economic concessions inside the Commonwealth. Then there is the "Lend-Lease Act" which is a decisive help for Great Britain and the others powers at war.

This is another spur to succeed the European powers in their imperial positions, and the



Bretton Wood agreements mark the multilateral strategy which is rounded off in October 1947 in the Havana Charter with a general agreement on customs duties and trade (GATT). This is the central problem: how to guarantee the liberalization of trade in order to secure new markets on which to sell the surplus of production which is by now a fact. The U.S. cannot adopt a bilateral strategy because the Countries that are exhausted by war are not looking for liberalization but rather for protectionism, so that they may start their economic recovery and protect themselves from external competition. This gives birth to the "Marshall Plan" (named after the U.S. Secretary of State) which intends to liberalize the markets and favour the American



foreign policy. It is preceded by the "Truman Doctrine" (economic support to Greece and Turkey) a kind of politico-ideological platform. Actually, it is an economic matter, in that the Americans do not fear Moscow's military threat, also because, as we said, the Soviet bilateral alliances are not anti-West, but want to prevent the resurgence of Germany. The Marshall Plan is fundamental in order to understand a strategy whose mainstay is precisely Germany, because there is where the problem is. Placed at the heart of Europe, it is the Country most devastated by war. It is the hungriest, and this creates a political, economic and military vacuum which, if it were to be filled by the Soviet Union, could mean the end of the American influence in Europe.

When the Plan is launched on June 5, 1947, the American Secretary of State, with a famous speech delivered at Harvard, underlines that it is not a simple humanitarian plan.

Marshall combines three important conditions – or we

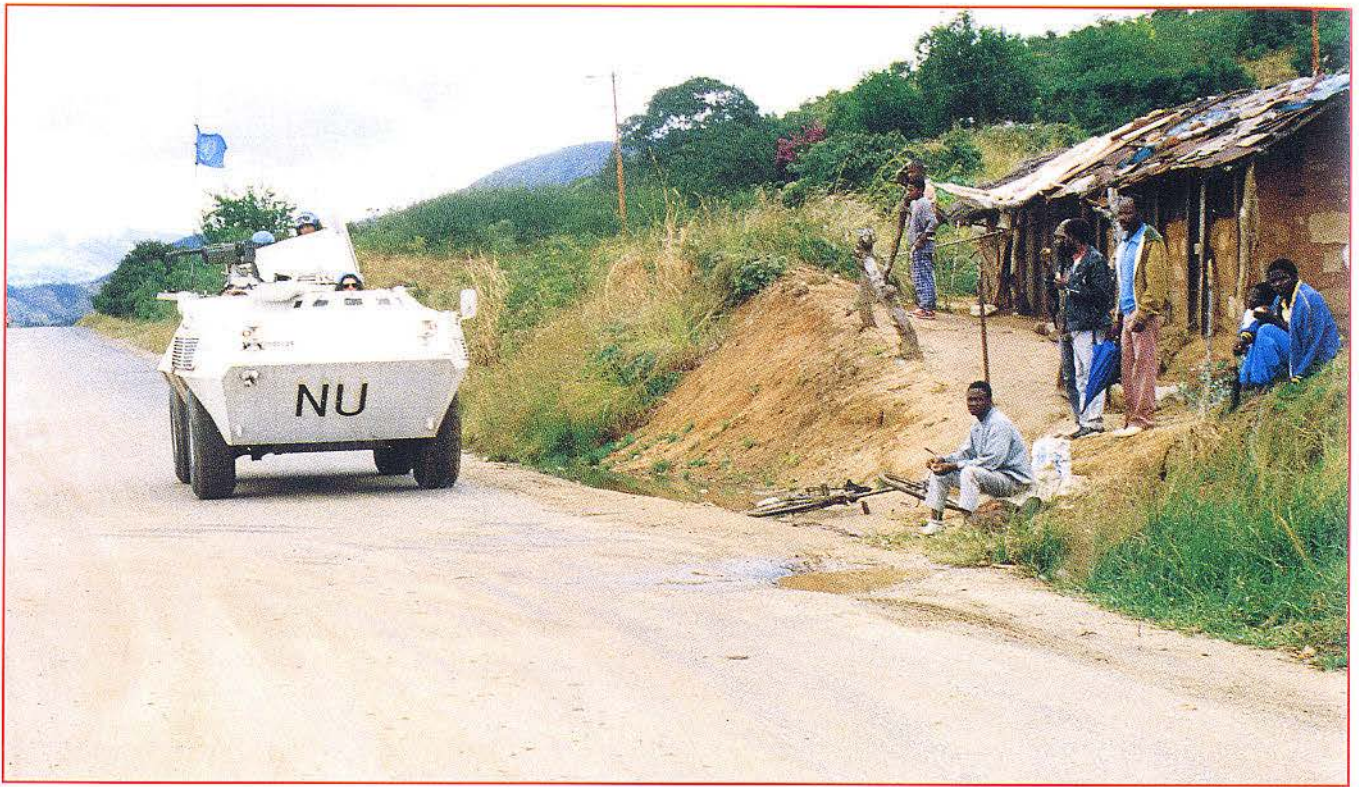
could call them characteristics – with his aid project. First of all, the plan must concern all of Europe, and therefore it is global and not directed only to the Countries closer to the U.S. interests, but also to the Soviet

Union itself. Furthermore, the aid must be considered as an integration of, and not a substitute for, a European initiative. Albeit given on a bilateral plane, the aid is conditioned by a multilateral decision. Finally, the European initiative must lead to a programme for a customs union and the creation of free-trade zones.

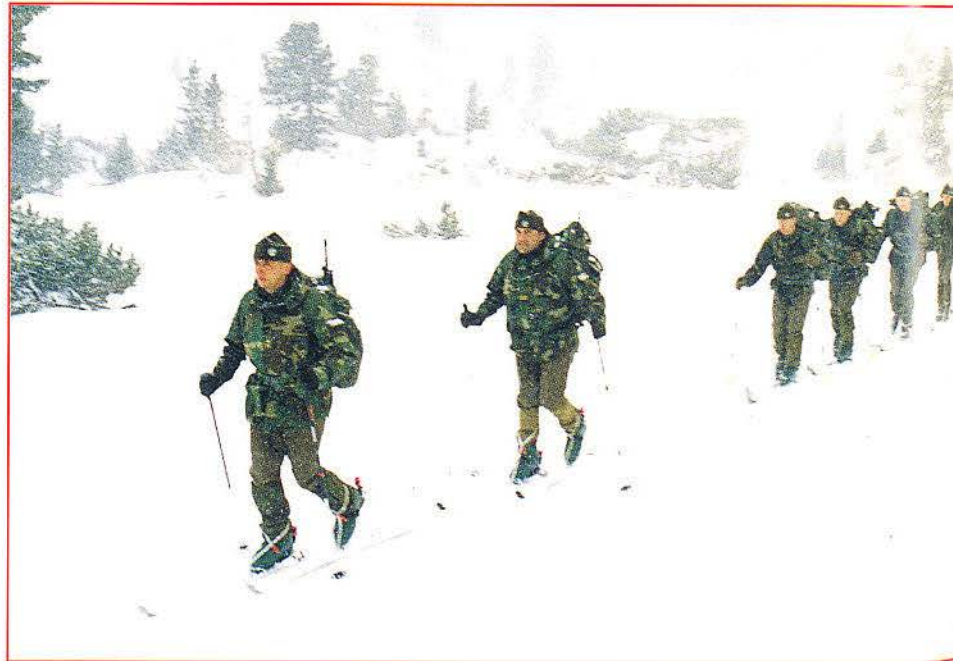
This is the Marshall Plan. If we do not take these conditions into account we cannot understand its strategy and the U.S.-Europe relationship. The Plan's global character concerns also the Soviet Union.

The United States has a political and a strategic reason to do so. From the political viewpoint, in fact, a different solution would entail the accusation of having divided Europe, because the indication of the Countries invited to join the Plan would produce a list of the "good" and "bad", while in reality Europe is already divided, both on the strategic-military plane and on the political plane.





Therefore the U.S. does not assume this responsibility and decides to direct the Plan to the whole of Europe, not only because the Eastern Countries (and the U.S.S.R. itself) need it, but also because it knows very well that the Soviets will never be able to accept the other two conditions, i.e. the customs union and the areas of free trade (GATT- General Accord on Tariffs and Trade), since this would interfere with Moscow's sphere of influence. It is no accident that, when Poland and Czechoslovakia announce their initial willingness, the Soviets rebel against it, saying that the U.S. wants to enslave Europe to the American dollar. When, at the end of June 1947, the French and the British governments invite the members of the Soviet government to Paris to give an answer to Marshall's speech, the Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov arrives in the French capital with the proposal that the Plan, in order to be accepted by his Country, should be approached on a bilateral basis,



because also the Eastern Countries need that aid and the U.S. could favour their economic recovery without questioning the politico-military presence of the Soviet Union. To impose a multilateral policy, such as the European initiative and the free-trade zones, means to induce also those Countries to join a

system which would permit to at least to restrain or even eliminate the Soviet pressure. The Americans, by addressing the Marshall Plan also to the Soviet Union, generate a situation of tension within the USSR's sphere of influence and even question its presence there.

The three-party meeting in

Paris fails. The Soviets launch a counteroffensive (action and reaction) which takes place in September 1947 with the Warsaw Conference and the creation of the Cominform (the Bucharest-based information office of the Communist Parties, closed down in 1956). The Soviet delegate, Andrej Zdanov opens the first meeting by saying that Europe is divided on two fronts. This theory is later known as the "Zdanov doctrine" or "doctrine of the two fields", but in practice is nothing but the acknowledgement of a preexisting reality, which is attributed to the Marshall Plan instead of ascribing it to the outcome of the war. The Plan is accepted by all those Countries which, having escaped the Soviet Union's control, see the American aid as a blessing from



heaven which enables them to start the reconstruction.

THE MARSHALL PLAN

The European initiative, which is supposed to lead to a customs union, is not liked by everybody. Great Britain, in particular, feels



placed at the continental Countries' level, although it considers itself a world power. It cannot accept the proposal of the customs union because it has already its system of imperial preferences (the Commonwealth), and risks to imperil the Marshall's Plan aid. But the British, smarter than the Soviets, react with diplomacy, insisting that the European initiative should take into account the British interests. The U.S.-Europe relationship, not exactly idyllic in general, at the end of WWII is rather animated.

The Marshall Plan does not result in a customs union. The negotiations, started in 1947 and

ended in April 1948, give rise to a European Organization, today's OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). The Marshall Plan explains the U.S. strategy and clarifies the East-West relationship, permitting to understand the origins of the process of European integration.

Washington, of course, does not think of creating the United States of Europe but makes the Europeans think of the possible realization of a common initiative. In the summer of 1947, within the Marshall Plan's negotiations, there are the first signs of a "Six-Country Europe", which is actually going to be born ten years later

with the Treaty of Rome. The experiment fails because it would isolate Great Britain from the European context and weaken its position in the dialogue with the United States. In their action, the British are allied with the European nations linked to the pound-sterling area, especially the Scandinavian Countries. This is also an embryo of what is going to be implemented ten years later. In fact EFTA (European Free Trade Association) is born as an outcome of the Rome Treaty. Once the customs union is set aside, in order not to throw Europe back into a Cold-War climate, the British plan is accepted. Great Britain leads this initiative until March 1948, when the Brussels Pact gives birth to the Western Union (later called Western European Union), which some see as a change in the process of integration. Actually the Brussels Pact is the tomb of European integration. As a matter of fact, it sanctions the partners' economic, social and cultural union and the collective legitimate defence. It is patterned on the Dunkerque Pact (a fifty-year alliance between Britain and France) and is aimed at containing Germany, exactly like the Soviet alliances. There is no lack of criticism from the U.S. to Great Britain which, to the proposal of setting up an anti-Soviet and anti-Communist system has answered with an anti-German enlargement of the Dunkerque Pact. It is the realization of what Stalin had foreseen in 1941: one system on the East, one system on the West. Hence the preposterous situation of 1948: precisely as the Cold War starts, the British set up an alliance which enables them to silence the Soviets (what you did on the East, we are doing on the West) and offer the Germans an alliance on the



basis of which they can get successively the American warranty. The strategy of the Brussels Pact allows London to regain the leading role in Europe and place itself at the basis of this continental process of cooperation, reaffirming the accord with the transatlantic allies.

Multilateralism succeeds in Europe because the U.S. is dealing with Countries whose political, economic, cultural and military traditions do not stem from colonization or colonialism. On the contrary, they have their own traditions and have made the most of the American initiative not to remain satellites but to manage it for their recovery, continuing to be active partners. The European Countries have begun to understand that either they unite or they would really become satellites. At the moment when the two sides of the Atlantic join up the risk increases, because the U.S. is the

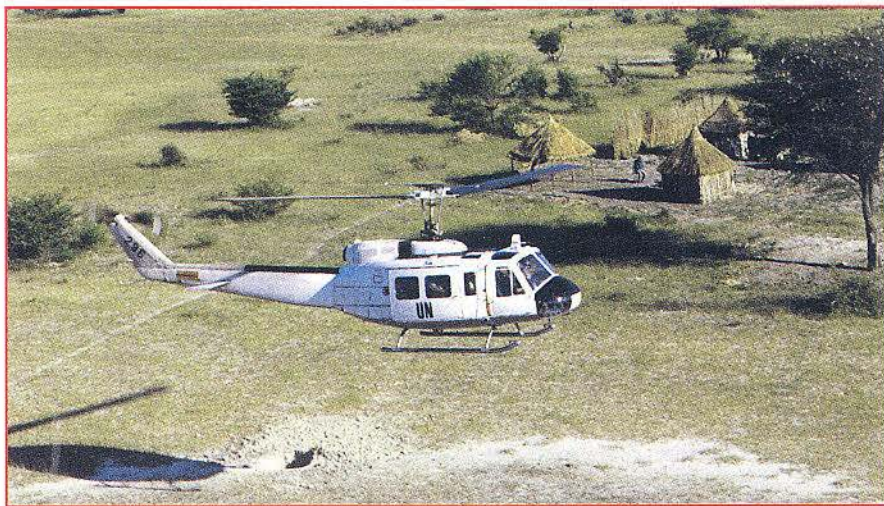


of Havana and on the GATT system (liberalization process) which at that moment envisaged an exception about the existing preferential systems (Commonwealth) in order not to antagonize Great Britain. The Americans believe that, within a few years, the decolonisation process that they are urging will be rapidly completed, and the GATT system will spread all over the world. With the signature of the Treaty of Rome, Washington begins to understand that things are not going in that direction, because not only the so-called common external rate is introduced, but the policy of association of the former colonies to the EEC is extended also to other continents (with more than 70 associates), hence limiting the possibility of economic expansion.

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy tries to restore the

strongest power with its atomic monopoly, is the keystone of the Alliance, and the European Countries, taken as a whole, cannot balance its weight. Precisely when the Atlantic Alliance is set up, the European impulse becomes more incisive. Therefore there is a strong bond between Atlanticism and Europeanism, because only by joining together the Europeans can hope to become partners of the U.S. This conviction is still present, because the integration of the continent has been implemented on the economic plane but not on the political plane. This only increases the predominant role of the United States.

The U.S.-Europe relationship at the time is very lively and interesting, unlike the U.S. and the Soviet Union's, which are openly on a head-on collision, because there are initiatives that serve only to guarantee the development of the European Countries.



GLOBALIZATION

In the globalization process the United States and Europe are competing for the economic integration which has enabled Europe to become a world economic power. The United States had not foreseen it (but has had to accept it) because it goes beyond the Marshall Plan, failed in 1948. The American approach is based on the Charter

cooperation, launching the idea "from the European community to the Atlantic community", a design that ends with his death.

Nevertheless the dialectic relationship between Europe and the U.S. permits to contain the Soviet threat and to create a Western bloc which includes also Germany. The great U.S. strategy, started with the Marshall Plan is implemented through the Atlantic Alliance, leading the

policy of containment to a successful outcome

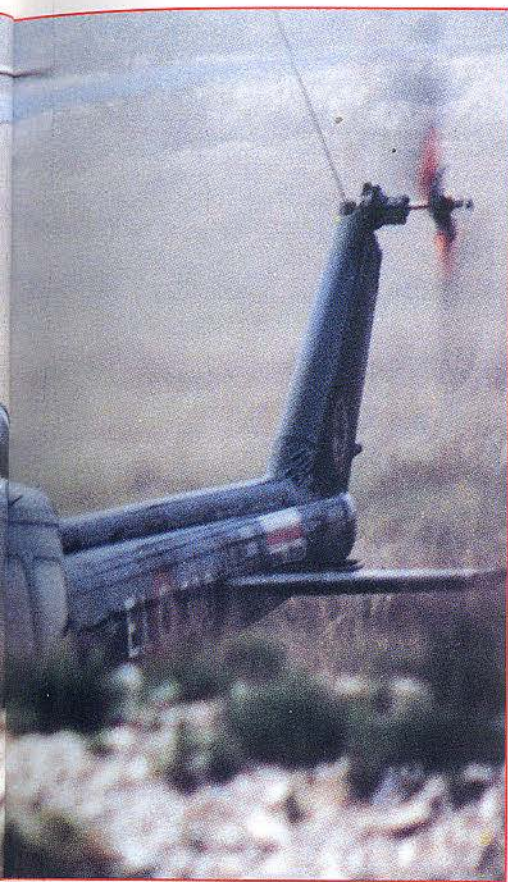
THE ASIAN EXAMPLE

The American strategy is not very successful in the Far East, where the European methods do not work in Countries that do not have the same traditions. Countries like Korea, Indochina, New Zealand and Australia (the last two are still members of the Commonwealth) have just come out of the colonial system and, in the face of the Sino-Soviet threat, the U.S. is compelled to turn to Japan, as it had done in Europe with Germany. Also in Asia the Americans try in vain to establish a multilateral system, but they are forced to intervene with their troops and equipment to restrain the Sino-Soviet threat. Multilateral alliances such as SEATO (Southeast Asia) are born, but they remain on paper,



because at the outbreak of any crisis the U.S. enters the field with scarce results: it is the failure of multilateralism. This explains why in the Far East it is impossible to talk about stability, security and balance. Instability persists, and the recovery of Japan compels the U.S. to give direct guarantees to the Countries that had suffered Japan's aggression, in particular Australia and New Zealand.

Another American commitment is to contain the threat in the Middle East area, where the situation is very unstable owing to the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. The U.S. makes an attempt with the Baghdad Pact of 1954-55, which later becomes CENTO (Central East Near Treaty Organization). The Treaty fosters a kind of hinge between NATO and SEATO, with Turkey as linking element between the Atlantic Alliance and CENTO, and Pakistan as a hinge between CENTO and SEATO.



CONCLUSIONS

The system born after WWII is a bipolar system, because it is realized on the basis on the actions carried out by the two superpowers and is made stable by weights and counterweights. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, some said that the world would inaugurate a post-Cold War era, since the latter had given shape to Europe more than it had done to Asia.

For Asia the most important problem was that of expelling the colonial powers, establishing fairly stable national States. Later, the real challenges were industrialization and economic growth. Of course, Countries like China and India played a certain role in the Cold War, but it was certainly not what the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. would have wanted. Their struggle did not regard the expansion or

in the military field as well. The American policy aims at preventing the realization of this type of picture. This would represent a great increase in the threat to the U.S. territory: formerly the threat came only from the U.S.S.R. but in the future many others could be in the Russian position. In view of this, next to the vital fight against terrorism, the second top priority, basic pillar of the American strategy, is a wide and global antimissile defence, which should include as many international actors as possible, willing to share and finance it.

Any new order in Asia will have to face some fundamental dilemmas. The Countries controlling the greatest part of the oil production are directly exposed to the terrorist threat and fight very hard to guard themselves from that insidious enemy. The United States has the possibility of staying in



The multilateral strategy fails also in this case, because the U.S. cannot ride two horses: the Israeli force and the Arab League's. The differences within the Arab League make that policy even more difficult and we are seeing the consequences to this day.

resistance to Communism, but rather the advent of a process of industrialization and modernization of their societies. Thus China and India are transforming a continent four times as large as Europe. This shows that what can be done in the field of industry is feasible

Asia: for many reasons the Countries of the region need its alliance which, now more than ever, is indispensable to their security.

□

**Expert
in Strategic Sciences*

*Born as private companies,
they have become more and more widespread
in all operational theatres*

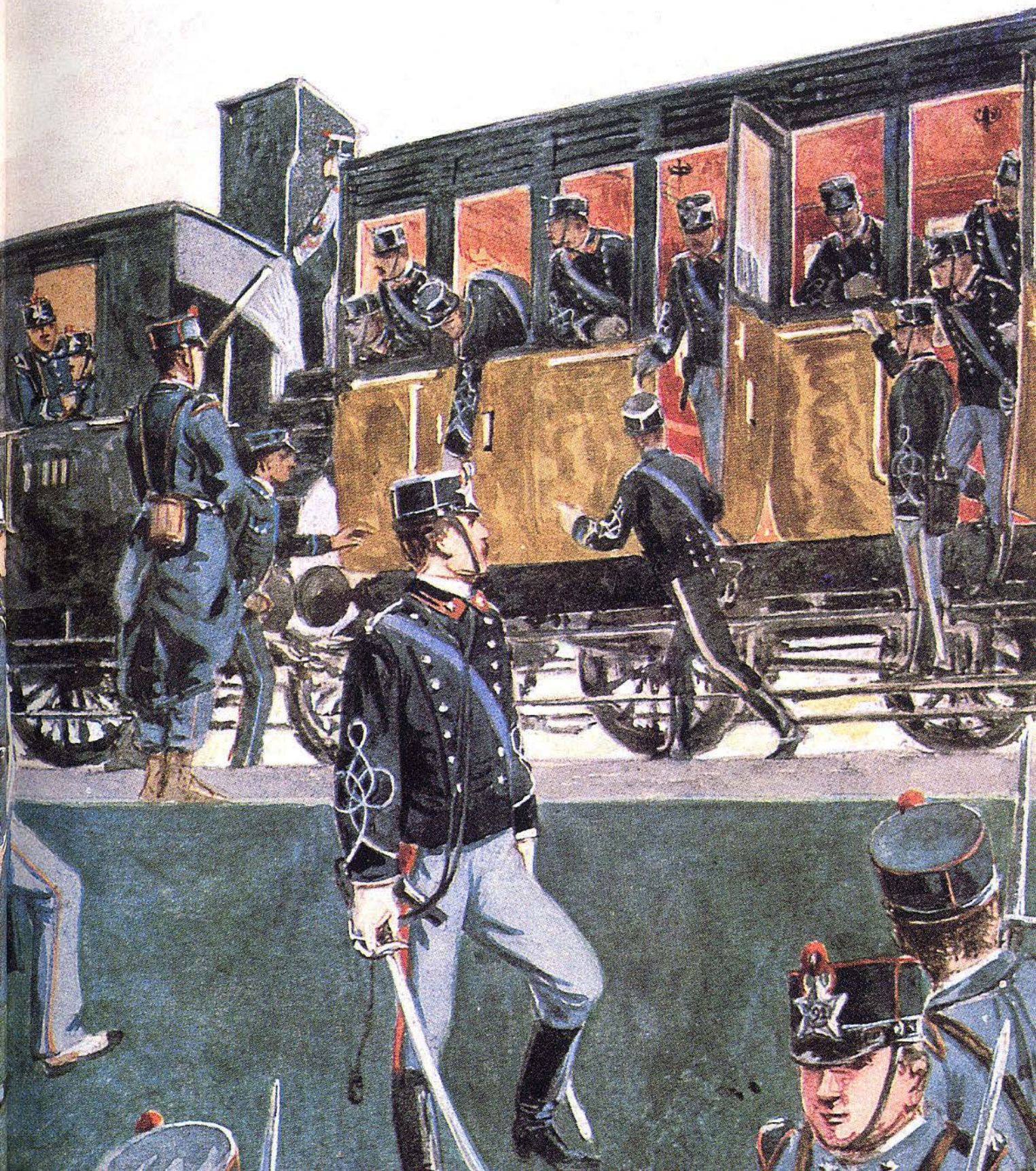
THE PRIVATE MILITARY COMPANIES



*by Carmine Masiello **

*They work for private firms and can be
employed for combat, advice and for supplying
services in general*

Either admired or feared, often seen with prejudice or mythicized, the “Private Military Companies” (PMC) are fruits of our time. We are going to discover the origins, situations and projects of a much-discussed phenomenon that deserves an exhaustive analysis.



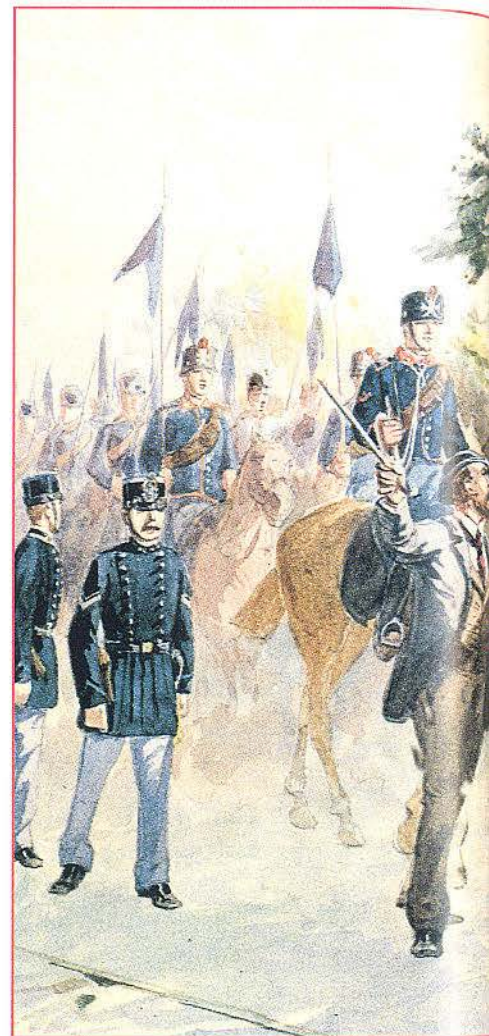
The more and more numerous operations carried out by Italian and foreign Armed Forces in crisis areas far from the motherland have been characterized by a series of factors which until a few years ago would have been impossible to imagine. On of these is certainly the considerable number of civilian operators who, in civilian dress, perform tasks which were once assigned to the military.

These new actors belong to organizations commonly known as "PMCs" (English acronym for Private Military Companies), which enter the international scenario to fill the post-1989 security vacuum and to offset the lack of interventionism from States that are loath to risk their soldiers' life in missions not connected to their primary national interests. The birth and growth of the PMCs was favoured by the high number of servicemen who in the space of a few years found themselves out of work, thus becoming a large reservoir of manpower to draw from.

The first factor which fostered their birth and therefore, in a

certain sense, the beginning of the privatization of the military universe, was the enormous number of crises that marked the last decade of the 20th Century. The scarce interest shown by the superpowers to keep all critical areas under control in order to prevent the small hotbeds of trouble from degenerating into larger confrontations, let off tensions that had been dormant for years.

The second factor lies in the armies' reduction. As a matter of fact, this produced a surplus in the offer of military manpower endowed with much-prized and useful skills. To have an idea of this phenomenon, suffice it to consider that the fall of the Berlin Wall caused in the opposing armies a reduction of at least 7 million men. This concerned not only the Warsaw Pact, but also the United States, which reduced its military apparatus by a third, and Great Britain, which today has the lowest number of soldiers in the last two centuries. This demobilization was not limited to conscripts, but involved a cut in the number of Cadres and, for



those who remained in service, a drastic reduction in their career possibilities. Thus a considerable number of unemployed Officers and NCOs was delivered to the market. Finally, the units eliminated were mostly the logistic ones since the combat units, being considered the core business of the military function, were kept as much as possible. For example, the Logistic Command of the U.S. Army underwent a 60% reduction. With hindsight, it turned out that the calculations were wrong, because the new requirements of force projection needed high logistic capabilities. It was easy for the PMCs to occupy this free space because, with their work, they made up for the scarcity of capabilities in this sector.



any time and this makes him different from the classic soldier, bound by a permanent relation to his Country, or from other particular units, such as the Gurkhas or the Foreign Legion. Finally, mercenaries are mostly individualists: when they have to be grouped into units they have scarce capabilities, due to scarce cohesion and lack of common training.

The first aspect that should be pointed out is that the PMCs are like firms which operate on the market according to its rules and are therefore structured according to the organizational criteria aimed at finding the best possible efficiency. Here one can sense their difference from the ad-hoc coalitions of mercenaries, which assemble in view of performing a task, receive the agreed payment and then and break up. Furthermore, these

A superficial analysis of the phenomenon could lead to the conclusion that the PMCs are a simple rebirth of the old mercenary companies. But they belong to different times, have different purposes and are very different, even if, in the general imagination, the two realities are equivalent, to the detriment of the PMCs, because the term "mercenary" carries a sense of negativeness.

The word indicates an individual who works for someone other than his Country, is moved by economic reasons only and does not have any sense of belonging to a political community. The loyalty of the mercenary is characterized by the terms of his contract with the employer and not by a creed, a choice or a particular



sense of duty. For him, war is a choice of life.

A soldier serves his Country to avert war, a mercenary considers war his work and source of income. A mercenary can decide to leave his chosen way of life at

organizations operate according to a logic of company and not individual profit as is the case with mercenaries. While the latter work for money, the PMCs can stipulate many types of different contracts, just like



any modern firm, where the terms of payment can be the most different ones.

A third aspect that should be underlined is that the PMCs operate on the market and publicize their presence, are usually registered with their Country of origin and many have an internet site advertising their services and capabilities. In short, while the PMCs want to be known, the mercenaries strive to hide and operate in the shade.

The companies do not work in the combat sector only. On the contrary, that is where they are less present. Their activity covers the whole range of military functions: logistics, training, intelligence, advisory services, elaboration of doctrine and procedures. They operate at wide range, with no geographic limitations and serve several clients at the same

time, but in some cases their actions can be concentrated on a single target. They act as independent enterprises or as members of much more complex structures and therefore they have large resources at their disposal, as regards both capitals and relations, and this makes them extremely competitive.

A POSSIBLE CLASSIFICATION

It should be pointed out that these firms must not be confused with the PSCs (Private Security Companies) – recently come to the limelight in Iraq – whose exclusive job is to provide security.

It is difficult to categorize the PMCs, since they operate in different sectors and in variable geographical areas, and have

different dimensions. A recent classification made by a student of the phenomenon, considers three types of PMCs: combat, advice and services.

PMCs for combat

They operate at tactical level on the battlefield. Their members supply their services either by fighting (both as specialists and at unit level) or by carrying out a Command-and-Control action for the units of the client army directly engaged in battle. The usual clients are those which have relatively limited capabilities and have to face high-risk situations on short warning. There have been examples of PMCs that deployed battalion-level units, complete with their own artillery, helicopters, combat and transport aircraft and specialists in several sectors. In short, a

small but complete army, in a position to integrate the existing one and, above all, to replace it, accomplishing autonomously the action for which it is paid. The effectiveness of these small private units is much higher than that of larger formations which either lack some operational functions, are insufficiently trained or have no weapons as technologically efficient as those employed by the private organizations. These PMCs can also provide specialists who are real power multipliers: fighter and helicopter pilots, Command-and-Control experts. As an alternative they can provide tactical global advisers, who take charge of the client's unit and, thanks to their well-tested leadership talents, considerably increase the capabilities of the unit. This is the type of PMC that rouses the criticism of the international community the most. For this reason, often the PMCs do not admit their presence officially, or list their specialists as advisers or instructors who are on the frontline simply to verify the results of their teaching.



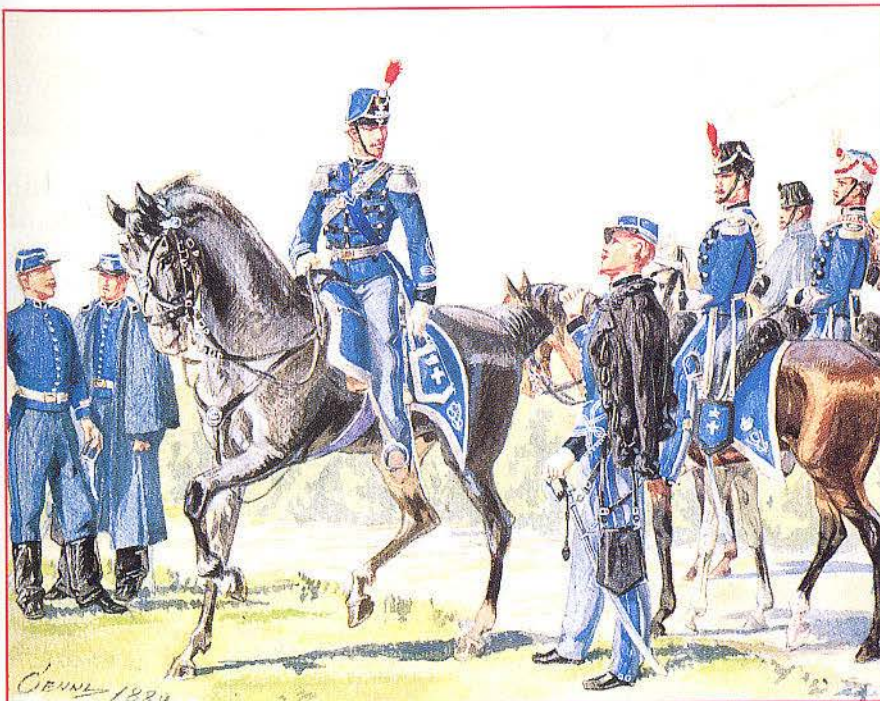
PMCs for advice

This category includes the PMCs that provide advice on training and force restructuring, besides supplying organizational, operational and strategic counsel. Unlike the preceding group, this type of firm provides services which do not engage them on the battlefield. Their clients are

Countries that need to reshuffle their forces in order to make them more adequate to the changed strategic picture. The required interventions are not urgent and the contracts are long-term matters anyway. The company can limit its action to a simple analysis of the situation but, once the possible solutions are found, it can offer its training advice and supply a complete package of services, short of the final phase represented by the intervention in combat. This working relationship is more accepted than the previous one and for these reason some PMCs of the first type in the last years changed their organization, in order to provide mainly advisory functions.

PMCs for services

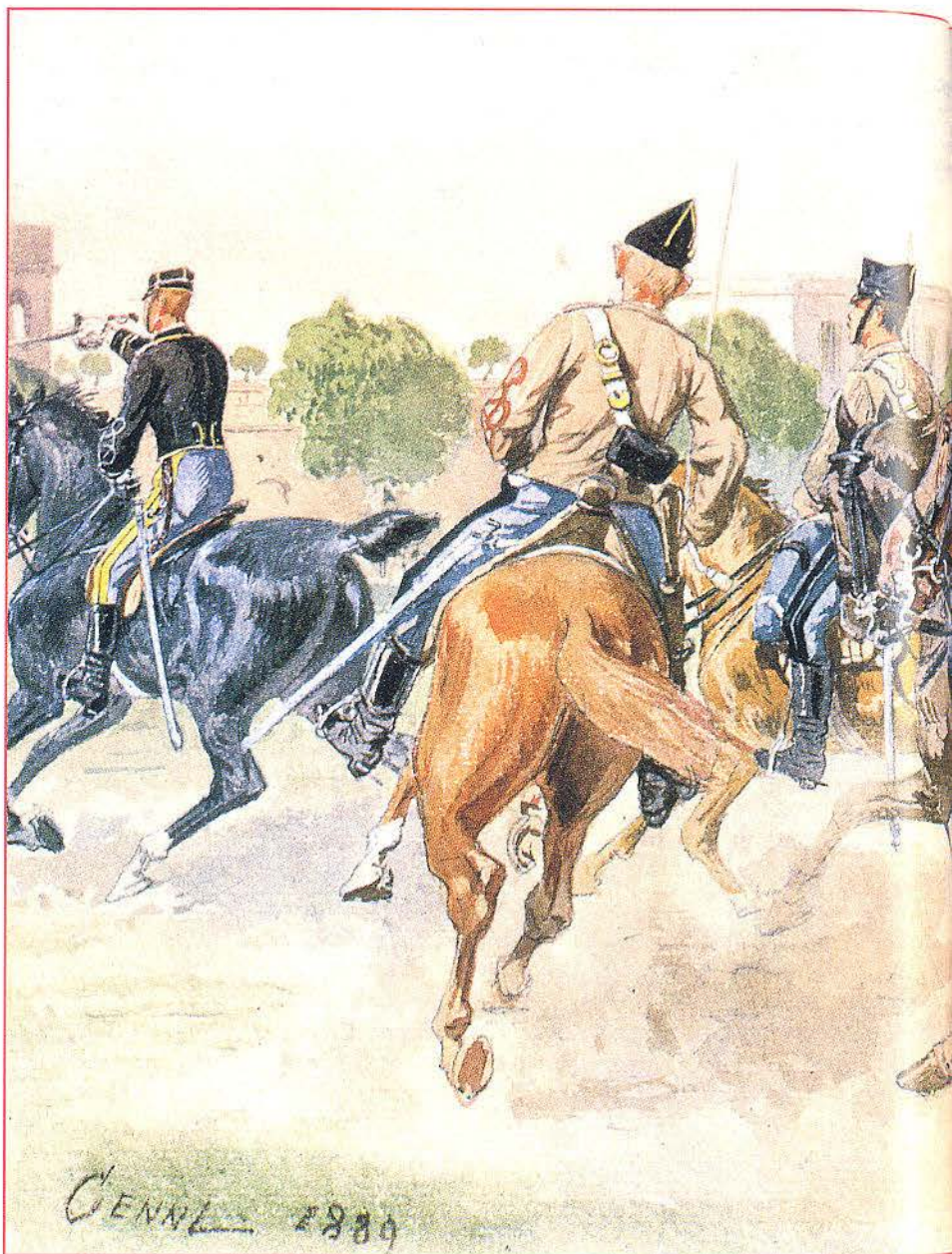
They supply an extremely wide range of services not directly connected with combat but equally important: logistics, medical assistance, intelligence, transport. The possibilities of intervention are considerable, since they operate in sectors where the Armed Forces have



suffered the largest reductions. The clients are usually looking for immediate interventions, in order to concentrate on the core business of the military activity, i.e. combat. Most companies of this sector are firms which were already present on the civilian market and took the opportunity to expand. Their business is thriving mainly in the sector of transports since they tend to intervene in areas far from the home country. A special position is held by companies that provide intelligence. They are among the most sought-after, in that they allow non front-ranking Countries to acquire prestigious positions thanks to their control of information.

THE PMCs IMPACT ON THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET

In a classic vision of international relations, the States that hold the monopoly of the use of force are the main actors, and the interstate relations are strongly influenced by the difference of power between them. Here the PMCs come into play and, as they can participate in war operations, they deprive the States of the exclusive possession of force. The availability on the market of the military services provided by these organizations definitely upsets the international balance and, in particular, has a direct effect on interstate and intrastate relations. The PMCs are not, as one could superficially believe, just another factor to be counted in defining the power of a State. As a matter of fact, one should not take for granted that a PMC registered in the territory of a State operates only for that State. On the contrary, especially if that Country is not particularly



inclined to belligerency, the private company will operate only in favour of other customers.

During the Cold War, the structure and quality of the military instruments were decided and realized on the basis of the opposing threat. The operations were planned knowing the strength of the enemy and the ground on which the assumed engagement would take place. Through exercises and simulations the planners could also establish the type and quantity of the forces needed in

order to enter the struggle with a reasonable probability of success.

Today's planning of force is based on the capability concept. Through the analysis of the possible scenarios, the planners determine the capabilities needed by a modern military instrument and then proceed to their constitution. They are often precious and resulting from an advanced technology that only a few Countries can afford. Those are precisely the capabilities which make the difference between the armies,

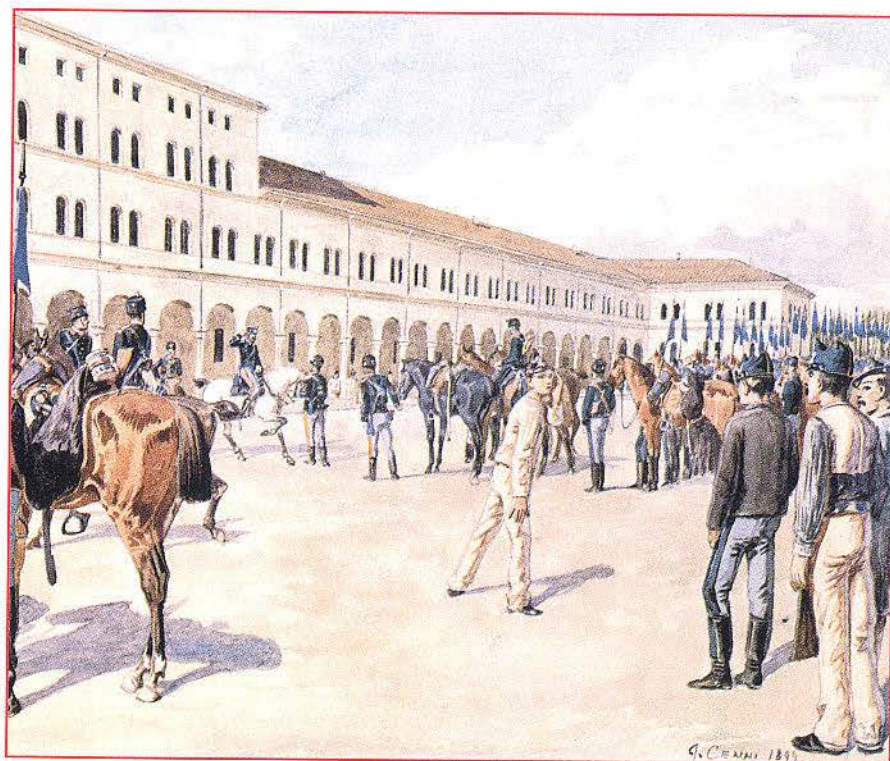


availability of economic resources is now the distinctive element of the potentials of a Country which, in a short time, can acquire formerly denied capabilities. With this approach, the first thing that vanishes is the power balance among the Countries. In fact, to say that a Country has more military capabilities than another and could therefore win a possible conflict, is not true anymore. In case of war, the weaker side could have recourse to the PMCs and receive not only advice but also a real operational assistance (in the shape of intelligence) that could change the ratio of the forces.

Another aspect is connected with the size of the capabilities that a Country actually needs to acquire. In other words, why spend a great amount of money to build and maintain military instruments that will probably never be used? Why continue burdening the Country's budget in view of an event which, especially in the present scenario, has very scarce or zero probabilities to occur?

and to have or not to have them, and in what quantity, permits to place the armies along a continuum of military power which characterizes each Country. The construction of new capabilities is not only a problem of financial resources but also a question of having access to new technologies and availability of human resources trained for managing them and keeping them at their topmost efficiency. With the advent of the PMCs, anybody with economic resources can afford to acquire any capability. The





deriving from an agreement, was holding the smaller one in check. The action of the PMCs breaks these alliances and, in a certain sense, sets the smaller Country free from the yoke of its stronger partner.

Another point concerns the replacement of the strictly military relations with other bonds based also on financial considerations. In other words, in order to help a State in need of military aid it is no longer necessary to provide exclusively this type of assistance but the help can be given in the shape of financial support. For example, in 1995 some Countries which wanted to help the nascent Muslim Bosnian state, avoiding at the same time the surfacing of forms of extremism, financed the "Train

These considerations are valid especially for those medium-small Countries which do not have sufficient resources to maintain a military apparatus complete in every operational function and therefore must establish a set of priorities. Once these are defined, it will be a matter of finding the PMCs that can provide the other functions, if and when necessary.

Another less technical-military and more typically political consequence, connected with the increasing presence of the PMCs on the market, can be seen in the less firm alliances among small and big Countries.

Until some years ago, this relationship was based on the military assistance that a large Country would give to a smaller one in exchange for a "friendly" attitude in international questions, or for its willingness of being "guided" in other situations. This was a kind of vassalage under a strong Country which, in exchange for its promise of military assistance, not necessarily



and Equip" programme, conducted on the field by a PMC.

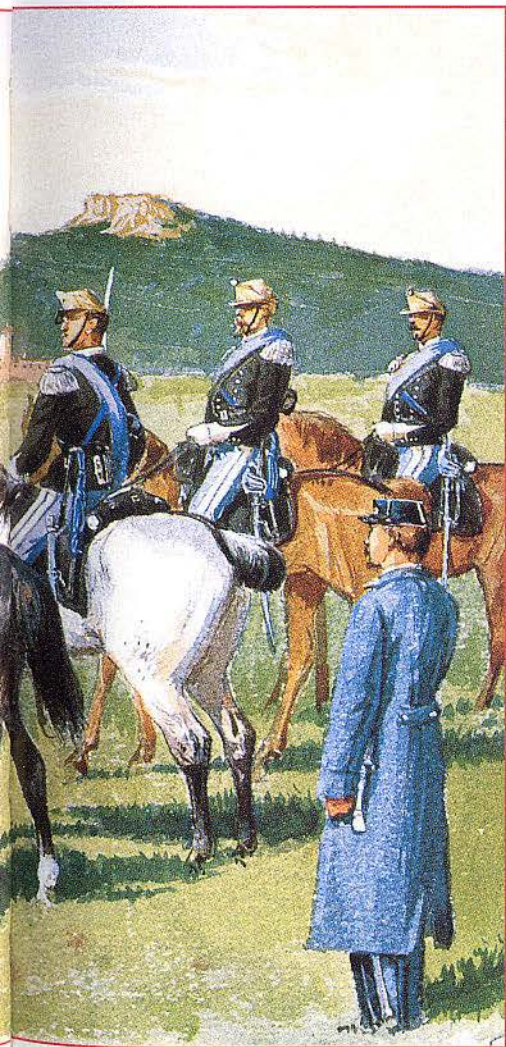
These surrogates of the traditional military relations have some disadvantages. For instance, the continuous training relationship among the military was somehow a guarantee that, on an emergency, all the actors employed would operate according to the same procedures deriving from a common standard. With the entrance of the PMCs in the scenario, this kind of guarantee comes to an end.

THE PRIVATIZATION OF PEACEKEEPING

The preceding considerations should not lead to an exclusively

negative idea of the PMCs. Through the employment of these units, some international organizations are able to increase their capabilities considerably. Just think, for example, of the intelligence sector: it is a field where the jealousies of the member states prevent them from implementing common structures, thus blocking the birth of a real

do not have enough deterrence capabilities to prevent the attacks against the humanitarian organizations. Thus, the alternative is to resort to forms of defence hired on the spot, but, on the other hand, these lack the guarantees of impartiality that are indispensable for such operations. In a second possible scenario, a private company could provide a sort of rapid



multinational capability (the U.N. turned to a PMC for the satellite survey of the Iraqi sites). Also very significant are the opportunities in the sector of peacekeeping operations, where one could almost envision a kind of privatization.

There are several levels where a recourse to the PMCs could be considered. A likely scenario, the less "offensive" one for the United Nations, could envisage the employment of the PMCs for ensuring security to the humanitarian operators of the UN and other Organizations. The idea should be given a serious thought. First of all, there are not enough "Blue Berets" to protect all humanitarian interventions and, secondly, they

reserve force, capable of intervening when the truce with the UN forces is broken and the Organization is threatened and unable to carry out its mission for lack of means.

In this case it would be a matter of paying a PMC that could provide a unit, armed and equipped for combat, ready to intervene promptly in the operations zone. The latter scenario is one where the PMC supplies the whole intervention force. This possibility was studied thoroughly in 1996, during the crisis in Rwanda. On that occasion, in a situation of humanitarian catastrophe, and in the absence of any will or possibility of international involvement, the intervention of

a private military company for opening some humanitarian corridors was discussed at length, both by the Security Council and by the Governments of the most important Countries. Finally the idea was discarded when the core of the question was reached, i.e. who was going to pay.

DRAWBACKS IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE PMCs

The recourse to the PMCs is no doubt a positive possibility and must be pursued. But some aspects deserve reflections of various kinds, since they limit considerably the advantages deriving from the outsourcing.

The first one is the very nature of the PMCs, whose sole purpose is the realization of the highest possible profit. While the military always look for the most effective solution and are only relatively conditioned by its cost, a civilian firm could deem more convenient to adopt a less effective but more profitable option. A peculiar feature of the PMCs is that they are bound to the client by long-term contracts which can produce even almost monopolistic situations. This allows the company to underbid in order to win the contract, knowing only too well that later there will be time for increasing the margins of profit.

Another problem is the clash of interests. In practice, since conflicts are their source of income and their *raison d'être*, why should the PMCs endeavour to end them? The contracting firm could have an interest in expanding and lengthening the conflict or in changing the initial conditions ("we need more personnel than previously estimated").

A drawback of outsourcing is certainly the possibility of

losing control of the engaged firm and become too dependent on it. This is very dangerous in the military sector, where one could be abandoned by a company which cannot fulfill the obligations of the contract or, on the other extreme, becomes so indispensable that the client cannot do without it.

In the first case, where the firm does not fulfill the terms of the contract and deserts the customer, it could be said that in the long run this choice does not pay, because very soon the company will fall into disrepute for being unreliable. This is true but, on the other hand, some PMCs could opt for a "one shot" choice, leaving to geographic distance and the rapid evolution of the situation the possibility of returning to the game in other scenarios.

In the second case, instead, the firm becomes indispensable since the choice of outsourcing



in that sector was total. These companies slowly acquire the exclusive control of a particular function and, once the dependence is complete,

sometimes proceed to real blackmail. Undoubtedly the entire outsourcing of certain capabilities can lead to regrettable situations. In 2000,



a shipping firm was engaged to repatriate with a big freighter a contingent which had finished their work out of area. Besides the personnel, the freighter was carrying about 500 wheeled and armoured vehicles and more than 350 containers full of ammunition and other sensitive materials. Owing to a dispute on the freightage, the ship lied at anchor off the Canadian coast, holding the personnel as hostages. Besides the obvious embarrassing situation, one cannot but think of what could have happened in terms of operational output if the incident had occurred during the phase of projection to the operations theatre.

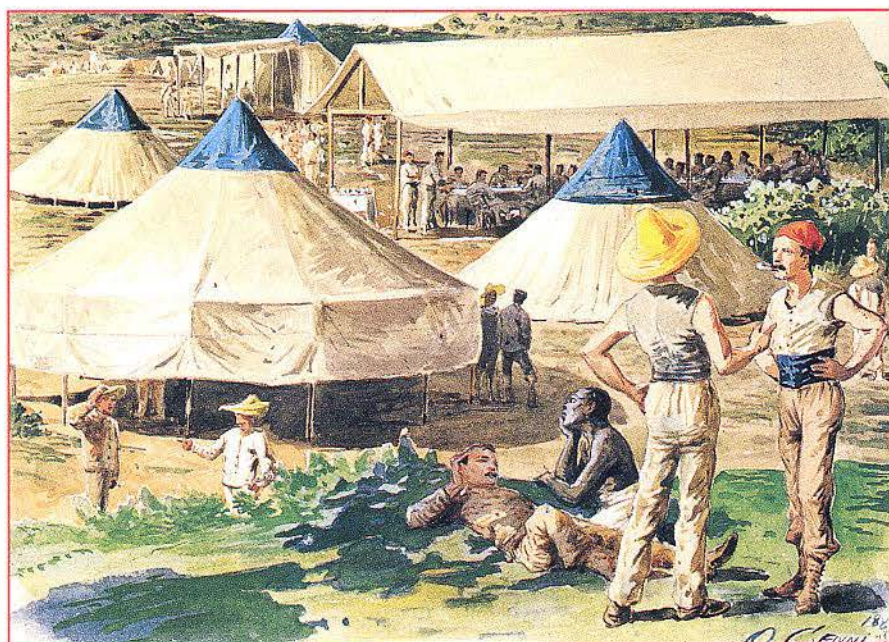
These situations of desertion are more frequent when small Countries or private customers

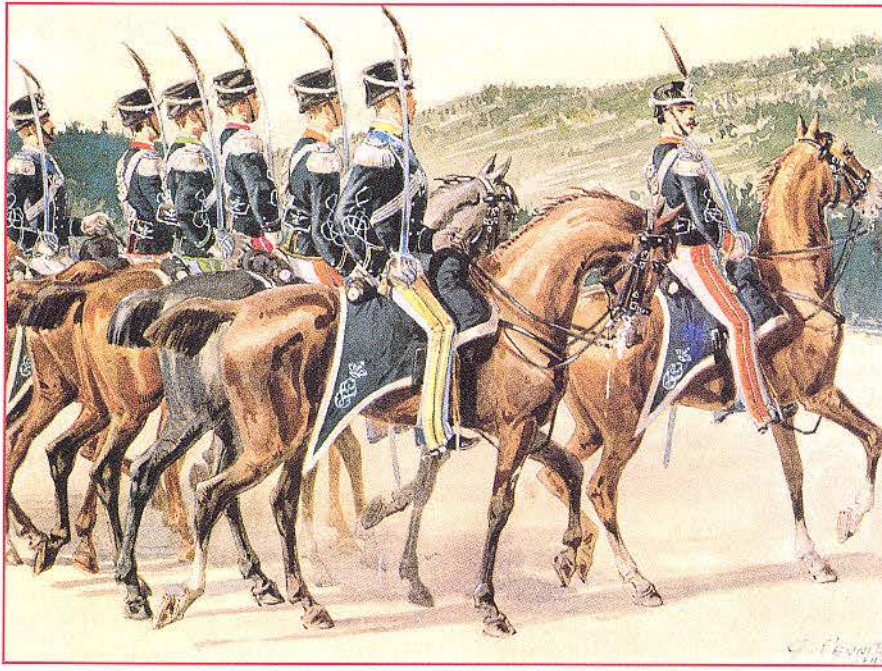
are concerned, but the damage of a total dependence on a civilian firm must be carefully

considered by the great powers as well. As regard the United States, for instance, the matter could become very critical. Just think of a scenario of biological or chemical threat: during the first Gulf War most losses were due to a SCUD missile which went mad and landed on a US reserve unit charged with the purification of water. Today this capability is completely assigned to civilian firms. What would happen after the first civilians' death? Could the company still find volunteers to honour the contract? The situation could become very critical. So far the Commanders have not realized the importance of this aspect and still tend to plan their operations as if all the operational functions were to be carried out by private organizations.

THE ESSENTIALITY OF SOME FUNCTIONS

At the beginning of the nineties and at the same time of the progressive reduction of armaments in the military instruments, some analysts remarked that there was a





possibility that the States could find themselves in situations of dependence. The American military doctrine rejected these observations, maintaining that the U.S. was going to outsource only the functions that did not fall within the category of "emergency essential support".

Unfortunately things are very different. It is a fact by now that the military have lost the "know-how" in several activities, and in many critical sectors the responsibility has gone completely to civilian firms. Suffice it to think of the logistic sector. Until a few years

ago, the contracts involving critical, highly technological materials required that their maintenance and possible correctives would be handed over to the military technicians after about a year from the introduction in service of the equipment. With the continuous reduction of effectives, especially in the logistic sector, the terms have changed. Today the logistics of high-technology systems such as, for example, "stand off" armaments, is an exclusive responsibility of the supplier who, on delivery of the system and on payment of a generous fee, undertakes to keep it in working order for a certain number of years. This is a logical choice in peacetime, but in case of crisis, should the company have problems, it would rapidly translate into a serious lack of operational capabilities.

The problem of outsourcing is not limited solely to the means, it involves also men. If the





logistic component is entrusted to civilian firms, many logisticians will be present in the operations zone instead of the former servicemen. Such a situation deprives the Commanders of a reserve of capabilities that historically proved to be very useful on several occasions, both because a civilian does not have the necessary training to shoulder a rifle and contribute to military operations and because, if he did, would not be extended the guarantees envisaged for the prisoners of war.

REGULATIONS OF THE PMCs' ACTIVITIES

From the considerations made so far it emerges rather clearly that it is necessary to adopt a form of regularization of the existence and activity of the PMCs. Moreover, the activity of

individuals or organizations in the security sector could hamper the States' objectives of foreign policy. The regular forces could find themselves in situations of combat against units trained by elements belonging to those firms, who could be former Western servicemen who might have taught their "pupils" sophisticated and even "classified" fighting techniques (e.g., the procedures adopted by the Special Forces). The nationality of the PMCs could have an indirect impact even on the reputation of the companies' home Countries. It is difficult to imagine, for instance, that in case of unlawful behaviour someone would not think that some national government Authority knows about the occurrence. Furthermore, the failure of an activity carried out by a private company could require the

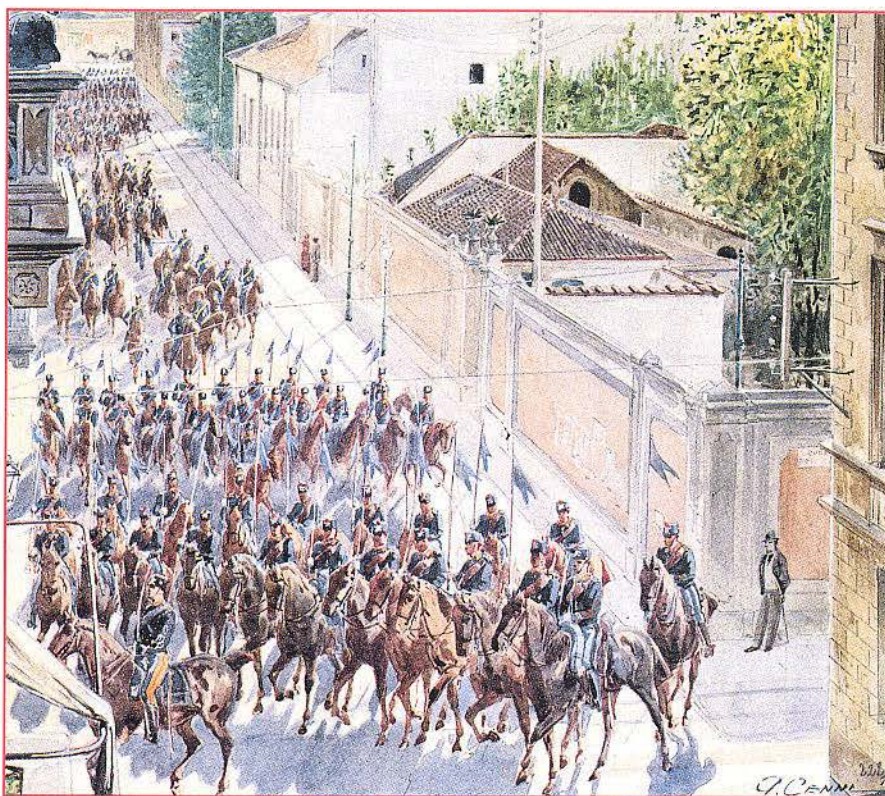
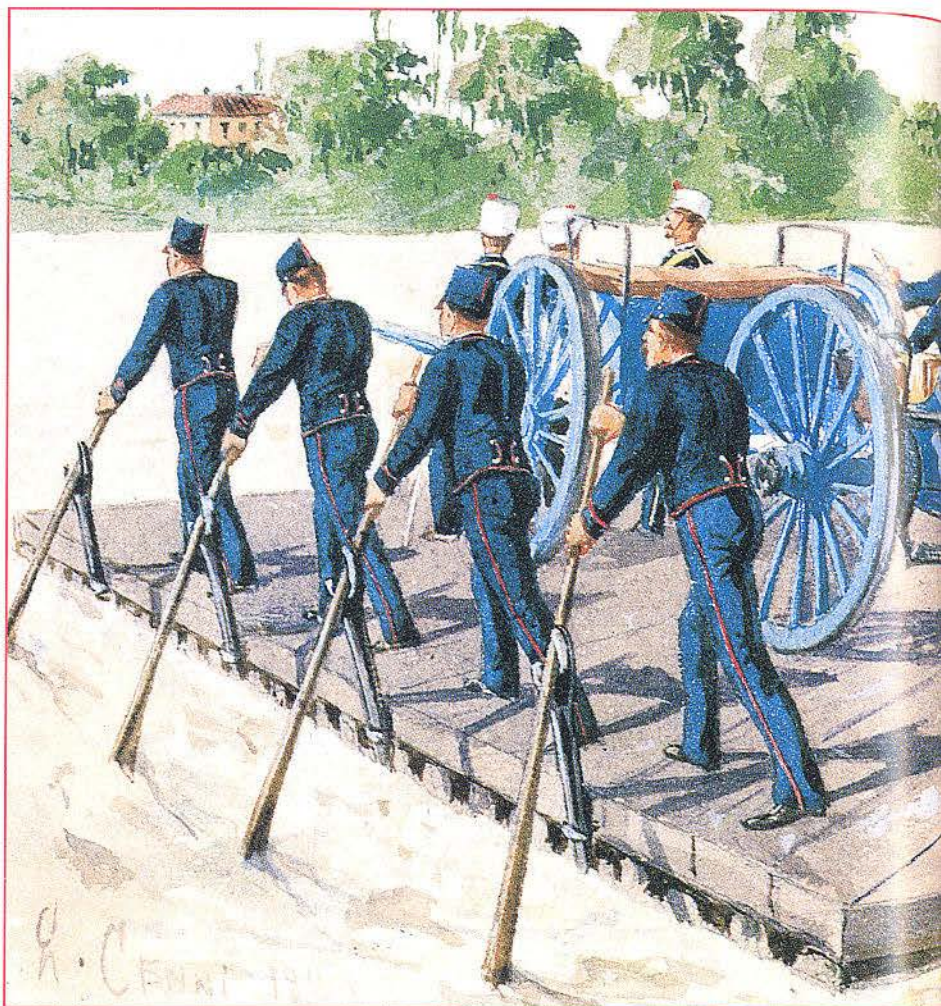
intervention of regular military forces to save the members of the organization from possible death.

The regulation of the PMCs' activities is a very important issue because the consequences of a situation of anarchy could be very difficult to control.

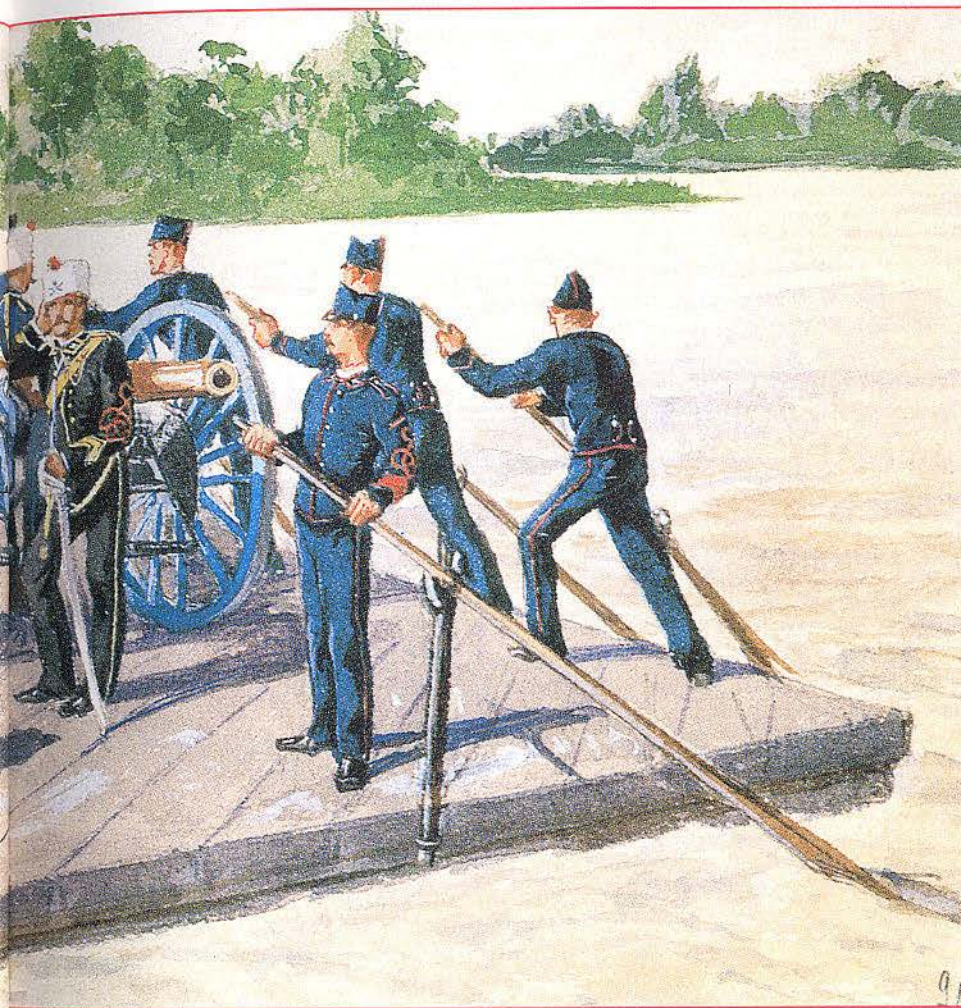
A frequently debated question is whether this form of regulation should have a national or international character. In the first case – national regulation – it is rather evident that the control could be more coercive and the companies would find heavy restrictions to the development of their activities. On the other hand, one can guess that in that case the PMCs could adopt a nomadic attitude, changing their location according to their interests of the moment. Thus one goes from a situation where, at first sight, there is a strong form of control to

another of total anarchy. The choice of an international architecture would be preferable. In particular, rather than issue a number of laws in the Countries where the PMCs decide to set up their registered offices, it might be better to think of a set of rules established by an international body, such as the UN or the International Court of Justice. This choice appears also to be more objective, since it avoids the possibility that more permissive national legislations may induce the firms to move to those Countries, which would rapidly become a kind of accumulation points for military companies.

In view of this, a kind of registration with an international body could be required (with the possibility of having the activity suspended in case of violations of the norms) or the authorizations could be granted for single projects (but this solution, of course, would have a number of drawbacks in terms of secrecy and operational



speed). Another regulative option could envisage the presence of a control team on the spot. The team would act as a referee, observing the progress of the operations without interfering, unless the company breaks the rules of the game. It is unlikely that such a team would have the strength to stop an operation in progress, but obviously a negative judgement on the work of the company would make it unable to tender for future contracts. The team's presence could be an element of control in order to avoid not only the employment of techniques banned by humanitarian conventions but also that the company should extend the duration of the mission in an "artificial" manner, in order to earn more than stipulated. On the other



hand, a company working according to the rules would have everything to gain from the presence of a control team which would guarantee the reliability of the firm.

CONCLUSIONS

The above considerations give us the possibility to imagine the future of these organization, which have by now reached considerable dimensions. Their destiny is linked to the evolution of the world scenarios and, therefore, of the armies. During the Cold War, the PMCs found it hard to assert themselves and the "mercenaries" were the "prima donnas". Why? The answer is twofold. In the first place, the number of crises was considerably smaller and the

two powers had no interest in fuelling hotbeds of tension that were dangerous for the world balances. Therefore, at the first signs of crisis, the superpowers tried to solve any possible dispute in a peaceful manner. On the other hand, the world was divided into rather clear-cut spheres of influence and each power, in its area, laid down the law. As a matter of fact, the crises were breaking out in places where the competence was not well defined (e.g. Africa) but in those Countries, even if the superpowers did not fail to interfere more or less openly, the burden of the intervention was almost always left to the former colonial powers. Therefore, in the crisis areas there was no fertile ground for the PMCs. The same was also true in their respective Countries, where the

number of soldiers was sufficient to carry out many functions that today are entrusted to private companies. The logistic, training and studying functions could be performed without problems since there were enough men who could conduct the battle and devote themselves to the defence of the national borders.

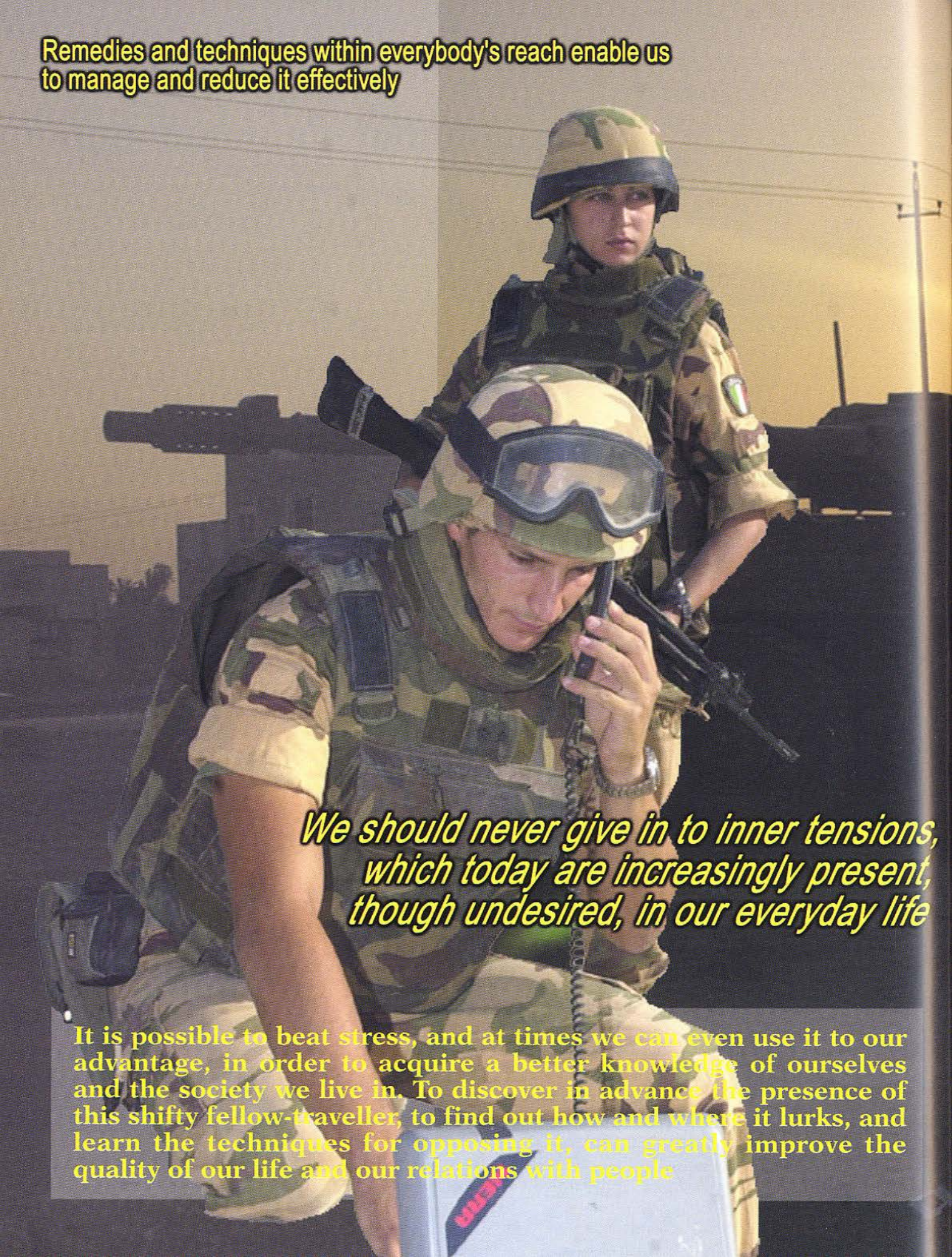
But in the last years the situation has radically changed. Soldiers are fewer and fewer and many of the functions which are still indispensable for supplying the output that the Country requests of the Armed Forces must be carried out by other actors, i.e. the PMCs.

We could conclude that for these organizations the future is rosy enough, albeit with some specifications. In fact, some Countries – owing to their culture, political choice or other reasons – are strongly inclined towards peacekeeping missions, which are not as human resources consuming as the combat ones and leave little room for outsourcing. One could almost say that the armies' increasing specialization of this type prevents the PMCs from becoming the armed tool of the international organizations.

Nevertheless one cannot but admit that the world situation is such – and so will be in the short and medium term – that the private military companies still have remarkable margins for development. As the Iraqi example is proving, the American interventionism, always shared and supported by the British ally, will inevitably require their support. A recent analysis foresees that in 2010 the market of the PMCs will produce proceeds of as much as 202 billion dollars!

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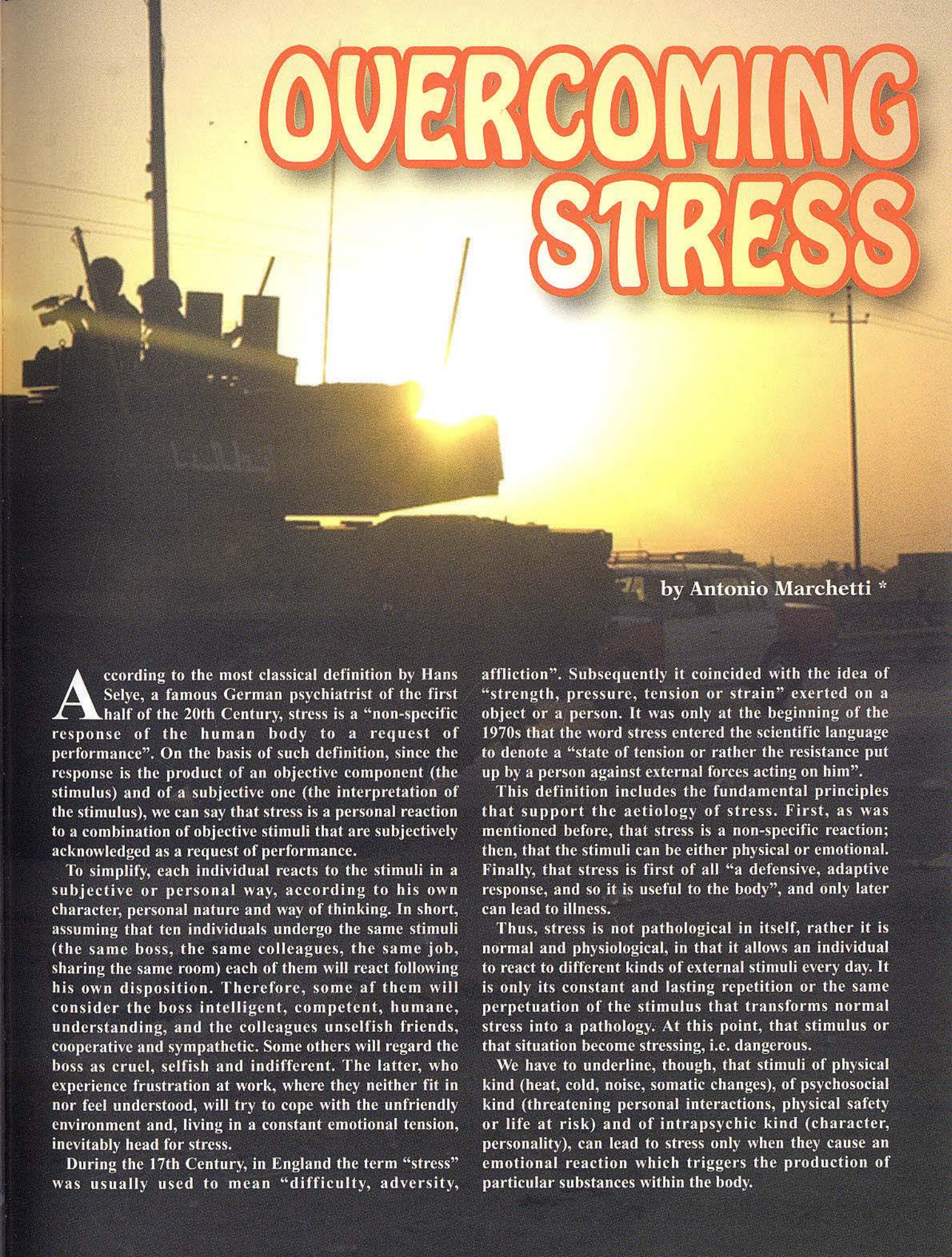
**Lieutenant Colonel,
General Office
of the Army Chief of Staff*



Remedies and techniques within everybody's reach enable us to manage and reduce it effectively

We should never give in to inner tensions, which today are increasingly present, though undesired, in our everyday life

It is possible to beat stress, and at times we can even use it to our advantage, in order to acquire a better knowledge of ourselves and the society we live in. To discover in advance the presence of this shifty fellow-traveller, to find out how and where it lurks, and learn the techniques for opposing it, can greatly improve the quality of our life and our relations with people



OVERCOMING STRESS

by Antonio Marchetti *

According to the most classical definition by Hans Selye, a famous German psychiatrist of the first half of the 20th Century, stress is a “non-specific response of the human body to a request of performance”. On the basis of such definition, since the response is the product of an objective component (the stimulus) and of a subjective one (the interpretation of the stimulus), we can say that stress is a personal reaction to a combination of objective stimuli that are subjectively acknowledged as a request of performance.

To simplify, each individual reacts to the stimuli in a subjective or personal way, according to his own character, personal nature and way of thinking. In short, assuming that ten individuals undergo the same stimuli (the same boss, the same colleagues, the same job, sharing the same room) each of them will react following his own disposition. Therefore, some of them will consider the boss intelligent, competent, humane, understanding, and the colleagues unselfish friends, cooperative and sympathetic. Some others will regard the boss as cruel, selfish and indifferent. The latter, who experience frustration at work, where they neither fit in nor feel understood, will try to cope with the unfriendly environment and, living in a constant emotional tension, inevitably head for stress.

During the 17th Century, in England the term “stress” was usually used to mean “difficulty, adversity,

affliction”. Subsequently it coincided with the idea of “strength, pressure, tension or strain” exerted on a object or a person. It was only at the beginning of the 1970s that the word stress entered the scientific language to denote a “state of tension or rather the resistance put up by a person against external forces acting on him”.

This definition includes the fundamental principles that support the aetiology of stress. First, as was mentioned before, that stress is a non-specific reaction; then, that the stimuli can be either physical or emotional. Finally, that stress is first of all “a defensive, adaptive response, and so it is useful to the body”, and only later can lead to illness.

Thus, stress is not pathological in itself, rather it is normal and physiological, in that it allows an individual to react to different kinds of external stimuli every day. It is only its constant and lasting repetition or the same perpetuation of the stimulus that transforms normal stress into a pathology. At this point, that stimulus or that situation become stressing, i.e. dangerous.

We have to underline, though, that stimuli of physical kind (heat, cold, noise, somatic changes), of psychosocial kind (threatening personal interactions, physical safety or life at risk) and of intrapsychic kind (character, personality), can lead to stress only when they cause an emotional reaction which triggers the production of particular substances within the body.



In a word, a non-specific stimulus becomes stressing only when an emotional participation is triggered within the subject concerned.

Let us make an example. If on our way to the office, we have to take the underground, as thousands of people do, but we personally suffer the presence of people, the crowd, the closed-in space, the heat, the pushes, the rigid respect of the schedule, the compulsoriness of taking that means of transport, all these non-specific stimuli, which act upon all the people travelling by underground, will become stressing only when they cause emotional reactions such as suffering, anxiety, anger, discomfort, fear, worry, restlessness, agitation.

The emotional response to the stimulus does not only manifest itself at a somatic and biological level (tachycardia, stomach-ache, high blood pressure, anxiety, phobias, insomnia), but also at behavioural level, with precise adaptive and defensive aims. The

emotion can be seen as an integrated behavioural and biological reaction, aiming at the individual adaptation to changed conditions of internal and external stimulation.

As a matter of fact, in front of a threat, the body reacts both at behavioural and somatic level in order to bring back the basic conditions.

WHAT STRESS REALLY IS

Stress is seen from the double perspective of biological and psycho-behavioural stress and is an integral part of the defensive and adaptive emotional reaction of the superior organisms.

Having said that, we have to explain how stress is connected with the physical symptoms we mentioned above (tachycardia, stomach-ache, asthma, sweaty palms, vertigo) and the psychic behaviour (anxiety, phobias, panic attacks, insomnia).

In short, how and by what process a stressing stimulus, such

as a thought, an idea, the environment, a job, other people, can produce an organic disease that appears and alters the normal functions of organs and systems (heart, lungs, skin, ears, stomach).

What do stress and headache, duodenal ulcer, arterial hypertension and insomnia have in common? Why does stress cause tachycardia, nausea, muscular pain and fatigue?

There is a direct connection between the emotional reaction triggered by the stressing stimulus and the production, in our body, of certain substances, whose excess and permanence cause a change in the physiological functions of some of our internal organs.

What substances are we talking about? They are the hormones, and among them adrenaline and its metabolites: thyroid hormone, growth hormone (GH), sex hormones, cortisol and prolactin.

Normally, i.e. physiologically, the production and activation of these compounds take place whenever different kinds of

stimuli act on the person. Their higher or lower presence in the blood circulation depends on the intensity of the stimulus and on the emotional reaction they set off.

Without these compounds we could neither live nor cope with the normal activities of our daily life. It is adrenaline which allows us to brake when a passer-by cuts across our way, and which enables us to suddenly withdraw our hand just before an object hits it. It is this hormone that makes us run for the bus in order to catch it, and it is the same hormone, together with other neurohumours, which makes us sweat when it is hot (in order to lower body temperature) and shiver when it is cold (to rise the temperature). And so it is for the other hormones and bioactive substances, which are produced to make us live and adapt to the thousands of different situations we face.

Only an excess and a constantly high presence of these substances in our body will cause all the symptoms we mentioned above, a presence sustained and fuelled by an unbalanced, unstable and excessive emotional reaction.

These are the terms which make the difference between a healthy individual and one who is going to be stressed.

We are all hit by potentially stressing stimuli, but why only some people fall ill? In short, what is wrong with the people who are going to be stressed? What do they have more or less than the others?

In order to know it, we have to go back to the definition according to which stress has an objective component (stimulus) that is the same for everyone, and a subjective individual reaction. Therefore we shall have different subjective reactions to the same stimuli.

According to this statement we can say that everything revolves around the subject, the individual,



the person. It is man, in the broadest sense of the term, with his inner psychology, emotions, existential views, character, personality, subjective condition, and his individual way of acting and reacting to events, who will open the way to stress!

It is appropriate to propose the abovementioned example again. If ten people experience the same stimuli (same boss, same colleagues, same job, same room) each of them will react according to his nature. For some of them the boss will be intelligent, competent, kind, understanding and the colleagues unselfish friends, cooperative and sympathetic. For others the boss will be cruel, selfish, indifferent.

The latter, who experience frustration in the working place, where they neither fit in nor feel understood while trying to cope with a situation (adaptive response) which they feel hostile (defensive response), will sooner or later experience stress.

Therefore, rather than discussing stress in a broad sense, it would be more appropriate to talk about a person potentially prone to stress, due to his nature, character and personality. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that the event could strike people who do not have such a predisposition, but certainly those who are sensitive, introvert and reserved by nature have more chances to overreact to stressing events.

Usually those who overreact to a stimulus do not have the disposition to fully analyze the event. They are unable to think carefully about what is happening to them and cannot harmoniously place the circumstances they are going through in a virtual scale of values. In short, they are not impartial as far as facts, situations, tasks, roles and events are concerned. All this keeps them in a persistent state of emotional tension that causes an excessive production of bioactive

substances which will affect, in a persistent and abnormal way, their bodies' organs and systems, which will respond with the abovesaid symptoms (tachycardia, headache, arterial hypertension, duodenal ulcer, insomnia, transitory impotence, hyperglycaemia, hypercholesterolemia, vertigo, anxiety).

Having broadly outlined the aetiology of stress, it is now appropriate to mention a group of pathologies that are usually the cause or the consequence of stress: anxiety, obsessive-compulsive disorders, depression, psychosomatic disorders, burn-out syndrome and mobbing. All these syndromes are an integral part of the wide-ranging psycho-behavioural field which is typical of stress.

Anxiety

Paraphrasing an old saying from the Gospel, we could say: let he who is without anxiety cast the first stone.

We are immersed in anxiety, which is the background of our existence like the clouds in a clear sky, and sometimes it conditions our day. We are worried about being late at work, about our son not coming home at the usual time, about missing the underground, about our boss' opinion and about performance. We worry about managing to get by the end of the month with the little money left, about making a bad impression, about feeling underestimated in our job; anyone can continue this list adding his own worries.

Beware, though: none of this is pathological, but it is vital to our existence, because it enables us to react properly to present or future events.

Even if we could define anxiety as "a fully unpleasant, vague and painful feeling of danger or threat to our psychophysical safety", it implies "the positive reaction to negative circumstances". In this

case, too, it is the emotional excess that turns this physiological and unpleasant agitation into a pathological one. In fact, when the emotional condition of anxiety becomes pathological, it may result in a phobia, i.e. an "excessive fear of something or somebody which compels the subject to exclude, to remove, to escape from the phobic situation (open-space, tunnel, lift, confined place, crowd)". Practically, a phobic will escape facing anxiety-inducing events, situations and places by avoiding, removing or excluding the event.

Obsessive-compulsive disorders

Gradually the disorder goes from phobia to obsessive-compulsion, where someone is constantly tormented by unpleasant ideas which occur in a sudden, repetitive and uncontrollable way, such as the fear of losing self-control, of getting dirty, of becoming infected, of not having turned off the gas, of having forgotten to lock the house's or the car's door.

Eventually, in order to fight the obsessive idea which fills his mind and brings it to a constant and unceasing anxiety, the patient starts to behave in what he considers a reassuring manner, but by doing that, he increases and worsens his already highly emotional response, since his acts are repetitive and compulsory. So he will keep on washing himself several times to avert the fear of all sorts of germs; to feel reassured, he will go back to check that the front door, the car, the garage are locked, and he will avoid entering closed rooms. In short, he carries on a compulsive defensive behaviour.

In this case, too, man is the heart of the matter. What character does an individual have, who faces and reacts to stimuli (non-specific component) in such a way (emotional response)?



He is introvert, sensitive, perfectionist and pedantic. He lives thinking constantly about some impending danger (germs, thieves, other people) and has to prevent it. He must control his emotions, on pain of a negative self-judgement, and feels to be part of a system in which his response is self-punitive and self-persecutory. He constantly swings between a state of euphoria and one of depression. He is always in a bad mood; he often lives alternating between periods during which he feels confident and optimistic and others when he falls into a state of apathy and finds it difficult to behave in a complex way. Practically, he constantly and permanently lives on the alert.



Depression

A depressed person has the inborn capability of seeing only the dark side of the world. Life is negative, and so are jobs and friends, everything is unfavourable. He wears dark glasses through which he filters his days, losing touch with a reality, which he perceives as hostile, harmful, useless. He is convinced that everything is against him, nothing will work out well, any action is useless because it will not turn out well. He is unable to react to events, and turns a blind eye to situations that he feels are far away and useless.

The depressed lets himself go, shuts himself up in his home, his movements are slow, his face

drawn, his voice low and plaintive. He feels weak, gets tired easily and does not sleep. He has a negative self-perception and feels inadequate and useless. He is pessimistic and convinced that his personal difficulties will last forever. He does not want to cope with everyday life because he thinks he does not have a future, does not face problems that he considers rocks weighing down on his existence. He is convinced that his problems, and only his, have no solution, considers himself incapable of doing anything, overestimates the difficulties inherent to certain tasks and does not ask for help or reassurance of other people, whom he considers more capable and more qualified.

Psychosomatic disorders

Simplifying to the utmost the definition of psychosomatic disorders, we can say that they are "organic diseases caused by the mind".

As we mentioned above, in everyday life the individual is exposed to negative stimuli which can interfere with his psychic equilibrium. Emotionally, his response to them will cause the occurrence of feelings of anxiety, aggressiveness and fear. Physically, his reaction will stimulate the endocrine and the neurovegetative systems to produce and release a certain number of bio-active substances (hormones).

The recurrence and persistence of these stimuli, and the



consequent introduction into the bloodstream of hormones and other substances, can cause an anatomical change in a specific organ and the onset of a real organic or somatic illness.

It should be added that we all have our "target" organ, i.e. the one that suffers the consequences of the damaging emotional action, and is therefore the most vulnerable.

Thus the psychosomatic disorders are "a heterogeneous group of pathologies whose beginning is favoured and supported by the presence of intense and prolonged stimuli".

This does not imply that those who are stressed are also carriers of a somatic illness, but compared

to those who are not stressed they will have many more chances to catch one of the many psychosomatic pathologies.

Typical examples of psychosomatic manifestations, where stress plays the leading role in favouring, helping and predisposing to organic damage, are: duodenal ulcer, stress-induced and post-traumatic gastritis; functional dyspepsia; Crohn's disease and ulcerous rectum-colitis; a drop in sexual desire and excitement; some types of arterial hypertension; certain fits of asthma; spastic colitis or irritable-colon syndrome; several dermatological episodes which appear with diffused itching, face redness,

sweating palms; psoriasis; vitiligo; some types of urticaria; alopecia (hair falling out); some dermatoses;; psychogenic itching; stammer. There is, therefore, a very wide range of symptoms and pathologies supported by stress or where stress is a concomitant cause.

For example, the abdominal cramps that in the morning some people suffer before going out, or an alternation of diarrhoea and constipation, typical of an irritable colon, are all somatic manifestations of a psychic problem.

These patients who, psychologically, do not feel accepted (on their job, by other people) and who dread to cope with a world they feel far away, hostile, cold and detached, unconsciously react in a defensive manner and physically release irritants in the intestine which, reacts to them with diarrhoea. So, those who suffer from these symptoms believe they are ill and therefore justified in the eyes of their employer, and excused for stopping their activity.

The mechanism which triggers and leads to psychosomatic disorders is simple and repetitive: negative thought, emotional response, stimulation of the endocrine system, production of bioactive substances and their release into the bloodstream, excessive amount of these substances, anatomical changes in the "target" organ, symptoms and, finally, illness.

But is it a real illness? Of course it is, and must not be underestimated because, never as in this case, it is the entire body which is being involved and not only an organ or an apparatus.

Mind and body are equally implicated and once the psychosomatic pathology has been diagnosed, should the doctor limit himself to cure only the symptoms, instead of looking for the psychic causes, he would make a very bad evaluation, and a



discomfort, nightmares, irritability, excessive and unmotivated worries and fears, feeling of inadequacy, sense of guilt, feelings of frustration or failure, emotional detachment, rigid setting and application of norms and rules, cynicism, lack of interest, hostility or rejection towards the fellowmen, pessimism and loss of self-esteem.

Those who are suffering from the burn-out syndrome do not find any fulfilment in their work and start to belittle themselves both professionally and personally. Despite all their efforts, they cannot stop this collapse of self-confidence and

diagnostic and therapeutic mistake.

Before curing their body, these patients should be cured in their mind and their approach to the world, to existence and to everyday life.

The burn-out syndrome

For many people, work is one of the main sources of stress and the burn-out syndrome represents it concretely.

It was mentioned for the first time about thirty year ago, in order to identify an occupational pathology frequently observed in jobs with strong emotional participation, and was characterized by the sudden decline of psychophysical resources and professional performance.

The term burn-out, mainly used in sports circles to indicate athletes who, after having been awarded the highest prizes did not manage to be competitive anymore, both from the agonistic and the performance point of view. The term was then extended to describe a category of workers suffering from the same



symptomatology.

From a psychophysical point of view, burn-out can be defined as "an emotional state of unpleasantness and inefficiency deriving from a feeling that the environment demands exceed the individual's capabilities". It shows up as a psycho-behavioural symptomatology characterized by emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, reduced professional fulfilment, lack of control, high resistance to work, apathy, demoralization, concentration difficulties,

abilities. Any commitment seems unbearable and they have the feeling of not being equal to their work or private tasks.

Moreover, they do not manage to have balanced relations between their job and their private life. They feel that work is encroaching them and they cannot get mentally rid of it. The relationship with their colleagues gives them a feeling of uneasiness which goes beyond the working hours. They realize that something is wrong and that they cannot go on like this. Thus they

try to find a solution to a situation which is threatening and has no way out. They start staying away from work, do not face problems, spend a lot of time on the telephone, seek excuses to go out or to carry out tasks which do not require an interaction with their colleagues. They gradually withdraw from the working reality, attending business meetings without speaking, without any emotional participation and only when it is strictly necessary.

Burn-out is a complex and multifactorial phenomenon, in which stress plays a major role, not only as a concomitant cause but most of all as an accelerator of the psychological processes that sustain the etiology of the syndrome.

It occurs mostly in very ambitious and motivated people who let themselves be involved in their jobs beyond any acceptable limit, neglecting the pleasant aspects of life, such as affection and family. They see their job as a means of self-fulfilment. Work makes them feel important and safe. They are moved by a strong social competitiveness and unconsciously wish to exert their decision-making power on others. Their role and their job are idealized and made almost mystical and perceived as stimulating and rewarding. Sometimes, their professional self is so highly and unconsciously personified that it leads to a form of pathologic narcissism.

When we talk about burn-out we have to analyse not only the individual, but also the work environment and its atmosphere. We should not forget that the place where we daily spend about eight hours of our existence is an inexhaustible source of stress-causing events.

Among these we could list the relationship with bosses and colleagues, high competitiveness, scarce consideration, incomprehension, higher re-



sponsibilities compared to one's duties, role inconsistency, the superiors' contradictory demands, unclear tasks, disappointment for missed personal realizations, frustration for a failed promotion or career advancement, unfavourable environment (cramped rooms, overcrowding, scarce material resources and poor means of transport).

In conclusion, before dealing with how to prevent, cure and solve the problem of stress and its consequences, one should briefly mention a phenomenon which, in recent years, has been increasingly emerging in the working environment and which

is among the main causes of stress: "mobbing".

Mobbing

The world-famous ethologist and Nobel-Prize winner Konrad Lorenz coined this term to define "the exclusion of an individual from his herd". In industrial medicine it describes "a progressive and unbearable psychological violence exerted on a person and effected in the working place".

Mobbing is like a rising tide of abuse of power. It starts with a greeting refused, jokes turning into insults, and jests becoming tragedies. Colleagues ignore you, the boss is disappointed, the work



load is overwhelming. The worry about making mistakes leads to errors, restlessness makes you unproductive. You get to work with a sullen face, stomach cramps and headache. You come out tired, weakened and unsatisfied.

In short, it is an "intense and unceasing emotional pressure, exerted at the working place by colleagues or superiors, on a person regarded as difficult, with the conscious or unconscious intention of destroying him psychologically and socially, causing his dismissal or his resignation".

Pressure can be exerted in many ways, from mere marginalization

to the diffusion of slander, from constant criticism to deliberate persecution, from assigning downgrading tasks to compromising the social image.

Among the most common ways of psychological persecution one should mention: slander; the willful refusal of information; the sabotage or deliberate obstacles to the execution of a task; to exclude, offend, boycott and despise the worker; to threaten, frighten or humiliate the person, as in the case of sexual harassment; to insult; to over-criticize or deliberately put on hostile attitudes or reactions; to monitor the worker's performance without letting him know, with the

purpose of damaging him; to impose administrative sanctions for no apparent reason.

Mobbing has far-reaching effects not only on the victim, who has to cope with serious psychological problems, but also on the company, where one can notice an important downturn in production, due to the lack of fair and serene working conditions.

Our travel around stress is over. We certainly forgot some of its forms and variants that could have explained why, according to a recent research, in Italy almost 63% of the people, more or less consciously, show symptoms of stress.

Before closing, it is useful to



mention the non-pharmacological therapy, i. e. the “relaxing techniques” that certainly do not cure full-blown stress, but can help coping with the thousand stressing situations in our life.

REMEDIES FOR STRESS

From a theoretical point of view, the ideal remedy would be to minimize the stressing situations, but objectively this is not a solution, since the sources of stress are manifold.

We can deal with stress using a few techniques or behaviours, i.e.: by acknowledging that we are feeling stressed or anxious, which is the first step towards the solution; trying to understand the reason of stress; thinking about the negative thoughts that crowd our mind, and try to change them into positive ones; learning the art of taking a rest, for example leaving a job half way and resume it the next day; setting realistic goals and try to achieve them one at a time. If you think that a relationship with someone is a source of stress, try to analyse

whether it is really essential. Develop a healthy self-love and self-esteem and, at least once a week, do what you really enjoy.

Psychotherapy

There are various psychotherapeutic treatments for managing and controlling stress. One of the best is cognitive psychotherapy.

It is called that because it works mostly on the ideas and on the real or assumed opinions held by the individual. According to cognitive psychotherapy every psychological problem stems from the person's way of thinking, i.e. out of his interpretation of reality.

The basic concepts of cognitive psychotherapy are that every experience is elaborated by the mind, which is responsible for the individual emotions and behaviour.

From a cognitive point of view, the unconscious can be considered “the whole of thoughts that the patient has about himself, about others and about the world”.

Once that the convictions responsible for the emotional disorders have been identified, the

patient is actively helped by the therapist to change them, in order to produce more objective and useful alternative thoughts, with a lesser emotional load (cognitive restructuring).

After having absorbed and metabolized the new thoughts, the person is invited to put them into practice along with the new behaviours (behavioural test). The role played by the patient in cognitive psychotherapy is very active.

Cognitive psychotherapy is a short psychological aid (some months) and has acceptable costs. More than thirty-year-long clinical studies have proven its validity and clinical efficacy.

Relaxation therapies

These therapies cause a reduction of the stress level through a progressive training to self-control and muscular relaxation. Among these we would like to mention: autogenous training, progressive relaxation and the more recent technique of biofeedback.

Biofeedback is perhaps the most effective relaxation technique. It

teaches how to self-relax and to manage the bodily functions that are independent of the individual's will, such as nervous tension, heartbeat and sweating.

It is a strong point in the treatment of stress, chronic anxiety, panic attacks, phobias, obsessive-compulsive disorders and, generally, of all somatizations of anxiety: tension headache, tachycardia due to stress and functional disorders of the cardiac rhythm, transient arterial hypertension, gastritis and irritable colon.

Learning the biofeedback relaxation technique is much faster and more complete than what can be obtained by any other technique. Selected studies show that it is effective in 90-95% of the cases.

Autogenous training

It is a relaxation method conceived by the German psychiatrist Johann Schultz, based on exercises that allow to reach a state of muscular and psychoemotional relaxation through passive concentration and the use of autosuggestion formulas.

The term "training" refers to a constant and disciplined repetition, for some minutes every day, of a series of exercises, in

order to reach an autogenous relaxation.

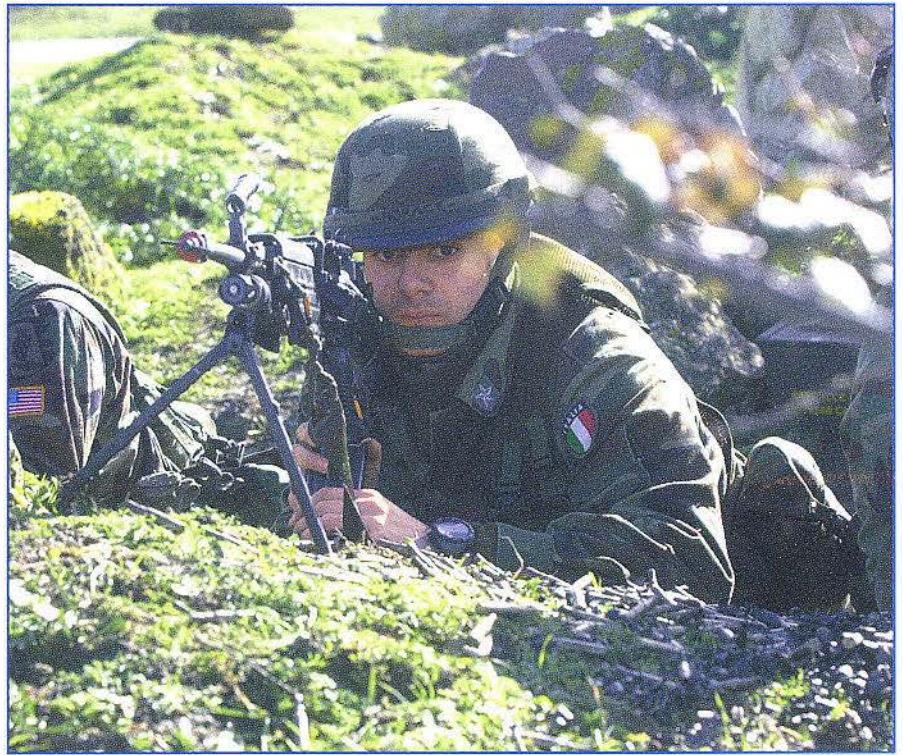
Generally, autogenous training is practised lying on a sofa or on a suitable armchair. It is important to be in a calm environment, in semidarkness, at least for the first times, undoing tight belts and clothes.

These exercises are divided into basic ones (self-induced calm, progressive weight sensation, progressive heat sensation), which

already allow an excellent relaxation, and complementary ones which induce an even deeper relaxation (heart, breathing and cool-forehead exercises).

There is also a higher cycle of autogenous training exercises, but it has to be exclusively practised under the supervision of a specialist.

Once learnt, it is easy to practise and it only takes a few minutes to reach a state of relaxation.

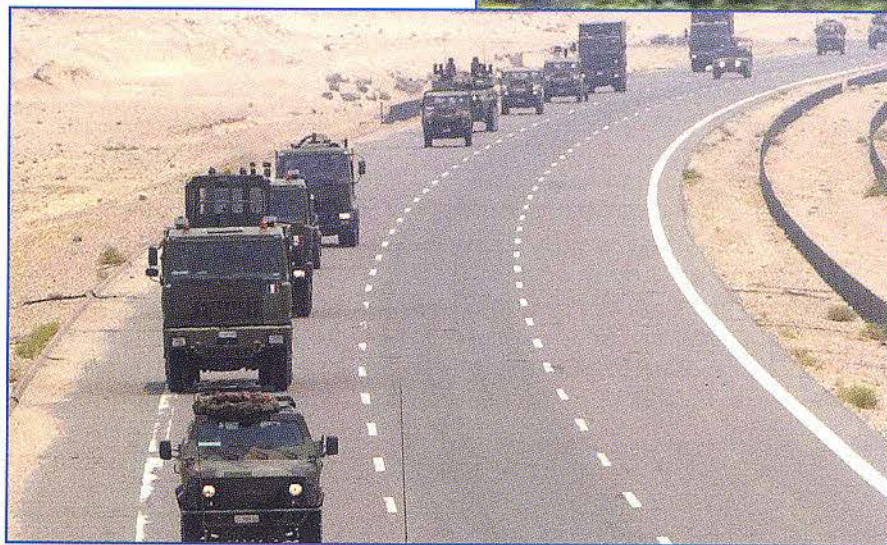


In order to learn autogenous training well, it is of the utmost importance to be constant in its practice, which has to be carried out following Schultz' instructions, for at least six months.

Breathing control

Breathing control is a relaxation technique based on the assumption that breathing and muscular tension are directly linked. It is well known, in fact, that nervous tensions tend to change the rhythm and the depth of breathing, causing, as a consequence, a reduction of blood oxygenation.

Abdominal breathing (deeply diaphragmatic) is a natural method of relaxation. Already as babies we all breathe in this way, but, as time goes by, we forget it and start to use mainly a



resorts to listening to slow and repetitive pieces, at low volume and according to the person's tastes. Pieces of classical music (Bach, Mozart, Chopin, etc.), lentos and the like can be used.

It is a therapeutic technique based both on listening to a specific music chosen by the therapist (passive music therapy), and on the creation of sounds and notes using the appropriate instruments (active music therapy).

An unpleasant and badly-organized environment at home or at work can be among the main sources of stress. In order to make it better, it could be useful to do something about some factors, such as: improving air quality, refraining from smoking in closed places, frequently airing rooms and enriching the environment with plants.

thoracic-type breathing.

This training consists of a series of exercises aiming at voluntarily relearning the diaphragmatic way of breathing.

Acupuncture

It consists in applying needles, so as to help the nervous system to produce internal tranquillizers (endorphins). In this way we achieve muscular relaxation, slowing down the heartbeat and lowering the arterial pressure.

Each session lasts an average of

30-40 minutes. After the third or fourth application the patient begins to feel better.

Acupuncture, anyway, has to be considered a soft technique of intervention, and is mostly valid when stress has not reached high levels.

Music

It can be used either to help relaxation or as a separate therapeutic technique (musicotherapy).

In order to induce relaxation, it



Lighting has to be appropriate, in order to prevent the eyes from straining, increasing stress in the workplace. Tidiness, without becoming an obsession, helps to work better. Noise can be a source of intense stress, as it makes it impossible to concentrate. And, last, the furniture and muscular tensions caused by uncomfortable chairs are among the main reasons for backache, and therefore can become a source of stress.

CONCLUSIONS

Today's frenzied pace makes us live in a hectic and chaotic manner. Our job, family matters, our desire to be always at our best in order to give the best, often lead us to the limit of patience. Days follow one another so fast

that we can hardly tell them apart, so that in the end they seem to build an endless temporal arc.

Such lifestyle affects our body and, being exposed to this pace for a long time, it rebels, refuses to continue and shouts to the whole world that things cannot go on like that anymore.

At first sporadically, and then fairly regularly, the symptoms appear like physical signs that are not easy to recognize, such as headache, backache, stomachache, bad digestion, insomnia, tachycardia, vertigo. We feel apathetic, restless, nervous, anxious. We smoke more, pressure gets higher, we easily forget things we used to remember in a quick and instinctive way.

Moreover, we often go to the doctor because we are tortured by pain in our chest, thorax, arm, we are short of breath, we have panic

attacks and feel dizzy. We are embarrassed to tell him we have difficulties with sex. We live our life in a state of oppressive anguish. Anxiety and indistinct fear have become our faithful companions. Every little mishap disturbs us, trivial matters look like insurmountable walls and, day after day, we lose the analytical capacity that allows us to see things for what they really are. Our job gets more and more exhausting, and we feel sick at the very thought of getting up to go to work. Our professional skills are not rewarded and our boss does not regard us highly enough.

So we try to understand what is happening. We would like to know what is causing our bad headache or the reason why every afternoon we are so tired. Blood tests, clinical tests, X-rays start filling up our drawers. The result is always the same: nothing is found. The idea creeps in our mind that our doctor does not understand our illness, he may be indifferent or even incompetent.

Our body is rebelling and sending out signals of trouble!

We lose interest in facts and situations, and we cannot relax as we did before. We develop a fixed idea: to run away, to escape, to go, to leave our world for a moment. The idea of "pulling out the plug" relieves us and makes us feel much better.

When all this happens, when the innocent and harmless ring of the telephone makes us start off the chair and hearing it makes us furious, when we wake in the middle of the night thinking about our work, family, a certain situation, when we dream of events, facts or faces which were part of our day, when this happens, it all means we are stressed.

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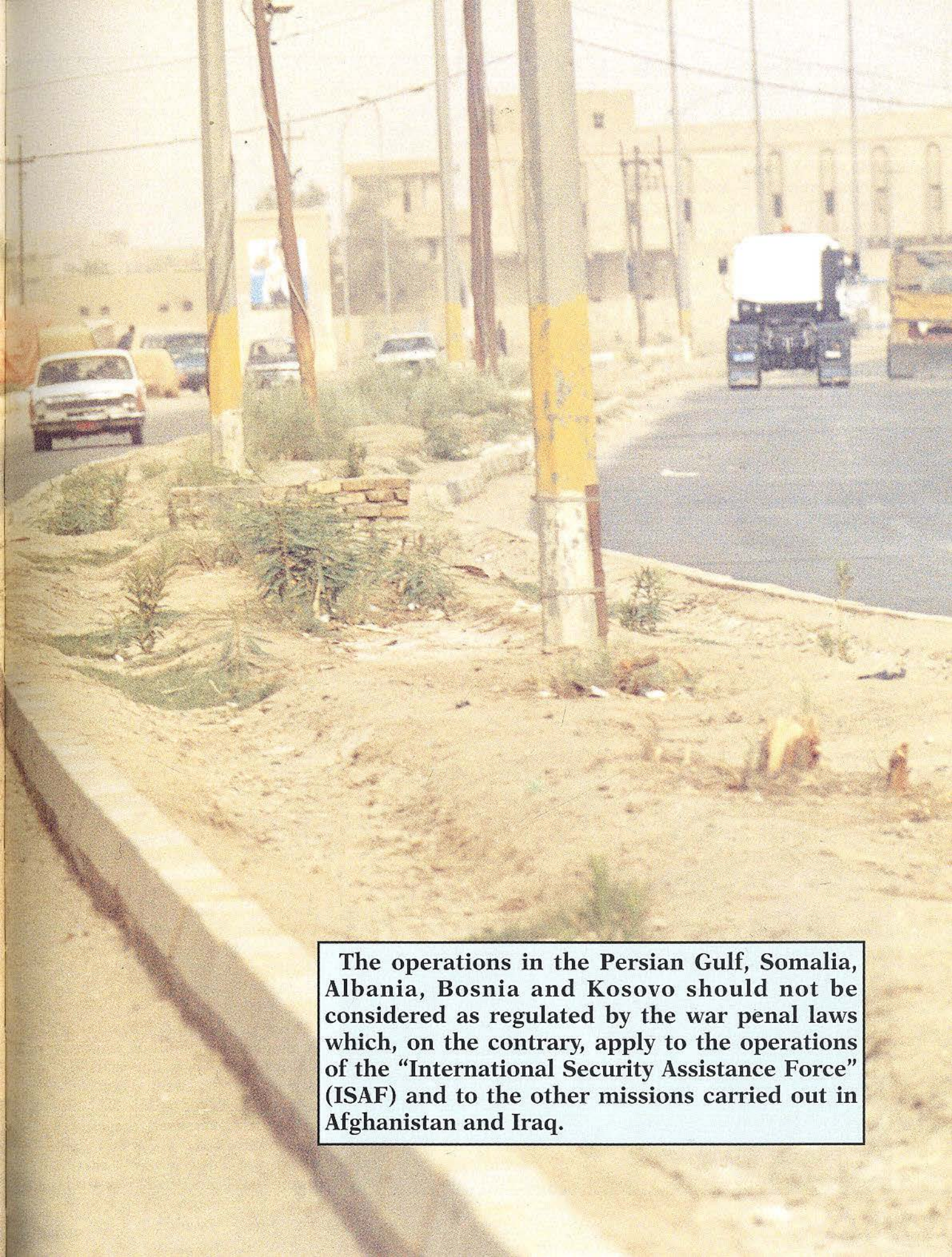
**Lieutenant Colonel,
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THE ITALIAN PENAL SYSTEM FOR THE MILITARY MISSIONS ABROAD

by Giuseppe Scandurra *

The fundamental objective is to increase the penal safeguard of the contingents employed abroad, guaranteeing their efficiency and operational capability



The operations in the Persian Gulf, Somalia, Albania, Bosnia and Kosovo should not be considered as regulated by the war penal laws which, on the contrary, apply to the operations of the "International Security Assistance Force" (ISAF) and to the other missions carried out in Afghanistan and Iraq.

THE MILITARY PENAL CODE IN PEACE AND WAR

The military penal legislation worked out in 1941 is characterized by a specific complementary codification devised for a time of war as opposed to a more general set of rules envisaged for peacetime.

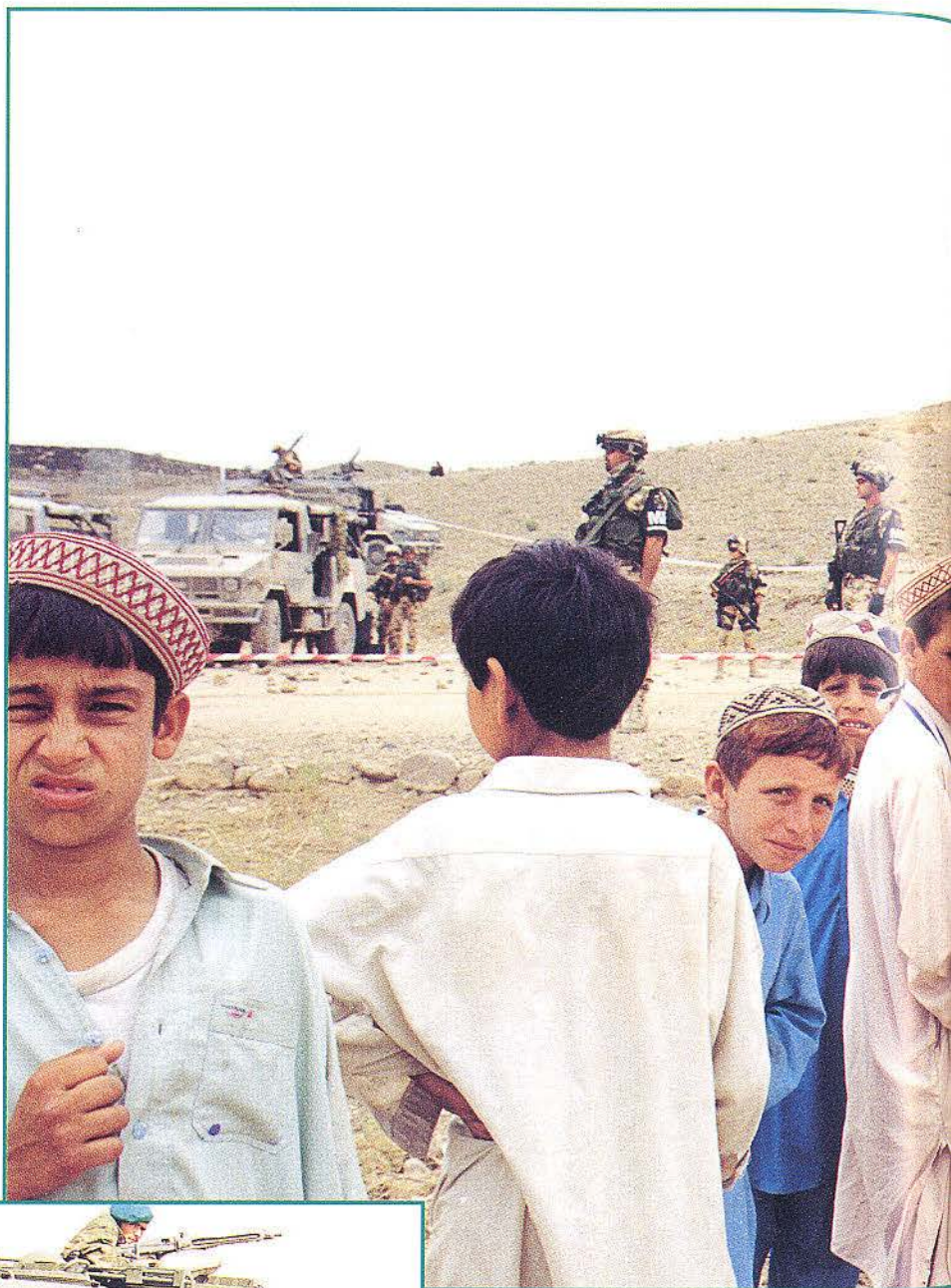
This dual system was marked by the principle of doubleness and excluded a third possible criterion, hardly suited to the particular requirements of our time, since in the present historical period speaking of "wartime" is scarcely appropriate: today's war does not appear as a ruinous and irreparable misfortune involving a whole nation, but assumes increasingly the aspect of a limited and partial conflict that can coexist with a normal state of affairs which can be summarily defined as "peacetime". Even the actual wars, especially after the

Right.

Delimitation of a mine-clearing area.

Below.

Training Afghan regulars.



Cold War, are technically and juridically different from the old ones, which were characterized by a declaration of war, signed by the Prime Minister and delivered to the ambassador of the enemy Country.

The present reality, characterized by a continuously changing geopolitical scenario and an almost constant increase of regional conflicts, has remarkably changed the nature of the threat to our Country. This makes the correctness of our remarks even more evident,



especially if we consider the operational activities of our Armed Forces, which are increasingly engaged, together with those from other Countries, in the performance of functions of international interposition in support of peace, within a juridical dimension which is also going through a continuous evolution.

Indeed, we could even say that "war" does not seem to be regulated by the States anymore and therefore is not subjected to any rule, particularly when

terrorist or criminal groups succeed in taking possession of weapons and devices of mass destruction.

As was recently remarked by our Minister of Defence, the Hon. Antonio Martino, today the world has radically changed: the need to protect Europe from a potential invader is less impelling than it was fifty years ago. We moved from the classic concept of defence from an invader to that of security, i.e. to the need to guarantee the stability of the crisis areas,

preventing conflicts and defending ourselves from global terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

Now the serviceman is not a soldier only, he has become a "peacekeeper" as well. Besides knowing how to use force, he must be able to deal with different situations and to establish contacts with the population.

It is still possible to arrive at the proclamation of the state of war but this, according to art. 11 of the Constitution, also with reference to art. 52 – as recently stated by the Council of State (January 14, 2003) – can only derive from situations of very serious emergency for the Country, keeping in mind that any other type of military operation can only respond to specific aims of pacification among Nations. Only in this perspective can one get over the repudiation of war as a solution of international disputes.

As a matter of fact, in the last years, the world political picture has been characterized by remarkable evolutionary drives, especially in relation to the international events occurred after September 11, 2001.

THE MISSIONS ABROAD

In the decades following WWII, the Italian Armed Forces have been engaged in a remarkable and progressive number of commitments abroad, starting with the participation in observation missions with the U.N., involving small groups of officers and arrived, with weightier contingents (resulting either from autonomous initiatives or under the aegis of the U.N., N.A.T.O., W.E.U., the European Community and other organizations), at the performance of about a

hundred missions on all fronts, in over forty Countries. The objectives of the most important ones were: employment of security forces, safeguard of free navigation, mine-clearing, naval blockades, disarming of factions and interposition between struggling parties.

These operations, which can be classified as national or international missions of peacekeeping or peace-enforcing, have been carried out in Somalia, the Congo, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, Iraq, Ethiopia, Eritrea, the former Yugoslavia, Mozambique, Bosnia-Herzegovina, East Timor, Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia.

Furthermore, the Italian Armed Forces have given their contribution to many multinational peacekeeping missions in Sinai, Cyprus, Namibia and other Countries, besides several missions of assistance to civilian populations.

In practice, our military have been called to appease conflicts, as in Somalia, or to stop genocides, as in the former Yugoslavia, or just to re-establish order or to facilitate an already started process of pacification, as in Mozambique.

These particular circumstances of employment were always authorized by appropriate legislative provisions and did not require the transition from a "state of peace" to a "state of war". Nevertheless, their very peculiar characteristics compelled the military to fulfill their duties with particular care and diligence, considering the specific nature of the operations they were called to conduct and the dangerous environment in which the missions were carried out. Thus the military operations have assumed a configuration that hinders their comprehension and functional classification. This is mostly due to an extremely detailed and

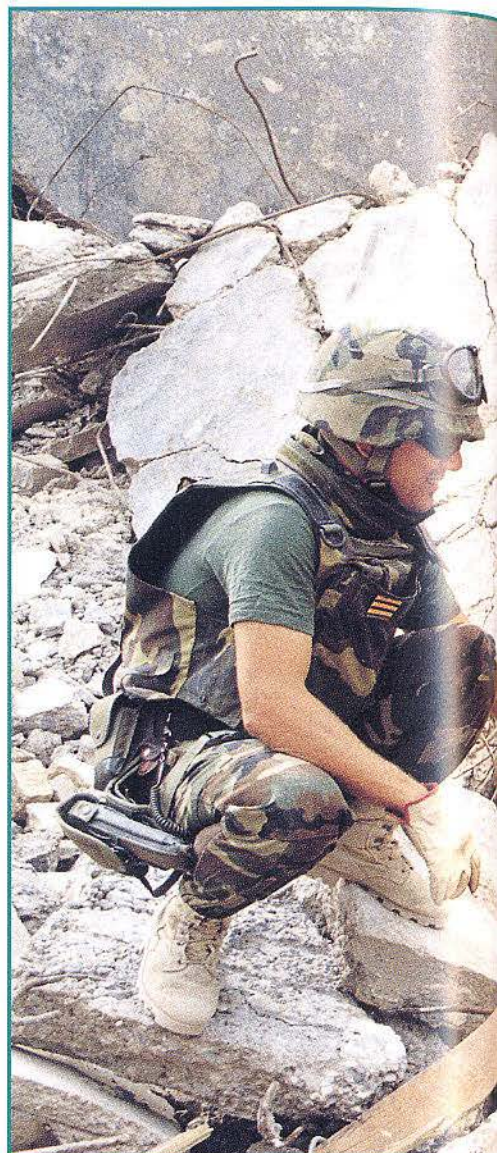
necessarily complicated set of rules, very different from those of a past which was essentially characterized by a bipolar confrontation and an enemy to confront.

Still, obviously one cannot rule out the need to have recourse to a military vis, as was proved when it became clear that the U.N. was inefficient in the management of complex operations, as in the Horn of Africa and in the former Yugoslavia.

This entailed not only the adoption of international norms and principles on the modalities of employment, but also the selection of a legal system different from the one that was essentially envisaged for peace or war, with the implicit use of procedures which were also different from the traditional ones. So, a body of particular norms was brought into being, almost like a special legal system for the military missions abroad.

Right.
Italian sappers in Iraq.

Below.
Italian and French servicemen in Bosnia.





EXPEDITIONARY FORCES ABROAD

Having made these preliminary observations, one can see that the necessary prerequisite for the application of the War Penal Code is the declaration of the state of war, which can only occur, as we said before, in an exceptional situation of emergency for the Country.

However, our system considers other cases where the application can be enjoined also in peacetime. One of these

is envisaged by art. 9 of the War Code, and concerns the Expeditionary Forces serving abroad for military operations.

The practical meaning of the term "military operations" has been the subject of an intense politico/doctrinal debate, especially on the occasion of the first employment, in 1982, of an Italian contingent in the Middle East, where it was to carry out Operations "Lebanon 1" and "Lebanon 2".

The question was not without foundation, because in the War

Code there was no definition of the concept of "military operations", also considering that all the activities where the employment of the Armed Force was not excluded a priori could be regarded as such.

Therefore the solution of the problem was extremely important, because the regulations under which our units were supposed to operate depended on it.

In practice, it was a matter of deciding whether the rules to be applied were the general ones

envisaged by the Penal Code for peacetime or the more stringent ones of the War Code.

THE "PELLICANO" MISSION

The question did not arise for the "Pellicano" mission, carried out in Albania in 1991-1993, which was characterized by an activity of assistance and distribution of humanitarian aid, excluding absolutely the use of arms. The question was posed, on the contrary, for all other instances where military operations, either offensive or in self-defence, could not be ruled out.

THE OTHER MISSIONS

Our legislators, in order to avoid the recurrence of the problems arisen for the Lebanon expedition and believing that, in any case, the body of wartime norms could be too onerous for operations whose aim was to support or enforce peace, laid down that the applicable norms were those provided in the Military Peace Code. This decision was reached also because many criminal transgressions of the War Code were still punished with the death penalty.

According to these guidelines, the first expedition abroad, where the application of the Peace Code was clearly admitted – with the implicit exclusion of the War Code – was the naval mission of 1987-88 for protecting the Italian merchant ships and clearing mines from the Persian Gulf and adjacent waters.

In the many expeditions that followed, the Peace Code was always applied.

Those were operations carried out in the nineties and their operational Theatres were the Persian Gulf, Somalia,

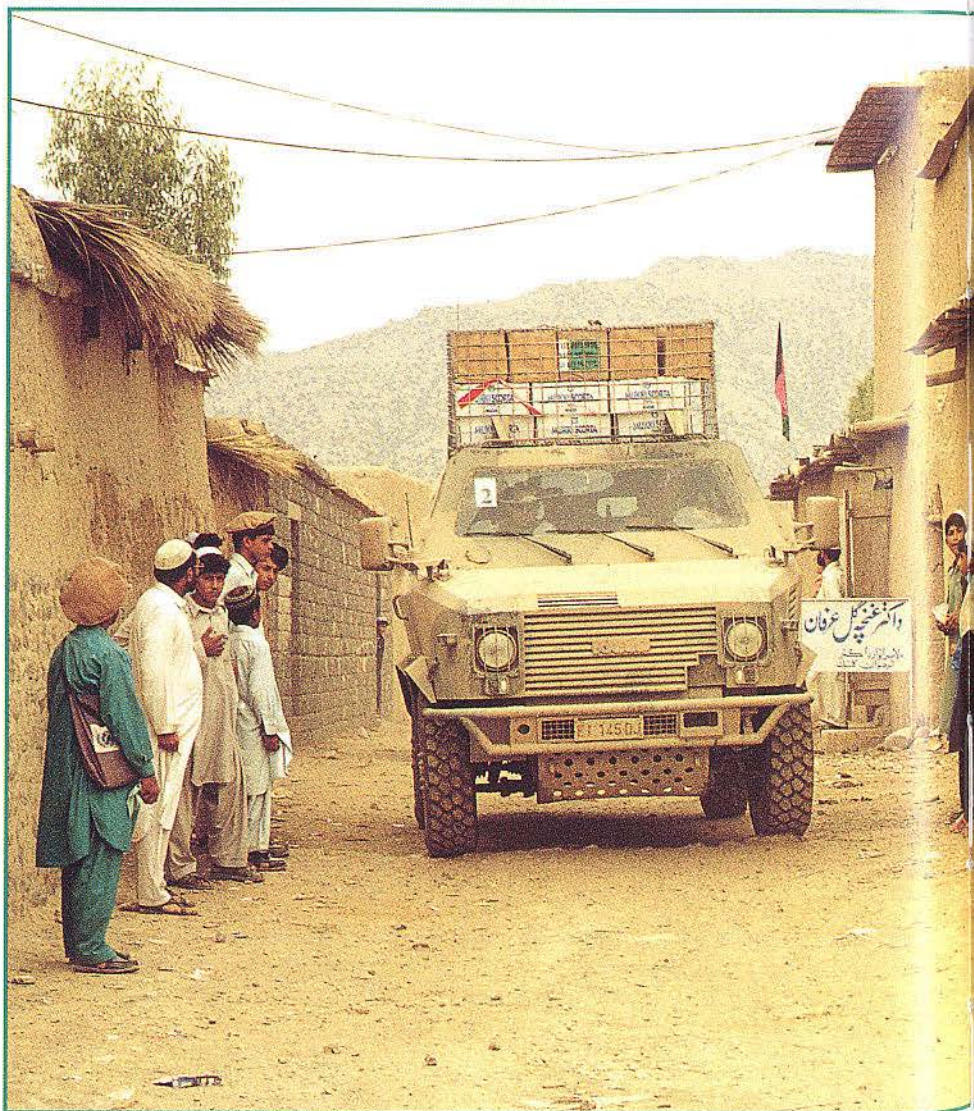
Mozambique, the embargo on the Danube, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hebron, Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, East Timor, Eritrea and Ethiopia.

However, the adoption of that system implied important and serious consequences, since the military penal laws for peacetime could not perform any function of protection or defence of the civilian population and did not envisage any peaceful employment abroad of a military instrument.

It was impossible, moreover, to enforce the norms concerning the repression of infringements of human rights laws, which were envisaged by the War Code.

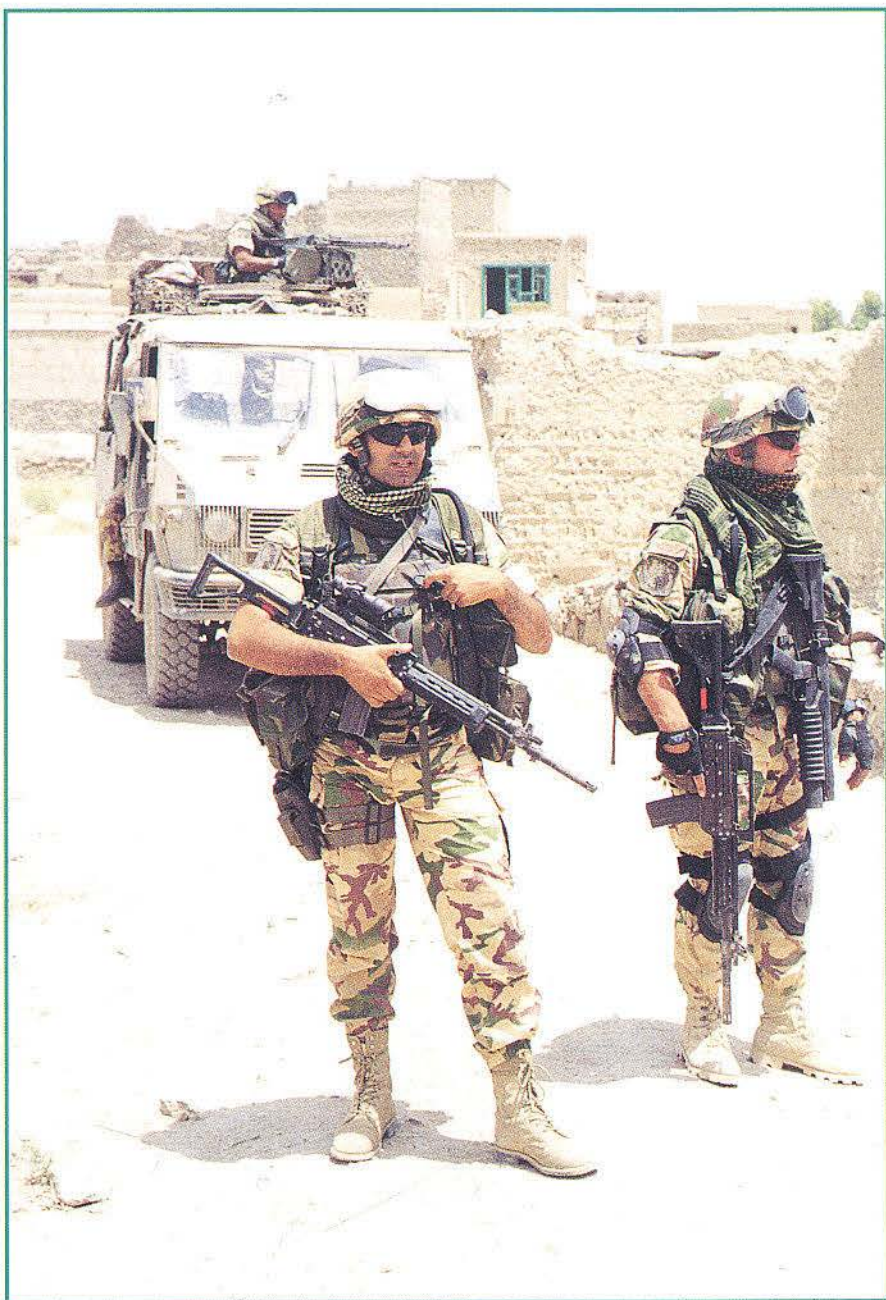
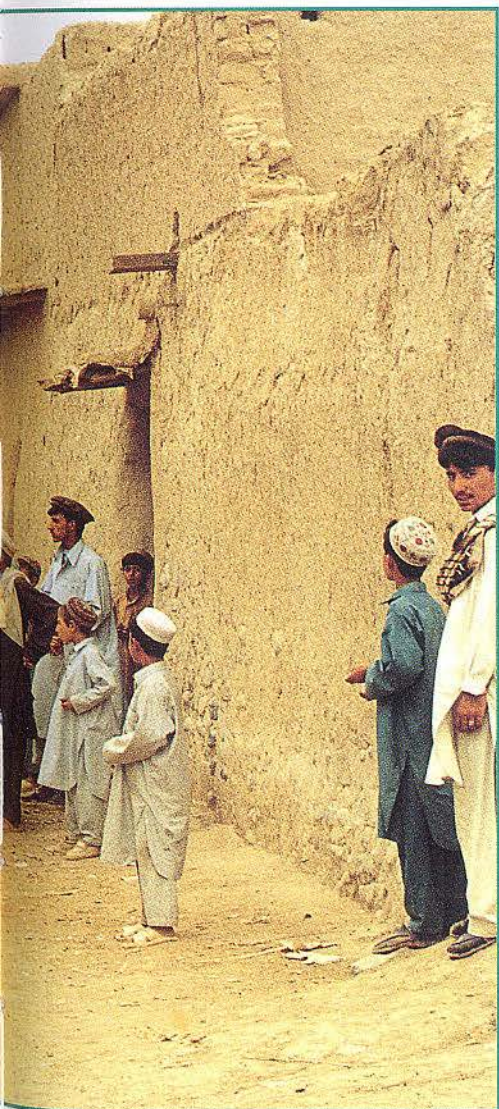
OPERATION "ENDURING FREEDOM"

For these reasons, and also for the transformations that had taken place in the international situation, there was a sharp and swift turnabout when it was decided that a contingent was to participate in the anti-terror military operation called "Enduring Freedom", on account of the particular situation brought about by the events of September 11, 2001. In fact, a Decree issued in December 2001 provided that the personnel participating in Afghanistan in the "campaign for the restoration of international lawfulness" was to be subjected to the War Military Penal Code.



THE APPLICATION OF THE MILITARY WAR PENAL CODE

The reasons that were in favour of the exclusion of this discipline could not be considered valid anymore, both because the death penalty had been definitively deleted from our legal system and also because Italy's international commitment with this mission consisted in performing a military operation substantially similar a to war activity. Indeed the military activity entrusted to our contingent could rightly be considered an "armed conflict", a situation that, in the laws and in the international practice, is now replacing the connection of aspects and elements depicting



Above.
Patrolling a village.

Left.
Humanitarian aid in an Afghan district.

the traditional war condition.

On the other hand, this concept was implicitly admitted in the report on the Government's Decree, where it is clearly stated that "the international commitment

undertaken by Italy consists in carrying out a military operation whose essential characteristics are basically akin to those of a war activity". The same concept was also confirmed during the ensuing parliamentary debate, where operation "Enduring Freedom" was defined as "the most difficult mission since the end of WWII".

The application of the war military penal law has produced some important effects:

- first of all, through its

provisions dealing with incrimination, it permitted to implement the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols of 1977, which compel the signatory States to issue laws aimed at prosecuting the violations considered "serious infringements". The provisions, until the issue of the abovementioned Decree, had remained a dead letter;

- secondly, it prompted the legislators to issue a number of laws introducing some partial modification to the War Code which, since 1942 and for more than fifty years, had never been amended, with the exception of the abolition of the death penalty. These modifications were very necessary, besides the fact that some provisions were not consistent with the constitutional values, also considering that several other penal war norms were no more in keeping with the new reality;
- the application of the military penal war law has made possible a more specific safeguard of the military condition and interests because it assures a more strict protection of the military service and discipline and, by applying the norms concerning the so-called offences against the war laws and customs, the protection of civilians, wounded, shipwrecked persons, medical personnel, prisoners of war, i.e. all those subjects who have never had, or have lost, the status of "fighter";
- furthermore, our servicemen were more protected because the indicting provisions concerning the violations of the war laws and customs apply also to the military and any other person belonging to the enemy Armed Forces, in case of offences committed



against the Italian State or an Italian citizen, and also against an allied State or one of its citizens. According to the new law, the term "allied State" includes also a State which is associated in the operations or participates in the same expedition or campaign;

- finally, one should not overlook the fact that with the application of the War Code a further protection is afforded to the military of the expeditionary force as regards the war actions they carry out, for which the absolving circumstances envisaged by the general law are not sufficient for an adequate protective function. As concerns the civilian personnel participating in the operations, the law enjoins that the same provisions in force for the military should be applied when consistent, with the exception of the penal laws.

Above.
A checkpoint.

Facing page.
Taking samples from contaminated soil.

THE AMENDMENTS OF THE WAR MILITARY PENAL CODE

The application of the W.M.P.C. entailed the introduction of some modifications to a text that dated back to 1941 which, moreover, had not been subjected to the scrutiny of the Constitutional Court.

Some of these changes were directly introduced with the same Decree Law 421 of 2001, while others were included when the decree was turned into law in January 2002 and with a bill submitted separately by the Government for reasons of legislative policy.



Modifications introduced by Decree Law no. 421/2001

Among the most important we should remember:

- the exclusion of the provisions contained in Book IV of the W.M.P.C. and the relevant military judiciary, whose constitutionality was considered dubious since it clashed with the constitutional principles governing the judge's independence and the guarantees of the defence;
- the extension of the mandatory arrest in flagrante delicto to a number of expressly indicated military offences, for which the penalty envisaged would not have allowed the arrest;
- the introduction of special rules for the interrogations of the military arrested in flagrant offence or subjected to precautionary measures, with telecom or audiovisual support;
- the possibility of repeating the

interrogation of the defendant on his return to Italy and his right to be assisted by an Officer on the spot;

- the appointment of Rome's Military Court as the competent court. This provision is not unlike the one envisaged by the French system, which provides that a military Court in Paris is competent for the offences committed during military operations abroad.

Modifications introduced by Law no. 6 of 31 January 2002

Among the changes introduced by the decree turned into law no.6/2002 the following should be mentioned:

- a new and wider definition of "military offence" extended – albeit only in relation to the War Code – to a whole series of violations of the penal laws (including the common ones)



committed by servicemen by abusing their power or by breach of their military obligations, either on military premises or in the performance of their duty;

- abrogation of any proclamation power, previously held by the military commanders in matters concerning the law, the war penal military procedure and the military judiciary.

Changes in art.9 of the W.M.P.C.

- "Armed" military operations

We ought to remember:

- a change in art. 9 of the War Code, which envisages its application in peacetime to the expeditionary forces abroad, limits the application to the contingents participating in "armed" military operations. This specification introduces a further element of evaluation. Thus the Code's provisions do not concern the expeditionary forces whose specific activity excludes even the hypothesis of armed operations, as is the case, for example, for the purely humanitarian missions;
- the extension *ratione personae* of the application of the war military penal law also to the personnel who, either in Italy or abroad, perform command-and-control and support duties for the expeditionary force. But this extension is limited to events connected with armed operations abroad, and only from the moment when the personnel in question are informed of their assignment to those duties, provided that the infringements are committed because, or on the occasion, of the specific duty;
- the extension of the incriminatory acts against the war law and customs to all cases of armed conflict, irrespective of the declaration of the state of war.

THE CONCEPT OF "ARMED CONFLICT"

According to the definition of armed conflict contained in art. 165 of the W.M.P.C. and on its explicit reference to a clash among parties, with a militarily organized and prolonged use of weapons for the conduct of war operations, it seems plausible to believe that the juridical definition excludes any reference to possible cases of internal tensions or disorders.

The new definition also entails the abrogation of the preventive "authorization" of the supreme Commander and the condition of reciprocity with the enemy State in order to punish the offences committed by Italian citizens against the enemy State or its subjects, as was originally required by art. 165.

THE JURIDICAL REGIME OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS ABROAD

With a Decree Law of 2001, turned into Law in 2002, as well as with other legislative measures, the enforceability of the war penal laws was confirmed for operations "Enduring Freedom", "ISAF", "Active Endeavour" and for those in Iraq, while the Peace Code continues to be applied for the other operations (Macedonia, Albania, the former Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Hebron, Ethiopia and Eritrea).

Among the military operations, it is worth mentioning the international peace force of security and assistance called ISAF, which operates in Kabul under a UN mandate and whose command has been officially assumed by NATO on August 11,



2003. ISAF commands 4600 servicemen from 30 Countries, 15 of which belong to the Atlantic Alliance, and takes care of the security of the city of Kabul and surrounding area.

ISAF was established in December 2001 and up to now its Commanders have been British, Turkish and German/Dutch.

Furthermore, the laws mentioned above provided that the offences committed by a foreigner on Iraqi or Afghan territory against the Italian State, or its citizens participating in the missions, should be punished – upon request of the Minister of Defence – as offences against the Armed Forces. The competent court is the Court of Rome.

Further confirmations of all the abovementioned provisions have been given by a recent Decree Law of January 2004.



Above.
*Embarkation of a motor vehicle
on a transport aircraft.*

Left.
Training of an NBC team.

CONCLUSIONS

As a consequence of the measures described above, we must note that the missions of our soldiers abroad are divided into two basic groups, depending on whether their task is to carry

out low-risk simple military operations or high-risk “armed” military operations.

In the first case, the military belonging to the expeditionary forces or to the missions charged with the general task of performing military operations, or activities of a different kind, are subjected to the Peace Code while, in the second case, i.e. when their activity consists in armed military operations, they will be under the military War Code, with the obvious exclusion of what is envisaged



A "Bersagliere" in Iraq.

by art. 9 as regards the wartime procedures and organization.

From the above it ensues that the operations presently under way must be considered separately, according to the

criteria mentioned before.

In short we can say, therefore, that the military operations carried out by our military in the Persian Gulf, Somalia, Albania, Bosnia and Kosovo should not be governed by the War Code, which applies instead to ISAF and the other missions carried out in Afghanistan and Iraq.

As was pointed out at a recent meeting held in San Remo in October 2003 by the Council of Military Magistrates, a possible unitary configuration of the various missions in a juridical perspective inspired by criteria of identity is at present untenable and contradictory, particularly from a penological viewpoint, since the application of the

military penal laws of the individual States participating in the missions are made up of elements very difficult to compare or equalize.

Thus it would be appropriate, first of all, to increase the cooperation among the Armed Forces of the different States, in order to obtain, later on, the elimination of the problems that stem from the non-observance of the individual

guarantees and from the need to ensure the efficiency and operational capability of the forces engaged in the missions.

It will also be necessary to increase the penal protection of the various military contingents called to operate in the same mission, in order to finally obtain the elimination of the existing discordances.

Thanks to the activities carried out in the various operational theatres and in very different geographical areas such as Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania and Bosnia, as well as in other difficult realities like

Lebanon, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Iraq, the public opinion of the whole world and of the other Armed Forces engaged on the field, together with the civilian populations, have always appreciated the high level of professionalism and humanity of our Armed Forces, and this is an honour for us.

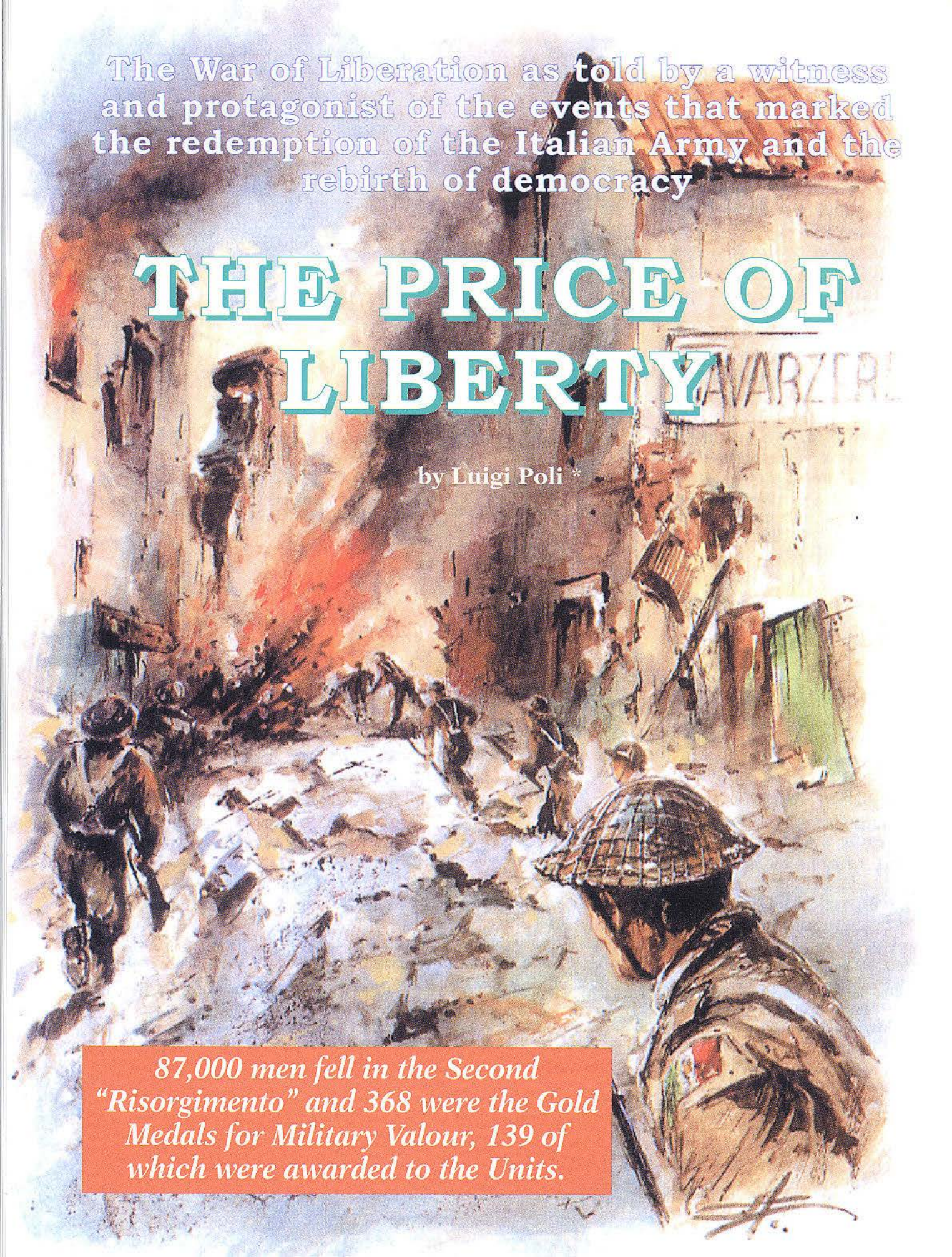
Let us express to our Armed Forces, then, our deep appreciation and gratitude.

□

**Military Attorney General
at the Supreme Court of Appeal*

A Command Post during an exercise.





The War of Liberation as told by a witness
and protagonist of the events that marked
the redemption of the Italian Army and the
rebirth of democracy

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

by Luigi Poli *

*87,000 men fell in the Second
"Risorgimento" and 368 were the Gold
Medals for Military Valour, 139 of
which were awarded to the Units.*

From 1943 to 1945, the Italian military gave the War of Liberation a decisive contribution. The redemption of the Country and the conquest of Liberty had a heavy cost in grief and ruins. Today we must be grateful to the generous predecessors who left us the precious heritage of a free and democratic nation. In the words of the Author, who lived these events in person, emerges the long journey of many Italians who sacrificed themselves for sense of honour and love of their Country.

If we wanted to present the War of Liberation (1943-1945) in a logical sense, we could portray it in an unusual form, dividing it into three periods of time: the heroic period of Monte Lungo and Monte Marrone; the manoeuvre in the Marche; the technical-military period on the Gothic defences.

On October 16, 1943, just a little over a month after the armistice, Italy obtained the cobelligerent status after having declared war on Germany, and prepared for the front the 1st Motorized Group, a Brigade of 10,000 men.

All went at a fast pace, imposed by the tragic events occurred after September 8, particularly in the Balkans, which opened a historical period, characterized by the conquest of Monte Lungo and Monte Marrone.

THE HEROIC PERIOD

In a bewildered Italy, in a foggy dawn, the 1st Motorized Group attacked the well organized defensive positions of Hill 343 on Monte Lungo.

As soon as the fog lifted,

infantrymen and "Bersaglieri" were decimated by the Panzergrenadiere of the 20th "Goering" Division. General Clark, Commander of the 5th US Army, conscious of having left us alone, on December 9 came in person to meet the troops of the Group and, noticing that we were still valid soldiers, said: "You are going to attack again in a few days with a better support from the American infantry and artillery" On December 16 the Italian Tricolour and the American flag were waving together on the summit of Monte Lungo, which had been conquered for good. It was the

emblematic image of our cobelligerency.

The first – and well known – heroic episode was that of December 8, 1943 when we, thrown into the furnace of Cassino, and not knowing the size of the enemy and the reliability of the new allies, were decimated on the crags of Monte Lungo.

The second and no less heroic event was the resumption of the attack after the tragic massacre and, only 10 days later, against the same positions and the same enemy, but now trusting in the support of the new allies.

But the heroic period does not end here. The third episode was the conquest of Monte Marrone, where heroism took the form of a daring coup de main carried out by the "Piemonte" battalion: they were all "Alpini" of the "Taurinense" repatriated from Montenegro. But were was the heroism in this case? It was in the surprise attack against the brave German Jäger and the night climb of an impervious rock wall, 800 metres high, jutting out over the plain, with materials, ammunition and arms, including a 75 mm gun, on our back.

In the night of March 31 everything was heavy, even the



Italian armoured cars defending Rome's Porta San Paolo during the War of Liberation.

A.P.O. 155, September 24, 1944

ITALIAN CORPS OF LIBERATION ORDER OF THE DAY no 43

As from today, September 24, the Italian Corps of Liberation disbands for superior necessities.

It does not disband, I believe, nor will ever disband in our hearts, the patrimony of the noble and arduous events which we lived through together, and the righteous pride for those deeds which have a historical value for our Country.

I am sure that all of us who belonged to the C.I.L. will always acknowledge ourselves as brothers and, when we meet, will always hold out our hands, however different the material fortune for each one of us will be in the future, and however different our spiritual path. Thus our instinctive and unselfish solidarity will be a cement for the civil life of our Country, as the common ideal of making it free at the cost of our blood was the cement of its military renaissance.

On its disbandment the C.I.L. will set up two new Major Units. The "Legnano" and the "Folgore". Our wish and pledge must be that they should become the most solid, the most fervent and firm units in the service of our Country, as natural consequence of their birthright. And to this end, any personal and collective sacrifice imposed by the hard necessities of a new organization must be felt as fair, even if painful for us. We all come from the same mould, the C.I.L., and the small ideal flames of the minor units now being disbanded or transformed will certainly not burn out, but will merge in the larger and brighter flame of the two Divisions that are born of them.

As for those who leave us only because in the new organization there is no room for all, if they go back to civilian life, there they will make their noble achievements known and loved; if, instead, they join other Divisions, they will certainly carry there the ferment of their recent experience of a war fought with the new spirit, that which rises like an offering from the ashes of our destroyed homes.

This is the last Order of the Day of the Italian Corps of Liberation.

Let my affection and gratitude of Commander be consecrated in this message for the heroic "Nembo", the impetuous "San Marco", the fearless and firm IV and V mule-pack groups and CLXVI group, which I am about to leave for good.

Let's take heart, all of us! We are sure that, in opening their own new cycle, the "Legnano" and the "Folgore" will always and equally be worthy of their past.

UMBERTO UTILI
Commanding General



"Bersaglieri" Regiment, the "Piemonte" Alpine battalion, the CLXXXV Paratroop Unit, the IX Assault Unit and the IV pack-mule artillery battalion received the order to advance on the rise along the direction Monte Marrone, Monte Mare, Valle Venafrana, Picinisco. The German resistance was very stiff on Monte Irto and Monte Pietroso, which bar the access to the Fondillo valley. Advancing everywhere, our forces reached Picinisco on the 28th: The German front had collapsed after the attack from the high ground. If General Clark, Commander of the US 5th Army, had heeded the advice of General Juin, Commander of the French-Moroccan Expeditionary Corps, and followed his project of advancing on the rise towards Atina, along the Liri valley, the three bloody battles of Cassino would have never taken place. The Italians succeeded in reaching Atina in the days before the fall of Cassino: the "Arditi" of the IX Assault Unit put to flight the left wing of the Austrian 5th Gebirgsdivision, occupying Picinisco and the suburbs of Atina and forcing the "Gustav Line" along the operational direction of the Liri valley. It was the realization of Juin's dream, but it was also the order to go back, when the Italian soldiers were already shouting "Roma, Roma!" The Allies, particularly the British, did not take kindly to the idea of the Italian units entering Rome.

The heroic period ends here, together with the epic deeds of the 1st Motorized Group.

THE MANOEUVRE IN THE MARCHE

On April 3, 1944 the Allied Control Commission announced that the Motorized Group was transferred to the Marche, authorized to adopt the name of

rolls of American telephone cable I had filched on the edge of a US camp, because their wire was lighter than ours.

We reached the summit and no Alpenjäger were to be seen. That was very good news which spread like lightning from the scouts in front to the tail of the column, but the Germans attacked again a few days later,

on Easter night, relying on the euphoria caused by our many toasts to our far-away families, but by then it was too late for them: we had reorganized our defence and they were driven back for good.

The favourable developments deriving from the brilliant actions of the "Piemonte" battalion were soon felt. On May 24, the 4th



Italian Corps of Liberation (CIL) and assigned to the British 8th Army (Gen. Montgomery).

The date of April 3, 1944 is unknown to the Italians, including the military. We remember that day only because we removed the Savoy Coat of

Arms from the collar of our uniform and replaced it with the Pontida Cross. It is a date that only a few historians like to mention but it has a profound meaning, because precisely then the Allies began to believe in us and allowed our Army to deploy

25,000 men. This is why April 3, 1944 marked the line between two historical periods.

After reaching its complete strength, equal to that of two Divisions, on June 8th the CIL started an overwhelming offensive, going from Guardiagrele to the Metauro river.

The advance had some oblige stops since the German LXXVI Corps conducted a text-book withdrawal: three months, from June to September, gained by yielding about 200 km.

The German manoeuvre was made easier by the morphology of the ground that faced the Italian advance, which consisted of long ridges alternating with valleys orthogonal to the coast.

Every ridge was a "position of temporary stop". The term could



Above and left.

Fighting in Rome during the War of Liberation.



Infantrymen of the "Legnano" Regiment carrying ammunition to the Monte Lungo fire-line.

the legendary Polish General. The Corps, organized like a British Expeditionary Corps, was based on two Divisions, the 3rd "Fusiliers of the Carpathians" Division and the "Kresova" Division. The Polish units in the Marche always worked in close cooperation with the CIL. The differences in language, training and equipment between Poles and Italians could have caused serious difficulties in mutual understanding and especially in cooperation. It was not so: we got along immediately and the battle of Ancona was a beautiful example of common action.

Although the advance of the Polish and the Italian units had taken place in very difficult conditions, due to the German minefields and demolitions, on June 21 there was the first encounter with the German units. On July 4 the attack planned by the Poles came to nothing, owing to the preventive retreat of the Germans. On July 9 the first battle of Ancona was concluded and on the 17th and 18th the city was liberated.

Before the battle of Ancona, the area of Filottrano, which overlooked the slopes declining towards the sea and was the strongest German position, had been entrusted to the Italians of the CIL.

At the beginning, the difficulty of the operation was underestimated and over 400 paratroopers of the "Nembo" died for the conquest of that area, also because the Germans counterattacked with tanks and an intense and massive artillery fire, but on July 9, at dawn, the "Nembo" paratroopers raised the Italian Tricolour on the tower of Filottrano's town hall.

In mid-July the Poles and the Italians resumed their movement

seem "aseptic" but for the Italian Corps of Liberation, inserted in a very delicate point of junction with the Polish II Corps (we were two allies with completely different views on the conduct of the actions and an equally different progression speed), every stream and every hill were a painful toll of blood paid to the German manoeuvre plan.

The breakthrough of the winter line, on June 8, led to the conquest of Canosa Sannita, Guardiagrele and Orsogna. After this operation, the CIL stayed on to garrison the sector, while the "Besaglieri" and the "Alpini" of the 1st Brigade continued the attack and occupied Bucchianico. The paratroopers left the Corps' sector, reaching Chieti and some towns on the coast.

Thus, after long months of trench warfare we entered a period of intense activity, having to tackle the complex logistic problems of a mobile war, for which the CIL was not prepared and equipped.

On the 11th, 13th and 15th of June some units of the 1st Brigade reached Sulmona, L'Aquila and Teramo. The German resistance on the Chienti river was strong, but on the arrival of the formations that during the rapid advance were echeloned along tens of kilometres, at the end of June Tolentino and Macerata were taken, and the Chienti was crossed in the direction of Cingoli.

Meanwhile, to the right of the CIL, a determinat role was played by an autonomous unit, the 2nd Corps led by Wladyslaw Anders,

along a line running west of the coast. Santa Maria Nuova, Ostra Vetere, Belvedere Ostrense, Pergola, Corinaldo, Cagli, Urbino, Urbania: all these cities are linked to the memory of our magnificent fallen comrades.

It was a wearing mobile war almost up to the edge of the winter "Gothic Line" and the CIL, completely exhausted, reached the Metauro after having abandoned along the way most of its worn-out vehicles, which had miraculously survived the trench-war with the 5th Army, but were utterly unreliable in the mobile war with the 8th Army.

Second Lieutenant Alfonso Casati fell heroically at Corinaldo. He was awarded a Gold Medal, and this was the last heroic deed of our period in the Marche.

On September 24, the CIL was disbanded, with a memorable "Order of the Day" by General Umberto Utili.

ON THE GOTHIC DEFENCES

From September 24, 1944 – day of the disbandment – to January 24, 1945 – date of the deployment of the "Cremona" Combat Group on the Senio river – no Italian has been fighting in the War of Liberation? It is not true! The continuity of the Italian presence on the Gothic defences was assured by the 205th, 209th, 210th, 227th, 228th, 230th and 231st auxiliary Divisions – a total of 300,000 men, who fought with the 5th and 8th Armies – as well as by the XX Group of "Combat mule-trains".

Meanwhile, in southern Italy, the units of the Combat Groups had no rest. On the contrary, they were intensely trained by the inflexible British Officers and NCOs, and their equipment was radically changed. The structure of the new Italian Army was reformed at high speed. The Combat Groups, after passing

severe tests of operational efficiency, were deployed in succession: "Cremona" in January along the Senio; "Folgore" at the end of February in Val Santerno; "Legnano" in March, south-east of Bologna.

Each Combat Group deserved and conquered its glorious pages. The "Cremona" with the liberation of Fusignano and Alfonsine. The "Friuli" and "Legnano" with the liberation of Bologna, but particularly the "Folgore", when on April 12, at daybreak, 200 paratroopers of the "Nembo" were dropped behind

Emplacing a gun of the Italian Corps of Liberation (January 1944).



the lines at Poggio Rusco. This was the first battle jump for the Italian paratroopers: a really glorious page, which cost 32 dead.

Giuseppe Dozza, the first mayor of a free Bologna, in his proclamation, said to his fellow-citizens: our people salute with enthusiasm and a passion of patriotism and liberty the valiant Allied armies of liberation, the heroic renewed Italian Army, the

Glorious Corps of Volunteers for Liberty. The Armed Forces of the new and free Italy will continue to fight side by side with the Allies until the liberation of the North and the destruction of Fascism.

CONCLUSIONS

Having illustrated in this study the first-hand evidence and the authentic interpretations of those who lived through that war, in closing it is worth reporting some significant data, since their precise language is, as always the most eloquent: the Italian contingent – Army, Navy, Air Force – participated in the Italian campaign with over half a million soldiers, and was second only to

that of the United States. The dead servicemen were 87,000; 368 Gold Medals were awarded, 139 of which to the Units.

This was the dear price of liberty!

□
* General,
Senator of the Republic,
former Chief of Staff
of the Army

*Reliving Naples' "Four Days" through the heroic deeds
of the city's proud and self-respecting people*

THE PROUD UPRISING OF THE NEAPOLITAN PEOPLE

From 27 to 30 September 1943, servicemen and citizens of the former Bourbon capital joined together to free the city from the German occupants, giving a significant contribution to the Nation's second "Risorgimento"

On a hot and sunny 28 September 1943 a voice on the radio ran through the streets of the old Bourbon capital: "Armed gangs of Communists, led by escaped British prisoners, have plundered the city, robbing shops and breaking into private homes".

With this laconic message on Naples' Four-Day Uprising, the Fascist Government dismissed the redemption of an entire population who, exhausted in their bodies but not in their spirit, decided to conquer their freedom by themselves, before the arrival of the Allies.

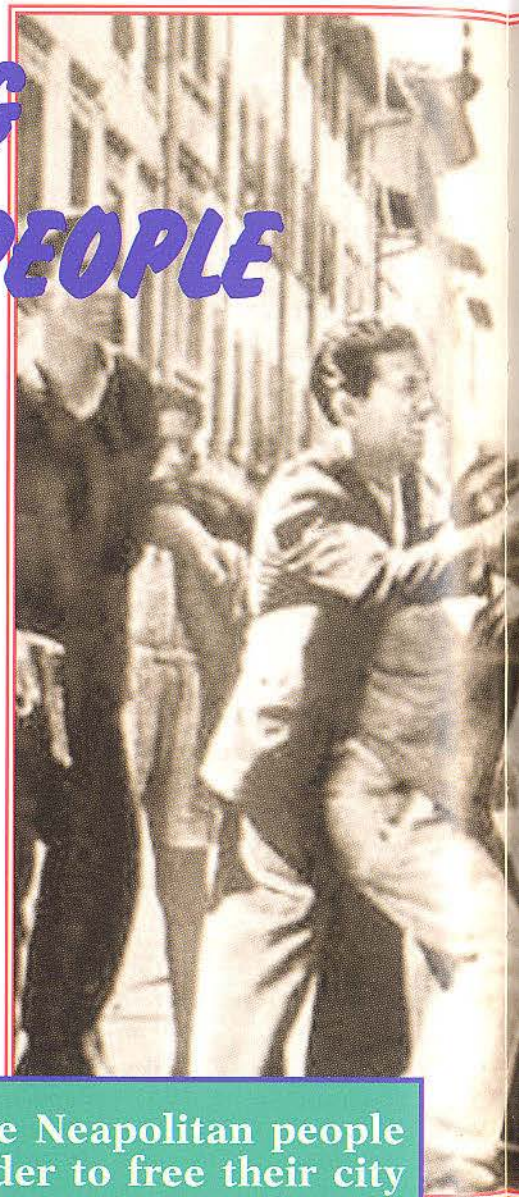
This is confirmed by the words of the award of the Gold Medal for Military Valour conferred to the proud city: *With a magnificent patriotic impulse, among grief and ruins, it was capable of regaining the strength to drive the German troops out of the Neapolitan soil, braving their fierce and inhuman retaliation. Engaged in an unequal struggle against the age-old enemy, during the Four Days of the end of*

September, it offered the Motherland numerous noble sons. With its glorious example, the city pointed to the Italians the way to freedom, justice and to the salvation of the Country.

AMONG GRIEF AND RUINS

During the Second World War, Naples suffered with pride and

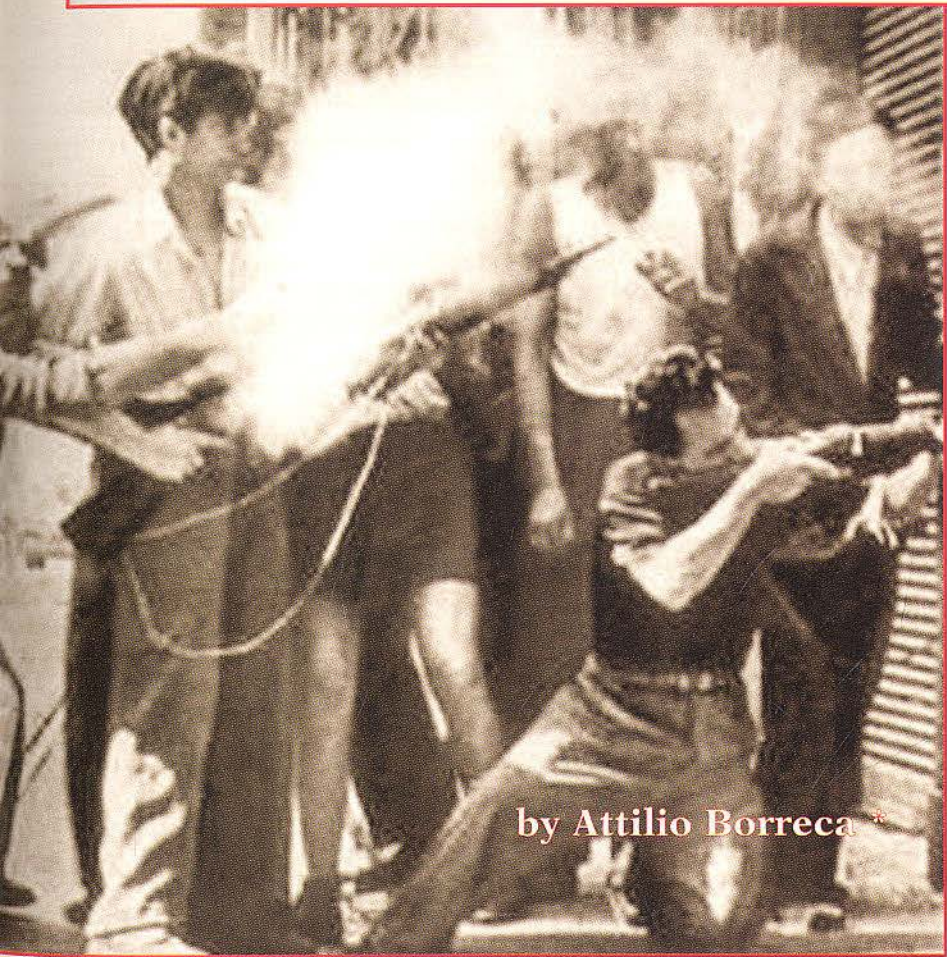
In just four days, the Neapolitan people fought valiantly in order to free their city from the German forces. Servicemen and workers, clerks and jobless, men and women, priests – and even children – paid a high tribute of blood and suffering and found the moral strength to liberate themselves before the arrival of the Allies. This account of the various phases of the insurrection is a tribute to the Parthenopean city which was awarded the Gold Medal for Military Valour.



LA 96ª INCURSIONE NEMICA SU NAPOLI

Non un solo rione è stato risparmiato dalle bombe

I più insigni monumenti d'arte ridotti a cumuli di macerie fumanti
La Reggia colpita e il Tempio del miracolo di S. Gennaro distrutto
Epiro di abnegazione e di coraggio nell'opera di soccorso



by Attilio Borreca *

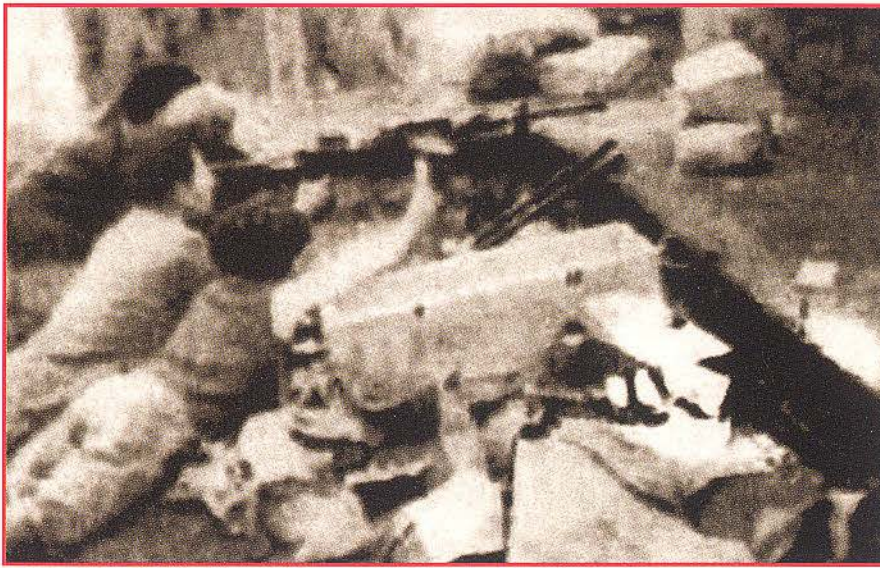
dignity, rebelling with the typical impulsiveness of its sons. In almost four years of war the city endured 105 violent raids. The destruction of public and private edifices was enormous (233,000 rooms destroyed or made uninhabitable; the Mercato neighbourhood was the most seriously hit: 13,213 rooms lost out of 14,642). The telephone system was 90% unserviceable and the

railway system lost 65% of its material. Also the power and gas stations and the harbour works were seriously damaged. The human losses were countless and could be estimated at about 22,000 dead.

Three tragic occasions ought to be particularly remembered: the first daytime bombing, the explosion of a ship in the harbour, the last bombardment.

At least 900 people died on December 4, 1942 during the first air raid launched in daytime, which took by surprise the population and even the anti-aircraft defence. Some ships at anchor (including the *Muzio Attendolo* cruiser) were hit. Two tramcars loaded with people were destroyed in Via Monteoliveto causing a real slaughter.

The explosion of the ship *Caterina Costa* on the afternoon of March 28 caused 549 dead and more than 3000 injured. The brand-new ship, with a tonnage of 8600 tons, had been carrying ammunition and provisions for a year. On board there were 600 Italian and German soldiers, besides 900 tons of explosives, 1000 tons of aviation gasoline and 43 between cannons, tracked vehicles and tanks. For a trivial accident, a spark triggered off a small fire: the crew, worried about the dangerous load, thought it was impossible to put out the fire with the ship's equipment and reached safety on the wharf. Almost all the Germans, who were at the bow, did the same, while the Italian soldiers were besieged astern. Many plunged into the sea but more than 100 were burnt to death. At 17:39 a terrible explosion destroyed the ship, launching over a vast area pieces of white-hot sheet metal, bombs, cannons and even parts of armoured vehicles. Dead and wounded were assembled near the central station, in piazza Car-



The "scugnizzo" Gennaro Capuozzo.

lo III, in the Spaccanapoli area. The municipal policemen worked hard for several days in order to bring back a minimum of order in the general chaos.

On August 4, a roar of engines reminded the Neapolitans that the war was indeed going on. Soon after 2:30 p.m. hundreds of American and British bombers dropped tons of bombs from very high altitude. There were three thousand casualties between dead and wounded, craters were everywhere, more than a hundred buildings were pulverized. That day the people did not even have the strength to mourn the dead.

The Neapolitans had been deceived by the events of July 25 and September 8. The armistice surprised the city and its military commanders, but not the Germans, who immediately disarmed the Italian troops. In the entire Campania the Germans were at least twenty-thousand. There was the 14th Corps, formed by three Divisions in support of the 16th armoured Division, deployed on the frontline to resist the Allied landing at Salerno. The 15th Corps was near Villa Literno in reserve. The "Hermann Goering" Division was deployed near Maddaloni, to cover the internal versant. Small combat units, equipped with Tiger

tanks, were stationed in the Agnano area.

The troops of the Naples garrison were commanded by Col. Scholl, who on September 13 issued an order according to which *anybody who, openly or deceitfully, acts against the German forces, will be immediately executed. Furthermore, the place of the deed and the immediate surroundings of the culprit's hideout will be destroyed and reduced to ruins. Every murdered or wounded German will be avenged a hundred times.*

The order issued by Scholl, a stocky Prussian Officer who tried in vain to acquire an aristocratic look by wearing a monocle, marked the bloody defeat of the Italian soldiers who tried to oppose the Germans, not only during the Four Days but also on September 11 and 12. And yet, in the Naples area, there was a strong Italian deployment consisting of almost 5000 men: the "Pasubio" Infantry Division, commanded by Gen. Pentimalli, 5 coastal battalions and the 19th Corps, commanded by Gen. Del Tetto, Military Commissioner of the province.

The Italian forces were largely sufficient to prevail over Scholl's 2000 Germans if they only had received, in those moments of tragic confusion, precise orders as to what had to be done.

Some Commands were put by force in the impossibility to act, other units were released by their Commanders to prevent the men from being captured; some units, surrounded by surprise, surrendered owing to the ignoble threat of retaliation, but in other circumstances the soldiers reacted firmly and their arms, taken up against the enemy, fired till the last bullet.

In the afternoon of September 10, a *Carabiniere* captured five Germans by himself and took them to Palazzo Salerno, seat of the Italian Command, but the building had already been occupied by the Germans and the *Carabiniere*, taken prisoner in its turn, was saved by a group of sailors who bravely opened fire.

In the evening of September 10, the Germans had already prevailed, but many Italian soldiers refused to surrender. Capt. Mengoni and Lieut. Lubrano, two Navy officers, barricaded with forty sailors in the small barrack of the naval base, fought for three hours and three sailors died. They were about to get the upper hand of the besiegers when Lt. Col. De Stefano arrived and ordered them to surrender, in order to avoid a ferocious retaliation against the population.

THE TERRIBLE RETALIATION

On September 10, in Piazza Umberto, a soldier in the Medical Corps refused to surrender his rifle and was slain on the spot by three Germans. Giacomo Lettieri, a boy of sixteen who worked in a blacksmith shop and was present on the scene, picked up from the ground one of the guns which had already been seized from other soldiers and fired against the Nazis, killing one of them and putting the other to flight. But on September 25



A group of fighters.

he was captured with 11 civilians. They were forced to dig a large grave and then were shot on the spot. Young Lettieri was later awarded a Silver Medal for Military Valour.

Also the soldiers of the Arenaccia motor pool tried vainly to resist, as did those of the Military District and the Municipal Policemen of the Via Chiaia barracks. At Casalnuovo, Lieut. Gaetano Farneti, Commander of a post on the provincial road, refused to surrender and fought until he was finally hit.

The 48th Artillery Regiment, commanded by Col. Di Pasqua, was stationed in nearby Nola. Its armament consisted of 300 old rifles and 2 machine guns. The town was completely surrounded by the "Goering" Division, which was kept in reserve for the Salerno front. To avoid a massacre, Col. Di Pasqua had to do his very best to convince the gunners to remain on the defensive, but on the evening of September 10 the Germans turned up at the guardroom and enjoined the soldiers to surrender their weapons. They were promptly driven out with hand grenades; a German grenadier was killed. In order to avoid the retaliation, Col. Di Pasqua sent to the Germans Lieut. Carelli and a gunner, but they were both mown down by a

machine gun burst as soon as they were in sight of the outposts of the "Goering", which meanwhile had surrounded the Regiment's barracks. The following day the Germans informed they would be content with all the petrol stored in the depot. The Colonel took every possible precaution on order to avoid incidents. He took all the weapons away from the soldiers and made them to remain in the dormitories. The Germans arrived with forty men, disarmed the guards and forced the Colonel to order the men to come down to the courtyard. They were all taken prisoners and the Colonel and 9 Officers taken at random were shot.

This is the retaliation for our comrade killed yesterday – shouted the German Officer who led the firing squad – this is how the Hermann Goering Division punishes traitors.

On September 12, the Germans overcame the last resistance at the 634th anti-aircraft battery, at the Telephone Building and at the "Pastrengo" *Carabinieri* barracks. At the "Zanzur" barracks four customs officers were shot for resisting. At Castel dell'Ovo, where 20 artillerymen of the 21st Sighting Centre were barricaded with about 40 civilians, a tank and several armoured cars

opened a breach. Many soldiers escaped by jumping into the sea, but unfortunately 8 gunners were lined up with the civilians along the coast road, via Partenope and via Nazario Sauro and, when they all reached the Admiralty, the 8 men in uniform were separated from the group and shot. Their bodies were left for three days on the flowerbeds near the parapet of the Santa Lucia quarter. But the wrath of the aggressors was not placated. Their fury broke out with looting and destruction against soldiers and defenceless citizens and reached its climax with the fire set to the University. In the afternoon of September 12, six hundred Nazis, with tanks and light artillery, surrounded the University, which they considered the hotbed of the insurrection and, after assembling in Via Rettifilo about 6000 people they had rounded up in the area, set the buildings on fire, and forced the captured crowd to kneel down and watch the execution of a sailor.

The 6000 Neapolitans were lined up and taken to Aversa. Those who had their papers in order were released but the others, about forty, together with 14 *Carabinieri* accused of preventing the destruction of Naples' telephone central, were forced to dig their graves and then shot in a place called Madama Vincenza.

THEY WANTED TO TURN NAPLES INTO MUD AND ASHES

According to Hitler's orders, the city was to be turned into mud and ashes. Between September 12 and 14 General Hube successfully counterattacked the Americans landed at Salerno, but this action was only meant to give the Germans behind the lines enough time to withdraw, taking with

them equipment and materials, destroying every facility. The harbour's wharfs and installations were mined and blown up. The Ilva steel works at Bagnoli, the Cisa-Viscosa plants, the Chiappetta & Panzanella mills and the Shell warehouse were pillaged and destroyed while the whole town was sacked.

The following day Colonel Scholl sent away the greater part of his men. Only 250 of them remained in the city. Roads and railways were practically unserviceable. There was no food and not even the thriving black market was able to reduce the people's hunger. Water and gas were cut off. Around the few drinking fountains still functioning there were long lines of people and brawls often broke out, so that several times the Germans intervened with weapons, wounding some women. Owing to the water shortage and the heaps of garbage piling up in the streets (the vehicles of the street-cleaning service had been requisitioned and the dustmen were recruited for "compulsory work service") the threat of an epidemic was looming on the city. The evacuees crowded into the still habitable houses. The evacuation of a 300-metre wide coastal strip had been ordered, which would have been five kilometres had Prefect Soprano not made firm objections to it.

The nightmare was made worse by the unceasing roundups of men for "compulsory work service". On September 28, while the Americans were approaching Naples, a gloomy and endless procession went through the city. They were rounded-up young men who had been kept in the Capodimonte woods. The unfortunate boys walking under a torrential rain were on their way to the concentration camps in Germany, guarded by no more than fifty Wehrmacht soldiers.

RESISTANCE IN THE CITY

There was nothing left for Scholl's men to plunder from factories and storehouses and therefore, on September 27, they turned their attention to shops. Late in the afternoon they arrived at the "Rinascente" department store and stole all the clothes. Unsatisfied, they asked the chief cashier to hand over the meagre takings of the day. The clerk refused and was knocked down with a shove but, in an outburst of rage, the man took a pistol and started firing. A real battle took place among the racks. Other people arrived and the robbers ran away, leaving behind the loaded lorry.

The electrifying news spread very quickly and anyone who had something to protect or did not want to be captured by the patrols of the "work service" during the night, got himself a gun. The following morning the Neapolitans were even more excited by the rumour, which was later proved wrong, that the Americans had landed at Bagnoli and Pozzuoli. On the 28th the population blocked the plundering in every area of the city. Scholl's men were forced to leave Via Roma and the Speranzella district empty handed. At Materdei the owners of a shoe factory sounded the alarm: several soldiers who had been hiding in nearby houses since the 8th of September, rushed to the scene. The Nazis were besieged in a building where 7 men tried in vain to enter. The *Granatieri* Lieutenant Carmine Fuselli and Gennaro Jacuzzi, a boy of seventeen, were killed while the others were wounded. The Germans were later freed by their comrades who arrived in great numbers.

In Piazza Plebiscito three Nazis pillaged the Leone furrier's shop. Captain Stefano Fadda, who later became the leader of the insurgents, together with three young men tried to get hold of some

weapons and found many of them in the nearby deserted Prefecture, but when he returned to the square, the Germans had already left with the booty, while a group of indignant men were commenting the event. These men became Captain Fadda's small army. They built a roadblock by tearing out the pavement and placing car wrecks in the middle of the street. They lay in wait behind the improvised trenches and the windows overlooking the square. Their warlike spirit was high but the results were scarce, since the Germans passed, undisturbed, along parallel streets.

In another area the Nazis attacked the hungry Neapolitans who wanted to collect victuals from depots and warehouses. The Germans arrived on two light trucks and the Officer in charge gave the protesters three minutes' time to clear the place. At the given time the Germans opened fire, wounding an eight-year-old boy. The crowd dispersed. The Nazis set up a machinegun, took twelve hostages from the nearby houses and dragged them to the middle of the square. At that point the relatives of the prisoners flung themselves on the soldiers, coming out of every alley, most of them armed only with knives and clubs, but there were so many of them that the Germans got into their vehicles and left at full speed.

Roadblocks were built, even using overturned tramcars to make barricades. At Capodimonte, Lieut. Edoardo Droetto, with about 60 men, dug up a 37mm cannon which had been hidden on the 8th of September. At the Fire Brigade barracks of the Miracoli district, Lieut. Vinicio Giacomelli organized a prison for the captured Germans.

In the afternoon, the insurgents of Porta Capuana put up a roadblock at San Giovanni Carboneara: there were forty of them,



A barricade.

divided into four squads, each armed with a machine gun. The German soldiers ran into it: four were killed, two wounded and the rest were taken prisoners. Eight more Germans were killed and seven wounded at a roadblock in Via Foria, held by about 60 men with two machine guns.

The rebellion was becoming dangerous and Colonel Scholl ordered his men who were still in Naples – at the Moncenisio Hotel, Villa Floridiana and Vomero sports-ground – to put it down. A first group of Germans went against the Porta Capuana roadblock, wounding three young men and forcing the others to clear the street. An armoured car left Villa Floridiana and roamed undisturbed through the area, nor did the patrol that went out from the sports-ground meet any resistance. This patrol, wildly firing sub-machinegun bursts, killed 7 residents of the neighbourhood and before going back to the sports-ground took 47 hostages.

In the afternoon of September

28, after a sudden storm, two armoured cars left Villa Floridiana to go on patrol. A group of fighters tried in vain to stop them on the corner of Via Roma and Via d'Afflitto. One of them was a "scugnizzo" of seventeen, the Neapolitan street urchin Pasquale Formisano who by himself, with two hand-grenades, confronted one of the enemy vehicles and then died riddled with machine-gun bullets.

On September 29, in Via dei Cesari, a thirteen-year-old boy, Filippo Illuminati, died in similar circumstances. The two "scugnizzi" were posthumously awarded two of the four Gold Medals for Military Valour conferred to the patriots of the Naples uprising.

During the night the Nazi troops completed the preparations for the destruction of the city. Nevertheless the partisans succeeded in saving Ponte della Pigna, Ponte Caracciolo and the water tank by defusing the mines they had seen placed by the Germans, thanks to the intervention of Lieut. Droetto's men, who surrounded and captured six sappers.

A RELENTLESS FIGHT

On September 29, at daybreak, Col. Scholl ordered the other formations to withdraw, including the unit quartered at Villa Floridiana.

Only about a hundred Germans were left in the city: ten machine gunners at the two emplacements of the Universo and Torino hotels in Piazza Carità, about twenty SS at the Bologna hotel in Via De Pretis and as many at the Parco hotel – the German Headquarters – in Via Roma, and about 60 sappers at the Vomero sports-ground. But, at the same time, about 70 armoured grenadiers from the "Goering" rearguard had come to the Capodimonte hill.

In the morning there were no real fights, but there were many tragic events and heroic episodes. Mario Menichini, a seventeen-year-old member of the Fascist Militia, who was stationed near Viterbo, having heard that the population of his hometown had rebelled against the Germans, deserted and went to Naples to join the insurgents. Alone, he lay in wait in Via Roma and destroyed

an armoured vehicle with a Molotov cocktail. He was killed by the German reaction. On of the Gold Medals conferred to the patriots of the Naples' uprising was awarded to him posthumously with the following citation *"Love of his Country inflamed his heart and his arm was steady and did not tremble. With an epic deed, worthy of the traditions of the true Italian youth, he faced and hit with a hand grenade a German tank which, advancing through the streets of the martyred city, was spreading death among the people revolting against the oppressor. His young life, struck down by the enemy fire, lives and throbs in the soul of Naples which, in its legendary "Four Days", sang its most beautiful song of love and death which announced a new life"*.

While a "scugnizzo" in Piazza Carità was immobilizing a tank by wedging an iron bar into the tracks, at Cupafredda some Germans on a light truck were murdering four boys.

Other fights took place in Piazza Medaglie d'Oro and Piazza Arenella, where the partisans, led by Gennaro De Paola, blocked a light truck loaded with mines. The occupants managed to barricade themselves in Palazzo Lamaro. After an hour of shooting, a German truck came to the scene but was in its turn immobilized in Via Fontana by the patriots who blew one of its tyres with a hand grenade. An armoured car intervened an hour later. A partisan, Giovanni Attanasio, stood undaunted in the middle of the street firing his submachine gun but he could not stop the vehicle and was killed. The armoured car freed the besieged and took the two trucks in tow. Three Germans were killed in this action and two wounded; the partisans' casualties were two dead and three wounded.

Early in the afternoon three Tiger tanks that had been stopped for a while by Lieut.

Droetto's gun, came down from the Capodimonte hill. Once more the partisans had to move out of the streets. The barricades of Santa Teresa, Museum and Piazza Dante were literally crushed by the tanks which, firing their cannons and machine guns, killed many civilians.

Once more the "scugnizzi" showed their boldness by climbing up the tanks and throwing explosive bottles through portholes and slots. Two of the fallen boys, Vincenzo Baiano and Antonio Garofalo, were only twelve years old.

Gennaro Capuozzo, also decorated with the Gold Medal, was only eleven. A German grenade

litical direction was assumed by Antonio Tarsia, an elderly professor, and Edoardo Pansini, a painter. The fight at the stadium, between Major Sakau's soldiers, firing from the windows, and Captain Stimolo's partisans, hidden behind the trees and the enclosing wall, went on for three hours. Three patriots were wounded. After some time Major Sakau came out with a white flag and asked to go to his Command, at the Parco hotel, in order to be authorized to negotiate the surrender. *"Of course – he spelled out – by "surrender" I mean the termination of the battle and nothing else. You will let us leave, assuring*



killed him in Via Santa Teresa where he, on the balcony of the "Istituto Filippini", was helping the crew of a machine gun.

At the Vomero, meanwhile, plans were being prepared for freeing the 47 hostages imprisoned inside the sports-ground. The assault was to be led by Capt. Vincenzo Stimolo, who had distinguished himself during the earlier fights – and would be killed some months later, as a partisan, on the Apennines – while the po-

The American soldiers tried to help the people of the city.

our security. The partisans' condition was obviously the release of the hostages.

The negotiations took the rest of the day, and Colonel Scholl extended them to all the Germans that were still in the city. It was agreed that once the hostages were returned, the insurgents would escort Scholl and his men

A district of Naples destroyed by the Allied air raids.

to Bagnoli. The Anglo-American left wing was by then at the foot of the Vesuvius and several warships had already entered the gulf.

On September 30, at daybreak, as the partisans went to the Parco Hotel, as agreed, to escort the Germans out of the city, they discovered that Scholl had already left. During the morning the last German platoons, who were disengaging themselves from the Anglo-American vanguards, passed through Naples. Nevertheless as many as 9 patriots were killed in Piazza Ottocalli, while on the Vomero, in the Pezzalonga farmhouse, 13 boys and a peasant woman were killed by the fleeing troops.

THE LIBERATION

On October 1, Naples was completely free. The Germans continued to shell the city while in the suburbs they were pressed towards the Capodimonte hill by the patriots who had smoothed the way to the Allies' advance. In fact the first vehicles were preceded and escorted by armed men. A late edition of the "Roma", the city's daily newspaper, carried a warm bilingual welcome to the American and British troops.

The legend of the "scugnizzi" is closely bound to Naples' "Four Days" and was confirmed by the allied war-correspondents, who were surprised to see so many boys with weapons in their hands. The protagonists of the insurrection were actually all the Neapolitans, without distinction: soldiers, men, women of every social class, nobles and common people, middle class and proletarians, officers, professionals, students and workmen. There were many typical figures: Lenuccia (Maddalena Cerasolo)



who handed baskets of hand grenades to her fighting comrades; Mrs Lupino who, in Piazza Nazionale passed cartridge clips to her son; the women who brought weapons and food to their men; a friar who led a squad of rebels and, finally, the fearless and mocking "scugnizzi".

Victory cost the life of about 500 patriots, who are remembered in the Gold Medal for Military Valour awarded to the martyred city of Naples, in the posthumous Gold Medals conferred on four very young protagonists of heroic actions, 6 Silver Medals (2 of which awarded posthumously) and three Bronze Medals.

THE FIGHT CONTINUED IN THE PROVINCE

Besides Naples, also other centres of the region paid with their people's blood, beginning with the sacrifice of General Ferrante Gonzaga del Vodice, Commander of the 222nd Coastal Division, killed at Buccoli di Salerno for his refusal to surrender. For the same reason also Colonel Michele Ferraiolo, Commander of the 6th Coastal Regiment, was executed by the Germans. Fights took place also in Capua, where the Germans killed 6 boys and hanged Carlo Santagata, aged fifteen. At Mug-

nano, four clergymen were cruelly massacred without reason. Many were also the victims at Orta di Atella and San Prisco; at Bellona, 54 people were slaughtered on the edge of a 40-metre deep quarry, and the corpses were thrown in. Sparanise mourned 27 victims. Powerless, Caiazzo watched the murder of 23 men and women because one of them, asked about the location of the American enemies, answered that the enemies were the Nazis.

A PHENOMENON OF NATURE

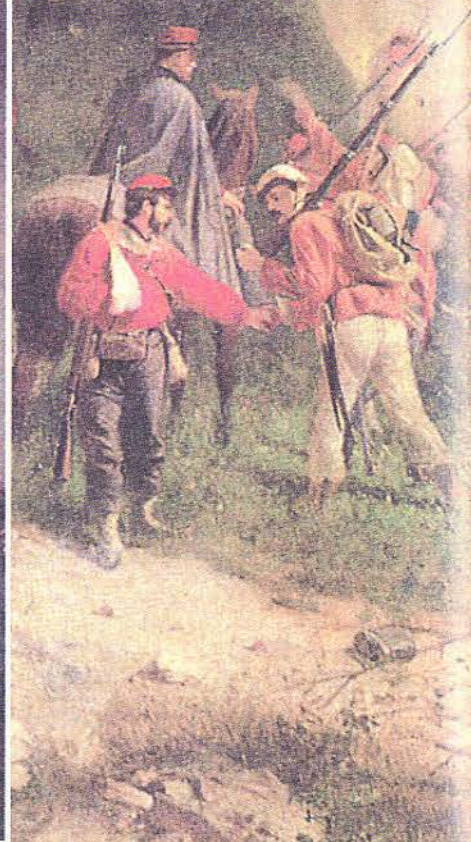
The great contribution given by Southern Italy and Naples to the second "Risorgimento" cannot be belittled. The intolerance towards the occupying troops appeared with an outburst of anger and popular fury. The "Four Days" were a proud and dignified revolt, an honour to Naples, the beautiful city, set like a pearl in a magnificent landscape. Born spontaneously, Naples' uprising was a unanimous struggle which involved all the people of the city who, alone, were capable of conquering their liberty.

□

**Colonel,
former Commander,
Naples Military District*

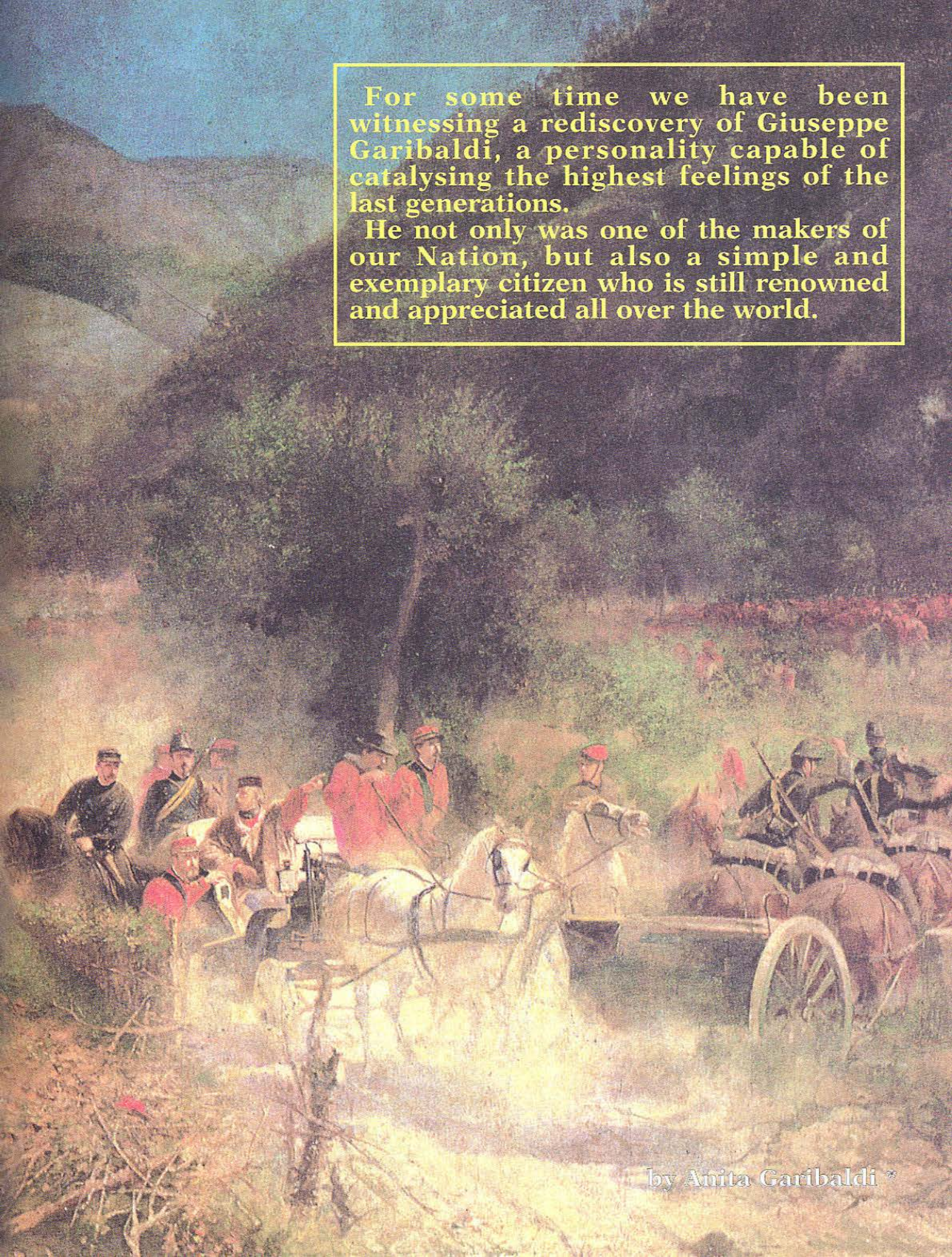
*Our Country's unitary process is founded on liberty,
participation and moral values*

A JOURNEY INSIDE AN ENDLESS MYTH



For some time we have been witnessing a rediscovery of Giuseppe Garibaldi, a personality capable of catalysing the highest feelings of the last generations.

He not only was one of the makers of our Nation, but also a simple and exemplary citizen who is still renowned and appreciated all over the world.



by Anita Garibaldi *

After a period of silence of almost twenty years, today there is a revival of the history of our Risorgimento and its most eminent protagonists.

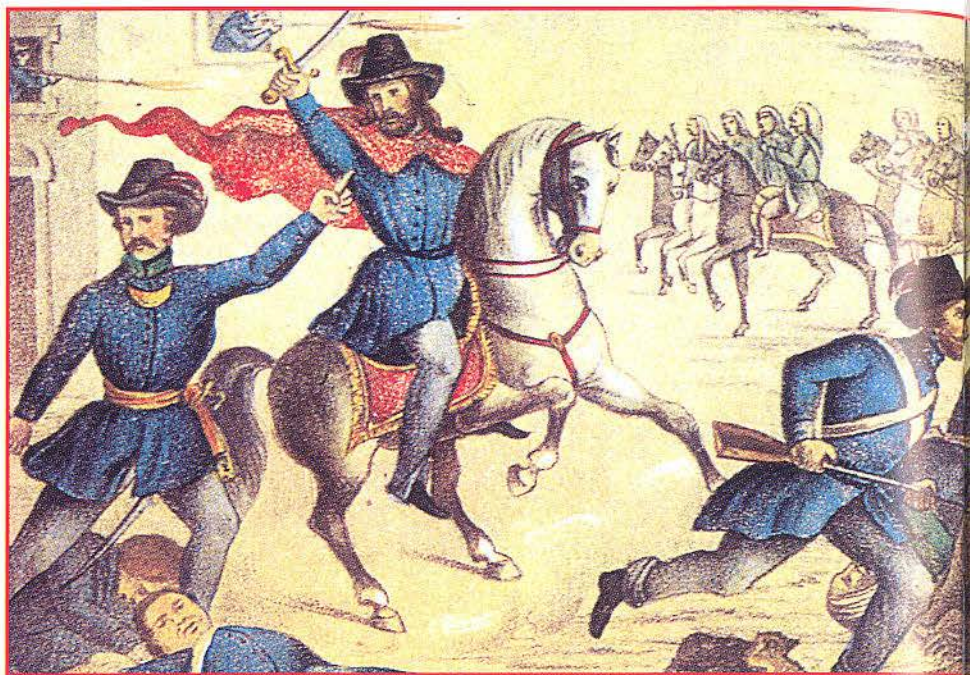
Much is due to the express wish of President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi who, in numerous occasions, has reaffirmed the importance of the unitary process in the conscience and the historical culture of Italy.

This appeal was backed up at many levels by the local and national Administrations, by papers and television, by the Armed Forces' top levels, by conscientious citizens who, in a moment of rapid transformation of associated life, are grateful to him for making topical the great issues that stirred the society of the 19th Century, in Italy as in other Nations, contributing to the unitary structure of the States and the adoption of new Constitutions.

The memory of those memorable deeds which, in reality, has always been alive in the unconscious of the people, for whom Giuseppe Garibaldi emerges as a most loved and revered personality, while the Italian middle classes, which were the promoters of the Risorgimento, had distanced themselves from it, turning towards other forms of social participation. The formation of the new entrepreneurial classes, fostered by the war demands, the conscription of young men and the following dramatic experience of the second World War promoted the formation of a new social conscience.

Today, I believe, the numerous experiences of the recent past offer a precious opportunity for reflection, which permit to weigh the facts with an awareness substantiated by the endless illusions which were dearly paid for.

It is therefore useful to reconsider the most authentic threads of the thought which led to a united Italy, which was claimed and theorized by Mazzini,



pursued through diplomacy and politics by Cavour and implemented by the Nice-born man in a red shirt, who devoted his life, and that of his family, to the realization of that dream.

Going over the numerous writings and documents of the time, it is surprising that many of his thoughts, and the events that derived from them, can still be taken as examples for a useful teaching and stimulate, in the meantime, those forms of civil communal life among Italians wished by Garibaldi.

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Son of a Ligurian family, brought up in Nice, Garibaldi already since his childhood showed the features typical of the seafaring people, together with the restlessness and openness of mind of the youths of the frontier zones. Touring the ports of the Mediterranean shores, it was natural for him to absorb their spirits and relish the true flavour of freedom. Everywhere there were talks of deliverance from tyrants, from the Emperors, Dukes and Princes who still

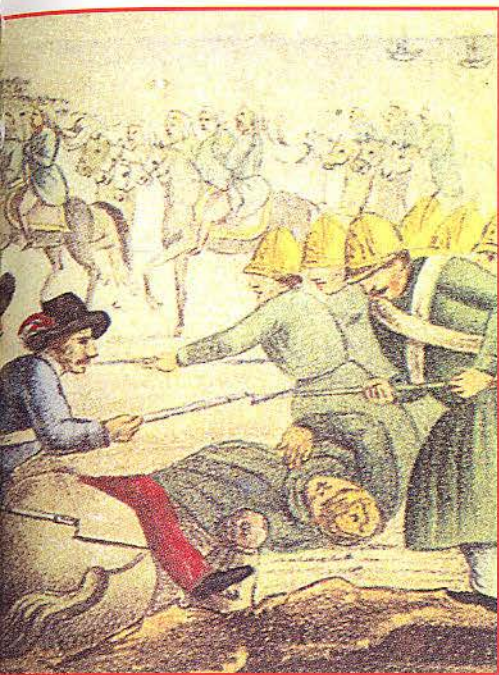
survived almost everywhere in Europe. It was openly claimed that Italy should rise free and united.

The Risorgimento meant that a people, divided by the wish of various Nations to exploit its wealth, became conscious of it and, at a certain point, demanded to reassemble in a homogeneous whole the past and the present, in order to continue to build a future of liberty on spiritual and rational foundations, in a juridically defined balance.

These were the discourses that seemed to be made with the precise intention to inflame the hearts of the young who were in quest of ideals to fight for, exactly like the ship-boy Giuseppe Garibaldi. He was called Jousè at his birth, in the Nice custom, and not dubbed that by Anita, as maintained by the popular choir of "Homer's translators" who cyclically come up with facts already written in thousands of volumes about Garibaldi.

Certainly the beginning of the awareness of "nationality" must be ascribed to the revolutionaries who wanted to inspire the new society to the principles of brotherhood, equality and liberty.

Concepts that are guarded in



that provided the historical setting adequate to his talents were manifold.

The positive outcome of the unitary process was also favoured by trends, international events and logical forecasts and, last but not least, those considered by the British farsightedness which in the formation of a great Italian nation foresaw a counterbalance of the rising German nation, whose expansionism worried also Napoleon III.

Left
The battle of Sant'Antonio del Salto.

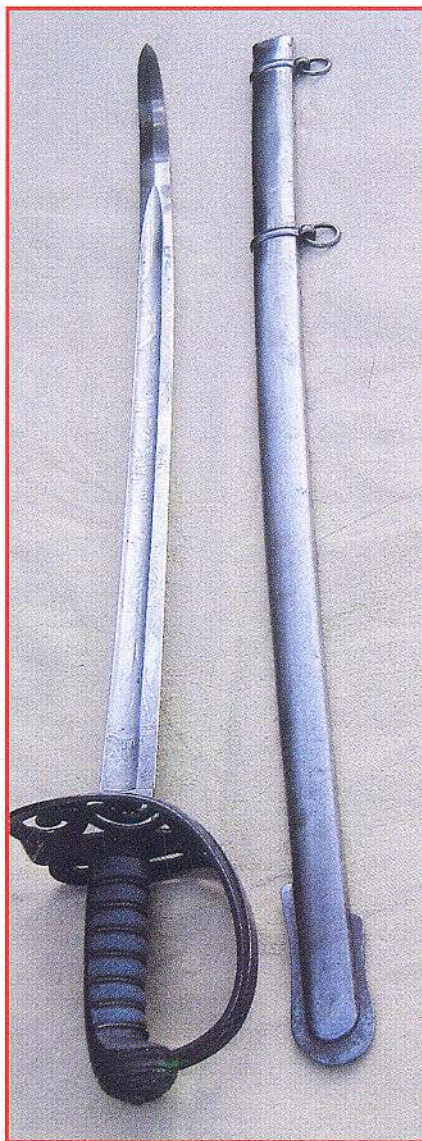
Below
Garibaldi's sword.

the minds and hearts of the multitudes, during and after Napoleon, who had only granted the liberty that the prior interests of France allowed.

After the Restoration, sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, liberalism seemed to be languishing in the entire Europe. Nevertheless, while the blades of the guillotine were gradually cooling down, a few gleams survived, in their practical and executive implications, in the little Sardinian-Piedmontese Kingdom, in harmony with the hard and realistic character of those people, who were tired of manoeuvring between France, Spain and Austria.

Many of the main advocates of the Risorgimento were among the subjects of that Kingdom: D'Azeglio (1), Alfieri (2), Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi and, before them, Gioberti (3) who, with his "Moral and Civil Supremacy of the Italians" had reposed to the minds of his generation the same ideas included in the "message to the German nation" by Fichte (4).

Garibaldi appears on the stage of history as the right man at the right moment, but the elements



This foresight partially explains the attempt to influence Cavour's conduct and also the enthusiasm and affection with which the British welcomed Garibaldi and his descendants with the spontaneous mass manifestations and the disinterested friendship that only the British are able to express.

During the whole period of Garibaldi's life, under the apparent calm imposed by repression, the whole Italian peninsula and Europe were overflowing with post-illuminist ferments. There were the echoes of the evocations and classical splendours of the republican Roman spirit, the rights of man which carried Locke's empirical stigmata (5), Rousseau's (6) and Montesquieu's sociologic juridical mark (7), the stamp of Hegel's dialectic idealism (8), the French radical reformatory passion, Saint Simon's humanitarian socialism (9). All these cultural factors influenced the Hero's thought and he, since his youth, absorbed the patriotic stimulation and the will to instill in the soul of the Italians those concepts of liberty and solidarity which could favour the common commitment to realize the Italian unity.

Thanks to his force and his charisma he was the highest inspiration of the people's action, without which the unity could never be accomplished.

Many Italians know about Garibaldi's visit to Turin. He was elected to the first Italian Parliament, which had its seat in Turin, then capital of Italy, in the very beautiful little theatre of Palazzo Carignano. But few know about the spectacle, remained indelible in the history of the Parliament's sessions, of the crowd flocked for the occasion, of his presence announced and put off several times because of a serious fit of rheumatic fevers, and which finally occurred some time after Cavour's cession of Nice to France.

The public's galleries were packed with red-shirted "Garibaldini" and numerous women dressed in scarlet cloth: wives, sisters and daughters of famous personalities who had come from every part of Italy, in the hope of meeting the Hero.

A profound silence fell in the hall as Garibaldi entered, limping for the consequences of his

Parliament did not include the Catholics, who were restrained by the Pope's Decrees of the "Non Expedit" encyclical which forbade them to participate, as elected as well as candidates, in the political contest of the new Italian State. This obstacle was overcome in 1913, through the action of Giolitti (10), the liberal statesman who upheld the

contrary, the Piedmontese bureaucratic administration worsened the hostile feelings of the southern people and adopted expropriation provisions, confiscating the properties of the religious communities.

After the unification, the government adopted a vaguely protectionist conduct, unable to formulate economic policies that



rheumatism, dressed with his red shirt and the usual poncho over his shoulders, making his way among the deputies, all in grey and black with stiff white collars. There was a first, very long applause.

The speech that followed was punctuated with numerous applause but also with exclamations and booing when he made a direct attack on Cavour, guilty of having made him "foreigner in his homeland".

At the end Garibaldi went out into the square in front of the Parliament, followed by a delirious crowd that wanted to touch him, see his eyes still brilliant with anger, grab a nod, a word, a souvenir. A day that none of the participants would ever forget.

At the beginning the just-born

opportunity of the "patto Gentiloni" (11) and the attitude of the Holy See, finally intent on recovering that large area of believers.

THE HERITAGE OF THE RISORGIMENTO

Once the Risorgimento was accomplished, there came the problems of a large territory which felt the weight of different experiences, for the Nation as well as for Garibaldi, for his family and for the social and associative movements that were related to "Garibaldianism".

In the economic field, for example, there was no resolutive policy which could offset the differences of development between north and south. On the

would meet the requirements of the entire national territory.

In particular the customs duties introduced in 1887 by Francesco Crispi to protect from the import of industrial goods the budding industry of the north, produced an European reprisal, through the interruption of the purchases of southern agricultural products, which caused a crisis in the whole south and gave rise to the migratory flows that deprived the southern regions of their best human resources.

The world crisis of 1929 and the following bank law of 1933, concerning the banks' industrial property, led to the creation of IRI (Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale) and the concentration of the managing power in the hands of the State.

With the law of 1936, banks

were forbidden to own companies, enterprises, etc. The law remained in force until 1993, when Italy acknowledged an EEC directive which reopened the possibility of banks' shareholding in enterprises, within fixed percentages of participation.

All these vicissitudes, near and faraway in time, were lived by the Garibaldis with successes and tragedies, with glorifications and failures. They were all prisoners of the destiny linked with their name, from generation to generation. Some of them, in order to survive, became estranged from their family, others succumbed, still others tried to be worthy of their name up to the extreme consequences.

An example, glorious but dramatic. Setting: the First World War.

Ricciotti, Garibaldi's son, at the beginning of the conflict, convinced of the necessity of an Italian intervention, travels to

Paris, despite his walking on crutches, with the intent of forming a Garibaldian legion, and his sons are soon involved in the terrible battles of the Argonnes, where two of them, Bruno and Costante, are killed a few days one after the other.

As soon as Italy enters the war, the surviving brothers go back to Italy and are sent on the eastern Alps. Peppino, firstborn of Costanza and Ricciotti, appointed Lieutenant Colonel, at the head of a battalion of the Alps Brigade leads his men to attack the summit of Col di Lana. After a violent fight, he reaches the summit and, at 2464 metres, finally plants the Italian Tricolour. In the clashes on the steep rocky mountain faces, another Garibaldi is wounded: the youngest son Ezio, hit by a bullet in the throat, lies bleeding on the snow. A soldier who passes by sees the body and notices some movements, he lifts him and carries him on his shoulders to the first-aid station down the hill.

Ezio will be saved by a miraculous operation, through a silver diaphragm in his throat which permitted him to survive until old age despite his serious disablement.

Many other examples could be mentioned, but this suffices to say that to follow in the steps of a myth, devoting one's life to the defence of oppressed people, or to be the wife or mother of a Garibaldi, was never an easy or advantageous choice of life.

The roots of a united Europe are firmly set in the period of the Risorgimento. This seems a contradiction, because exactly in that time the nationalistic impulses and the writing of Constitutions were prevailing everywhere. Nevertheless, the reference to Europe was very clear in the writings and words of many protagonists of that epoch. Garibaldi shared the same convictions and claimed peace among Nations, common funds for financing infrastructure, schools, roads, hospitals and systems of assistance to the needy. The references to the projects of the European Community of today could not be clearer and they go back to October 1860.

Today Europe proposes Nations as its Regions, in a gradual construction where, up to now, the national identity has been prevailing, and much remains to be done in order to prompt the conscious participation in the government of the territory by the citizens. According to Garibaldi's notion, I believe that it would be positive to promote courses of integration, marked by a spirit of concord and brotherhood within the State, whose unitary process takes us back to the heart of our history.

It is the eternal dilemma of the human choices, hovering between reason and sentiment.

After all, in my opinion, a more humane median line should prevail, as occurred in the past within the family of the author of this article, respecting their most famous exponent: Giuseppe Garibaldi.

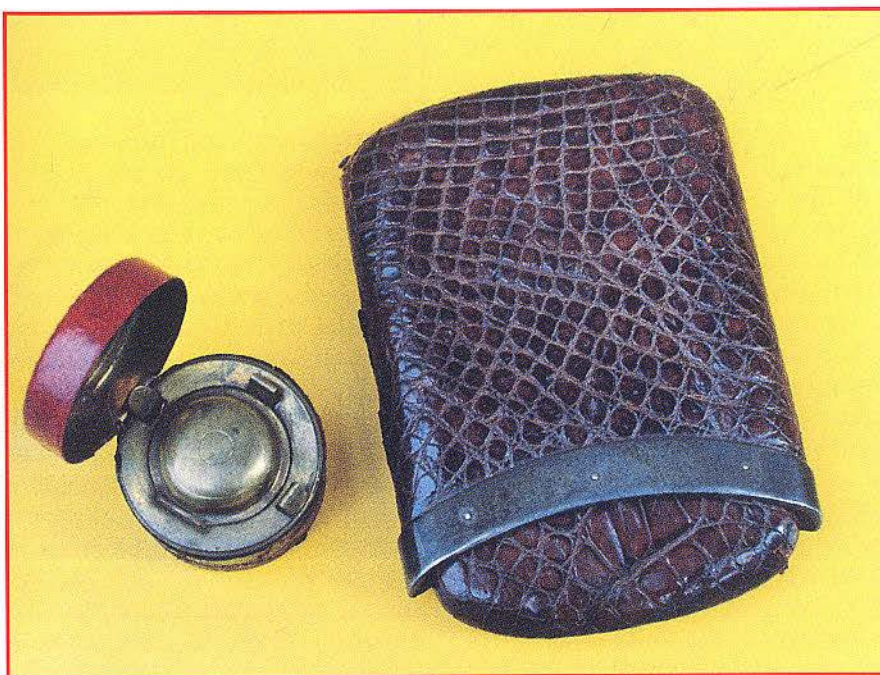
What was his method for achieving the objective? Educate the masses to be people, people to

Facing page.

Garibaldi carrying a dying Anita.

Below.

The inkwell and the cigar case used by Garibaldi.



be nation, nations to be humankind, national law to become human law, go from autonomous States to cosmopolitanism, or, as we would say today, to globalization. Everything directed towards the harmony and well-being of mankind.

Kant (12) had dreamed of universal peace, Garibaldi talks of a universal State as foundation of peace among peoples.

His multiform sensibility made him inclined to tolerance but not to confusion, as always happens when man tries to balance memory of experiences, rationality and will: the three sources of human experience which do not allow hegemonies and subordinations; on the contrary, they require a balance between the sense of the humane and the divine, in the deepest fabric of history.

It is a clear and simple lesson which comes to us from the hero of the Risorgimento and a hope that harmony will inspire the actions of the men and women of the governments who, today as at the time of the Risorgimento, have to tackle the problems that peoples have to face in their eternal struggle for existence.

THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

Browsing through the yellowed pages of a hundred and fifty years ago, a lot more is offered to our consideration.

Already during the years of the struggles for unity, the question of the "people's education" was notably posed by both the intellectuals who anticipated the problem of a common citizenship for millions of people who found themselves Italians in all respects, and by the masses who wished to improve their level of education, with particular attention to the adults' instruction, conditioned by destitution, oppression and lack of basic schooling.

This awareness, springing from the philosophies that inspired the "uprisings of the Risorgimento", induced many intellectuals to "go to the people", in order to spread culture and answer the calls for justice coming from those who, for the most part, couldn't read or write.

In the immediately post-unitary period there was a lively cultural circulation, without precedent in our history. Customs and frontiers were knocked down, and voluntary speakers, enjoying the first thrills of the freedom of expression, travelled all over the country with great enthusiasm, stimulating a generalized debate, trying to circulate modern ideas and concepts, germs of a new knowledge. The attack was on superstition, alcoholism, illiteracy, the anachronistic monarchic institution and the circumscribed forms of education inherited from the precedent centuries.

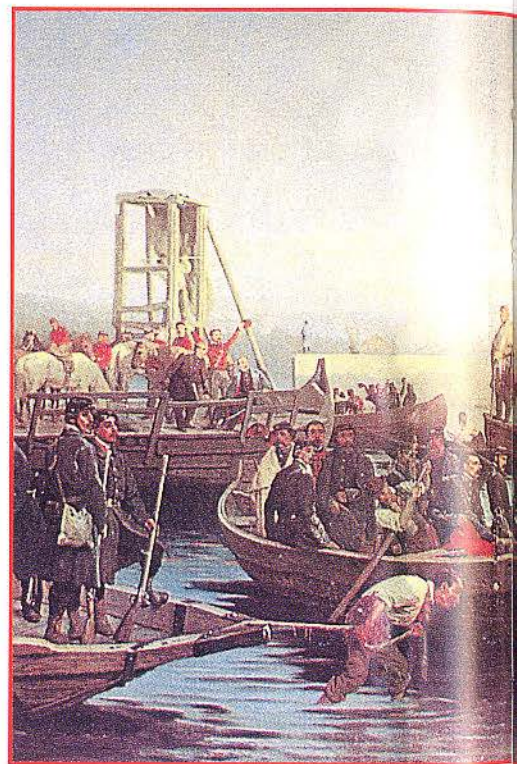
Already at the beginning of the sixties, the Workers' societies, born mainly in central and northern Italy, were doing their best to open schools for their members and later on they were the promoters of the League for the People's Education.

The first president of the League was Giosuè Carducci, a great friend of the workers, who put into practice the League's inspiring principles which, refusing to teach only the notions according to the traditional methods, fixed that: the adult worker needs a teaching which, speaking to his heart and to his fantasy, arouses in his mind the struggle for ideas from which derives a craving for learning and organizing them...and that in the categories of teaching he may understand and explain to himself the physical and moral phenomena of the world in which he lives.

Courses of all kinds were promoted on the most varied subjects: history, foreign languages, economy, accounting, administration, ethics, literature, physics, applied chemistry.

The names of the most distinguished scholars followed one another in the teaching, engaging also in discussions during Sunday readings, some of which were accompanied by projections, so that the teaching would not be only for the ears, but also for the eyes, in order to

Landing of the "Garibaldini" at Sesto Calende.



penetrate into the mind and be fixed in a more effective way.

Carducci emphasized the character of urgent historical necessity assumed by the effort towards the people's material and cultural growth on which, he said, the progress of the new Italy depended.

We have been able to find the works of the "Università Popolare Giuseppe Garibaldi" in Bologna, one of the most ancient ones, founded in 1901, whose origins date back to the League for the People's Education, which in Bologna had a remarkable development.

The so-called "Scuola Samaritana", a first-aid school, was founded in 1903, with a convention between the Popular University "Giuseppe Garibaldi" and the Regional Subcommittee of the Red Cross. The school was very dear to Costanza Garibaldi, Garibaldi's daughter-in-law who, for many years, held conferences in Italy, accompanied by her daughters Rosa and Italia, to explain methods and principles she had learnt in England.

of the First World War, in the period of non-intervention and after, when Italy entered the war, a fracture occurred between the leading group, who were for Italy's intervention on the Allies' side, and the body of the members who were against the war.

Actually, these and other contradictions prevented the People's Universities to lay the foundations of a wide and radical movement which could tackle in a

newspapers, had a remarkable impact on the middle class, whose feelings had a decisive weight in determining the policy of the Nation that was then the greatest and most democratic power in the world.

The reportages of "The Times" which, to tell the truth, in the beginning were not very objective, did their best to let transpire Garibaldi's and his legionaries' courage and devotion to the cause, arousing a still unconfessed romantic admiration for those valiant men destined to defeat or perhaps death among those Roman walls so dear to the British classicists.

The heroism shown in that fateful 1849, ten years later would produce in Great Britain important fruits in favour of the liberty of the Italian territory.

In a different context, but in the same line of equanimity and loyalty, in the House of Commons, Winston Churchill, at the height of the Second World Conflict, celebrated the deeds of the Italian units, who had opposed the English boys in the African desert, calling them "the lions of the 'Folgore' who never surrender".

Apart from the geopolitical considerations which have undoubtedly their importance, there were other factors that led to a mutual good understanding between Garibaldi and the British. History in fact is not made by "ifs" and "buts" which, on the other hand, in the context of an analysis can serve as an hypothesis of work.

By examining the two lands and the two peoples, we notice that the two Nations show a geometric "upside down" symmetry vis-à-vis an imaginary Mitteleuropean watershed which crosses also France. But these are the plays of nature.

Real factors are, instead, the longitudinal extension of the respective territories and the deriving practical difficulties of



In practice, through conferences, lessons, monographs, the concept of public assistance was spread for the first time.

The courses were attended by members of the Red Cross but also by workers, foremen, overseers, firemen, policemen, and afterwards, by primary-school teachers, and high-school students.

For many years the People's Universities continued their commendable activities, managing to abide by the principles of non-participation to political movements.

Unfortunately, at the outbreak

modern and autonomous form the problem of popular education.

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BRITISH

Little is known about the relations that Garibaldi and his descendants maintained with Great Britain, in the context of the Risorgimento and beyond.

The contrasting actions of the French, luckily for the Italian patriots, were offset by Great Britain's pro-Italian sentiments.

The Defence of Rome, amply reported by the English

communication in those times, besides a residual handicap of the regions more distant from the vivifying contact with the centre of the European continent.

Garibaldi, essentially a seaman, understood that both were maritime lands, with fateful projections towards the unknown that the sea has always represented. This attraction, in both peoples, has always given rise to discoverers and raiders, penetrating the consciences as a propulsive factor, an unending longing for escape and conquest.

Liverpool and Southampton, with their great ships and the men used to sailing the oceans, as he had always done, were for Garibaldi like his own home.

His conversations with the English "Garibaldino", Colonel John Peard, one of the "Mille" (the Thousand), besides a strong community of libertarian ideals, were centred on the experiences on the seas, on the bliss of navigation, in which the sailing ship symbolized their homeland, free and roaming the oceans of the whole world, and on the insular life which both knew very well. In short, they spoke about liberty, in the light of a common sensibility.

Also in Scotland Garibaldi had found a "home". His dearest friend was in fact the owner of a castle near Glasgow, Bedley Castle. He was Captain John McAdam and Garibaldi referred to him as "my lieutenant in Scotland". Until recent times, Alex McAdam, John's greatgrand son was living in the castle. During a visit he showed me some fifty unpublished letters written by Garibaldi, which revealed the depth of the relationship of esteem and brotherly affection that bound them.

Scots are independent and difficult to control, as he himself was, unless they are convinced of the goodness of the cause.

For all these reasons, and also for the unreserved admiration that the British had for generosity

and altruism which, in their eyes, were personified by Garibaldi, the bounds became stronger and stronger.

Garibaldi's son Ricciotti, was taken to London when he was eight years old, to be treated for problems in his leg. Some time later, once his leg was healed, he was sent to a college in Liverpool, where he stayed for several years, learning to know and understand the culture of the Country.

It is not surprising, therefore, that years later, unable to enter a national and family context that was foreign to him, he should fall in love with a girl from London, with whom he emigrated to Australia. Thus the second generation of "Garibaldian eaglets", Giuseppe's and Anita's grandchildren, were all English-speaking and Protestant.

It is common knowledge that, at the beginning of the Sicilian campaign, in 1860, the landing of the "Mille" at Marsala was facilitated by two English ships which were placed between the

patriots and the Bourbon ships, and that the developments of the Sicilian insurrection were attentively followed and also backed by the many Englishmen who had financial interests and family ramifications in Sicily.

At the end of the campaign, when a very sad Garibaldi left Naples, ignored by all, and headed for Caprera with his sacks of seeds, he was saluted by the salvos of the guns of the British ships lying at anchor in the port.

But only a few know that the stones around his house of Caprera were covered with English earth expressly sent from England, stuffed in sacks on an English ship, to allow him to cultivate the produce of vegetable gardens and orchards, according to his wish. Not for nothing, in

Facing page.

Embarkation of Garibaldi's "Mille" at Quarto.

Below.

Garibaldi at the battle of Calatafimi.



the census form, he defined himself a farmer!

Moreover, because of his English ancestors, a nephew of Garibaldi's, in the mid-thirties, was asked to go to London to negotiate a possible alignment of Italy with the Allies, which would have resulted in the withdrawal from the alliance with Germany and from the insane Nazi policies. This attempt failed only because of a crisis of the English cabinet, whose replacement, in a scenario of international tension with Laval's French Government, thwarted the accord, which had already been signed by the Foreign Minister Lord Hoare, and announced by Mussolini at a meeting of the Great Council convened for the occasion.

Useless to say, that the disappointment was great, and the consequences dramatic.

Equally little known is the fact that Giuseppe and Anita's daughter-in-law, the English citizen Costanza Garibaldi, promoted the building of little hospitals in some Italian villages, in particular at La Maddalena, with her own money and collections among her fellow countrywomen. The hospitals were equipped and organized by English nurses for the inhabitants of La Maddalena and especially for the women who, until then, had had no alternative but be treated at the military hospital, where they were attended by male personnel, which sometimes was rather embarrassing

HIS SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

La Maddalena, an islet north of Sardinia, is linked to Caprera by a wharf on which all the Garibaldi generations have set their foot.

Garibaldi had made La Maddalena his home, having caught a glimpse of it during his flight to safety after the tragic conclusion of the Defence of Rome in 1849. Even after many



years, and a lot of hard work, it was not a comfortable place. Leaving aside the romantic sight of the Hero standing against the sky, his foot resting on a rock, very few celebrities today would adapt to live in those conditions.

After organizing his life after the typical farmer's activities, with which he provided for his needs as much as he could, he had very little to spare. Food was often scarce and it was difficult to meet the duties of hospitality imposed by the presence of guests and visitors arriving from all over the world. They ate what was possible to grow on the steep slopes around the house. Bread was baked in the brick oven that Garibaldi himself had built, meat was in short supply, even if some common farmyard animals were bred. Everything was conditioned by the scarce water which, through various devices, one could extract from the top of the cliff and from wells. But in winter, heating the water was a difficult problem.

Since childhood Garibaldi had loved to bathe and, out of necessity, he got into the habit of washing himself in any water: cold, salty, fresh, from lakes or rivers – or wherever he could, if there was no water in the house.

Until the day before his death he insisted on taking a daily cold shower, in a bathtub or a washtub, convinced as he was that the intense cold would not have negative effects on the rheumatisms that had been tormenting him since his thirties and were undoubtedly caused by his continuous exposure to the humidity of the nights often spent on a ship's deck, by the long marches and by his sleeping in any condition, in the rain, on marshy soil and on river banks. His son Ricciotti learnt something about it. He met his father only fleetingly in his youth, but had lived with him for some time in Nice and Caprera. When he was little boy his father used to plunge him every day in a tub of ice-cold water, despite his strong protests. Nor did things improve at the college in Liverpool, since the very Spartan conditions prevailing there were enforced in order to shape and toughen the physical and moral fibre of the young fellows who were destined to be the cadres of the British ruling class.

His English wife, in her turn, was a voluntary Red Cross nurse who at home imposed the strict observance of the hygienic rules

she had learnt during the training courses organized by an extraordinary woman, Florence Nightingale, the founder of the military and civilian nurses' system, which she had initially created for assisting the wounded in the Crimean War, from 1854 to 1856. Twenty-five thousand young men had died during that period, and the suffering of the wounded, who after the battle were almost left on their own, had left her with a terrible and unforgettable memory.

The meeting between Garibaldi and Florence Nightingale, which took place at Saint Pancras station on the occasion of his visit to London in 1864, has been handed down orally in the family. They talked about the field hospitals she had organized some years before, during the war in which also Piedmont and Sardinia had taken part. From the icy and bloody trenches around Sevastopol, from the first attempts at establishing military

centres in Scutari, she had transformed the nurses' system so as to include her concept of the soldier's rights. Garibaldi was aware of it, and deeply grateful. On that occasion he had also wished to make clear that he didn't want to be considered a warmonger and that he cared for the protection of each one of his soldiers.

FINAL REMARKS

Our territory is delimited by a high mountain range and by the immensity of the surrounding sea, and this contributes to its ethnic, moral and cultural homogeneity.

Unfortunately our peninsula, already at the beginning of the Christian era, was like a treasure chest overflowing with material and cultural goods in which everybody wanted to dip his hands.

When the invaders arrived from many quarters, it was Christianity

which, with its structures and its spiritual and moral authority, carried out an action of containment.

The Church, needing a temporal power of its own in order to mark its presence in material and territorial terms, safeguarded the remaining Italian identity and, at the same time, had to administer the balances of the various invaders.

It was such temporal power that had to be confronted in order to complete the Country's territorial unity, which could not be considered achieved without the acquisition of its symbol: the city of Rome.

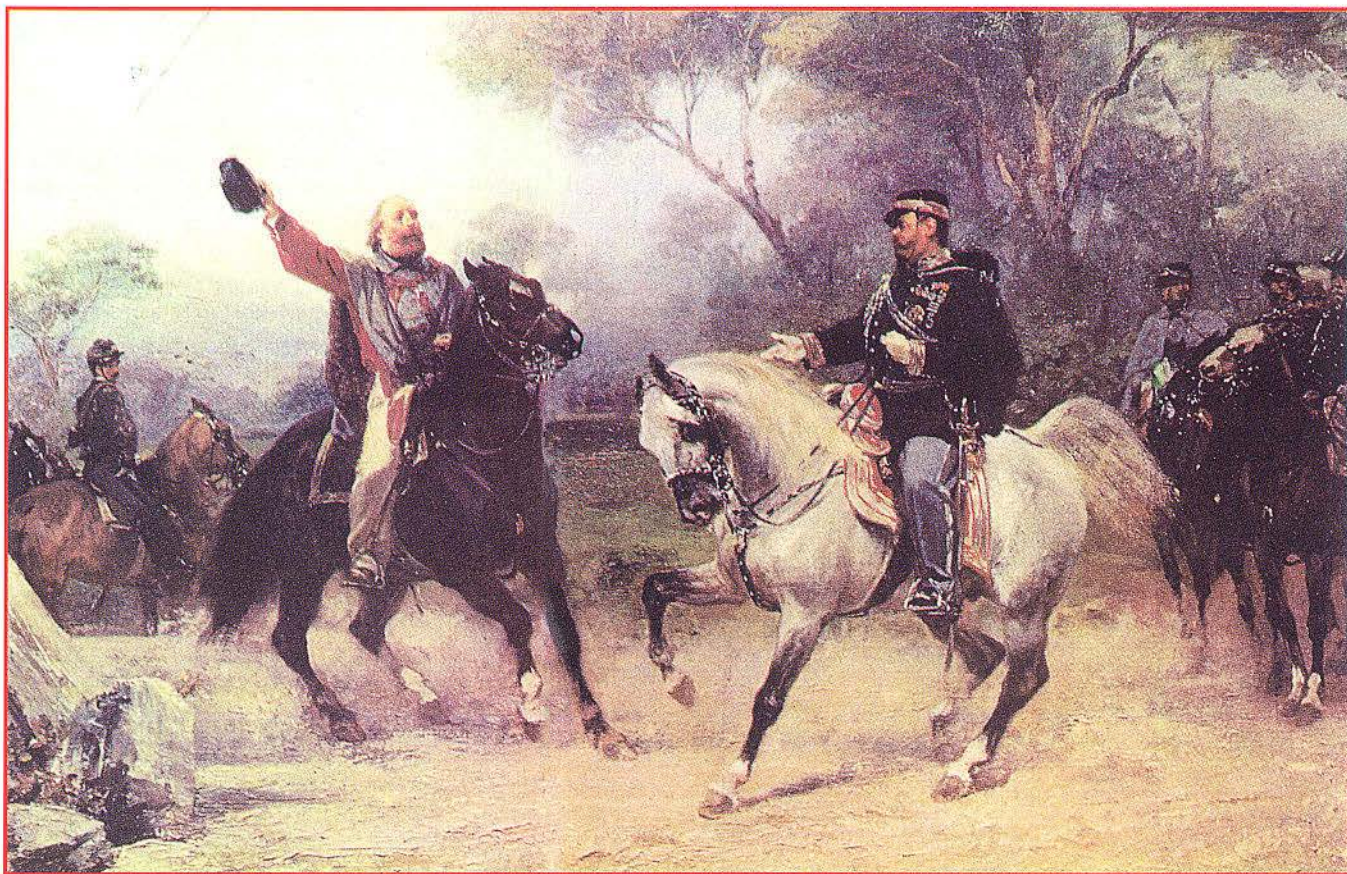
The question of "Rome Capital" was precisely at the core of the ups and downs of the relations

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Garibaldi wounded on the Aspromonte.

Below.

The historic meeting of Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel II near Teano.



between Garibaldi and the Papal State.

Furthermore the "Hero of the Two Worlds" considered unconceivable the fact that the new concepts of the French Revolution, enthusiastically accepted in every field, had not led to the achievement of equal rights and duties for both sexes, or at least to the voting right for women, which was obtained only at the end of the entire cycle of the Risorgimento.

And yet, also many women worked and died for a united Italy, among them many emblematic figures such as Eleonora Fonseca (13), Giuditta Arcuati (14), Cristina di Belgioioso (15) and the enticing "Nicchia", Countess of Castiglione, who had the undeniable merit of leading Napoleon III to secure us a decisive success in the Second War of Independence.

Garibaldi had accepted Saint Simon's proposals on women's equality, with the same citizen's rights, even if this theory was all right for all except for his woman, Anita, who was fighting at his side for the same ideals but in her private life, for example, was not allowed to find a job outside the house. In 1867, he personally signed the enrollment of his daughter Teresita in a Florentine confraternity, the "Charity and Anita" Lodge.

Since the growth of his soldier's reputation, that is, practically since the battles in Uruguay, many women, journalists and writers, both Italian and foreigners, had been working with him. Women that would be called today public-relation operators.

In conclusion, we cannot ignore who, even from apparently abstract positions, in the same period have left a new mark on Western civilization.

The Risorgimento was flying towards the sun accompanied by Verdi's music. And the sun



became the image of Garibaldi protecting Italy from the Alpine peaks, with Carducci's poems. And Alessandro Volta's memory was still alive when Pacinotti, Meucci, Cannizzaro, Marconi, Fermi and many others confirmed, if ever necessary, the reality of a Country which revives with every century, with the courage of its sons, the soundness of its talent, the creativity of its ideas and the optimism of its will, still following Garibaldi's path in order to improve the human condition and pay homage to the religion of liberty.



**Great-granddaughter
of the "Hero of two Worlds"*

NOTE

- (1) Massimo Taparelli, marquis d'Azeglio (1798-1866) writer and politician.
- (2) Vittorio Alfieri, (1749-1803), Romantic poet.
- (3) Vincenzo Gioberti (1801-1852), philosopher and politician.
- (4) Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), German philosopher.
- (5) John Locke (1632-1704), English philosopher.

(6) Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), Swiss writer of French origin.

(7) Charles Louis De Secondat Montesquieu (1689-1755), French philosopher and writer.

(8) Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), German philosopher.

(9) Claude Henry de Saint Simon (1760-1825), French thinker.

(10) Giovanni Giolitti (1842-1928), statesman.

(11) Count Vincenzo Ottorino Gentiloni (1865-1916), President of the Italian Electoral Catholic Union.

(12) Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), German philosopher.

(13) Eleonora marchioness of Fonseca Pimentel (1752-1799), patriot and writer.

(14) Giuditta Tafani Arcuati (1832-1867), patriot.

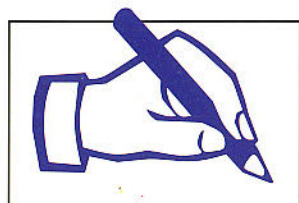
(15) Cristina Trivulzio princess of Belgioioso (1808-1871), patriot and writer.

(16) Virginia Oldoini, countess of Castiglione (1837-1899) cousin of Camillo Benso count of Cavour.

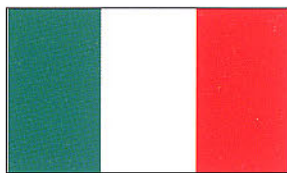
(17) Antonio Pacinotti (1841-1912), physicist.

(18) Antonio Meucci (1826-1910), inventor of the telephone.

(19) Stanislao Cannizzaro (1874-1937), chemist.



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L'oro liquido del terzo millennio, di Giovanni Marizza (pag. 2).
L'idrogeostategia sarà la scienza destinata ad assumere una progressiva importanza nei prossimi anni. È in un aumento di conflittualità in aree in cui le risorse idriche sono carenti in quanto scarse oppure distribuite in maniera disuguale. L'acqua, in altre parole, sembra destinata a soppiantare il petrolio quale causa di contrasti tra soggetti statali. A meno che non si risolvano con urgenza i problemi incombenti.

Guerra e tecnologia in perenne simbiosi evolutiva, di Giancarlo Bove (p. 12).
Il legame tra guerra e tecnologia è molto profondo. Da sempre questo binomio influenza la scienza, la pianificazione e la condotta delle operazioni militari. I tempi attuali confermano la necessità di ricerca e sviluppo delle tecnologie militari, ma anche di investimenti finalizzati alla modernizzazione delle Forze Armate e dell'industria della difesa. Analizziamo gli aspetti connessi con le condizioni di guerra e pace tra passato e presente e come essi siano correlabili allo sviluppo tecnologico, al fine di riflettere sull'evoluzione degli scenari bellici futuri.

Al di là della forza e della violenza, di Enzo Gasparini Casari, (pag. 26).
L'attuale momento storico e sociale, come pure l'incremento

delle missioni fuori area, inducono a fare chiarezza sul reale significato delle parole «forza» e «violenza». L'uso legittimo della forza tutela gli inermi, seleziona gli obiettivi, si ispira al Diritto Umanitario e alle Convenzioni Internazionali ed ha una solida base etica e morale. La violenza, invece, usa indiscriminatamente la forza e subdolamente, colpisce i deboli con viltà per scuotere le civiltà democratiche.

La base degli attuali assetti geostrategici, di Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (pag. 38).
Dal conflitto tra Paesi e coalizioni ai rischi attuali del terrorismo sembra siano trascorsi secoli. Sono appena trascorsi, invece, 50 anni. Molto è cambiato in così poco tempo. Vediamo, allora, come e perché.

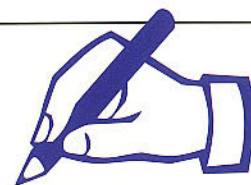
Le Compagnie private militari, di Carmine Masiello (pag. 52).
A volte ammirate e altre temute, sovente viste con pregiudizio oppure mitizzate, le Compagnie private militari sono frutto dei nostri tempi. Scopriamo origini, situazioni e prospettive delle Private Military Companies (PMC), una realtà che fa discutere e che merita un'analisi approfondita.

Vincere lo stress, di Antonio Marchetti (pag. 68).
È possibile vincere lo stress, anzi a volte lo si può usare a nostro vantaggio. Questo per conoscere meglio noi stessi e la società nella quale viviamo. L'individuazione preventiva di tale subdolo compagno di viaggio, il sapere come e dove si annida, la conoscenza delle tecniche per contrastarlo, migliora nettamente la propria esistenza e il rapporto con gli altri.

Il sistema penale italiano per le missioni militari all'estero, di Giuseppe Scandurra (p. 82).
Le operazioni in Golfo Persico, Somalia, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo non devono ritenersi regolate dalla legge penale militare di guerra, mentre sono soggette a tale disciplina quelle dell'ISAF (*International Security Assistance Force*) e le altre svolte in territorio afgano o iracheno.

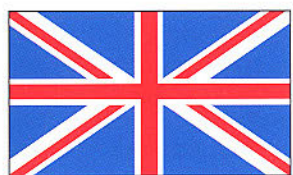
Il prezzo della libertà, di Luigi Poli (pag. 96).
Dal 1943 al 1945, fu decisivo l'apporto dei militari italiani alla Guerra di Liberazione. Il riscatto nazionale e la conquista della libertà costarono un notevole tributo di lutti e rovine. Oggi dobbiamo essere grati a quei generosi predecessori che ci hanno lasciato la preziosa eredità di una Nazione libera e democratica. Nelle parole stesse dell'autore, che visse in prima persona quegli avvenimenti, emerge il lungo percorso di tanti italiani che si sacrificarono per senso dell'onore e amor di Patria.

L'orgogliosa rivolta del popolo partenopeo, di Attilio Borreca (p. 102).
In soli quattro giorni, i napoletani lottarono strenuamente per liberare la loro città dalle forze tedesche. Militari e operai, professionisti e disoccupati, uomini e donne, religiosi e persino bambini, pagando un alto tributo di sangue e di sofferenza, trovarono la forza morale di riscattarsi da soli, prima dell'arrivo delle forze alleate. La cronaca delle varie fasi dell'insurrezione è un omaggio alla città partenopea che, per l'episodio di guerra, meritò la Medaglia d'Oro al Valor Militare.



**Viaggio in un mito che non tramonta,
di Anita Garibaldi (p. 110).**

Da qualche tempo è in atto una riscoperta di Giuseppe Garibaldi, un personaggio che ha saputo catalizzare i sentimenti più sani delle ultime generazioni. Egli non fu solo tra gli artefici della nostra Nazione, ma anche cittadino semplice ed esemplare che tutto il mondo ancora oggi riconosce e apprezza.



**The Liquid Gold of the Third Millennium,
by Giovanni Marizza (p. 2).**

Hydrostrategy is a science bound to acquire more and more importance in the next years. This is due to an increase in conflictuality in areas where there is shortage of water-resources because of either scarcity or uneven distribution. Water, in other words, seems bound to supplant oil as a reason for conflict among States: unless the impending problems are urgently solved.

**The Perennial Evolutive Symbiosis of War and Technology,
by Giancarlo Bove (p. 12).**

The bond between war and technology is very deep. This binomy has always influenced science, planning and direction of military operations. The present time has asserted the need for research and development of military technologies, but also for investments aimed at modernization of the Armed

Forces and of defence industry. Let us analyse the aspects connected with war and peace conditions between past and present and how they are connected to technological development, in order to think over the evolution of future war scenarios.

**Beyond Force and Violence,
by Enzo Gasparini Casari (p. 26).**

The present historic and social moment, as well as the increase of out-of-area missions, urge us to make clear the real meaning of the words «force» and «violence». The legitimate use of force protects the defenceless, selects targets, is inspired by the Humanitarian Law and by International Conventions, has a solid ethical and moral basis. Whereas violence uses force indiscriminately and is carried out deceitfully, hits the weak cowardly in order to shake democratic civilizations.

**The Foundation of Today's Geostrategic Order,
by Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (p. 38).**

Centuries seem to have elapsed from the times of conflicts among Countries and coalitions to the current terrorism risks. Actually, just 50 years have gone by. Therefore many things have changed in so little time. Let us see how and why.

**Private Military Companies,
by Carmine Masiello (p. 52).**

Sometimes admired, other times feared, often looked upon with prejudice or excessively mythicized, Private Military Companies are a result of our times. Therefore, let us find out origin, conditions and prospects of Private Military Companies, a phenomenon arousing discussion and which deserves a suitable analysis.

**Overcoming Stress,
by Antonio Marchetti (p. 68).**

You can fight stress, indeed it can be used to our advantage, in order to know both ourselves and the society we live in better. Detecting such a deceitful travel mate in advance, knowing how and where it is hiding, knowing techniques to face up to it, improves decidedly our existence and our relationship with other people

**The Italian Penal System for the Military Missions Abroad,
by Giuseppe Scandurra (p. 82).**

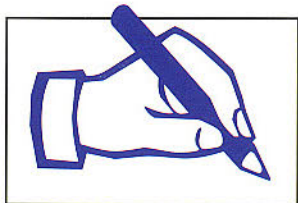
The operations in the Persian Gulf, Somaliland, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, have not to be considered as being regulated by the military criminal law of war. On the contrary, those of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and those carried out in Afghan and Iraqi territories are liable to it.

**The Price of Liberty,
by Luigi Poli (p. 96).**

From 1943 to 1945 the contribution of the Italian militarymen was crucial for the Liberation War. The national ransom and the conquest of freedom cost a considerable tribute of bereavement and ruins. Today we must feel obliged to those generous predecessors of ours who left us the priceless heritage of a free and democratic nation. The Author, who took part in those events in first person, writes about the long journey of so many Italians, who committed themselves for sense of honour and love for their Country.

**The Proud Uprising of the Neapolitan People,
by Attilio Borreca (p. 102).**

In four days only, the Neapolitans valiantly fought to free their city from the German

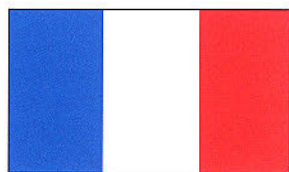


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forces. Soldiers and workers, professionals and jobless, men and women, churchmen and even children, paying with their blood and sufferings, found the moral strength for autonomous delivery, before the arrival of the Allied forces. The chronicle of the uprising various phases is a tribute to the Parthenopean city which, for this action of war, was awarded the Gold Medal to Military Valour.

A Journey Inside an Endless Myth, **by Anita Garibaldi (p. 110).**

A new revival of Giuseppe Garibaldi has been going on for quite some time. He is a personage who knew how to catalyze the healthiest feelings of the last generations. He was not only one of the authors of our nation but also a simple and model citizen, who is still known and appreciated all over the world.



L'or liquide du troisième millénaire, **par Giovanni Marizza (p. 2).**

L'hydrogéostratégie est une science vouée à revêtir une importance croissante. Les conflits se multiplient dans les régions où les ressources hydriques font défaut ou sont mal distribuées. En d'autres termes, l'eau ne manquera pas de devenir, à la place du pétrole, l'une des causes de conflit entre Etats. A moins que ce danger imminent ne soit résolu au plus tôt.

Guerre et technologie: une symbiose en évolution continue, **par Giancarlo Bove (p. 12).**

Il existe entre la guerre et la technologie une association étroite. Ce binôme influence depuis longtemps la science, la planification et la mise en place des opérations militaires. La situation actuelle rend nécessaires les investissements dans la recherche et le développement des technologies militaires mais aussi dans la modernisation des Forces armées et de l'industrie liée à la défense. Nous analysons ici différents aspects par rapport aux conditions de guerre et de paix, du passé comme du présent, et leur corrélation avec le développement technologique. Notre objectif étant d'entamer une réflexion sur l'évolution des théâtres de guerre du futur.

Au-delà de la force et de la violence, **par Enzo Gasparini Casari (p. 26).**

Face aux événements historiques et sociaux que nous vivons et à la multiplications des missions hors zone, il conviendrait d'éclaircir la signification réelle des mots «force» et «violence». L'emploi légitime de la force vise à protéger les faibles et à sélectionner les objectifs, et s'inspire du Droit humanitaire et des Conventions internationales, tout en ayant une base éthique et morale. La violence, au contraire, consiste en l'usage aveugle, sournois et vil de la force contre les plus faibles, pour frapper les civilisations démocratiques.

La base des équilibres géostratégiques actuels, **par Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (p. 38).**

Depuis les conflits entre pays et coalitions à l'époque actuelle

caractérisée par la menace terroriste, des siècles semblent s'être écoulés. Et pourtant 50 années seulement se sont passées. De grands changements ont eu lieu en peu de temps. Voyons alors comment et pourquoi.

Les Compagnies militaires privées, **par Carmine Masiello (p. 52).**

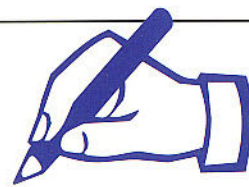
Elles inspirent tantôt l'admiration, tantôt la crainte. Certains les condamnent, d'autres les mythifient. Les Compagnies militaires privées sont le fruit de notre temps. Découvrons les origines, analysons l'état actuel et les perspectives futures des Private Militay Compagnies (PMC), une réalité qui fait l'objet de vifs débats et qu'il conviendrait d'approfondir.

Venir à bout du stress, **par Antonio Marchetti (p. 68).**

Il est possible de venir à bout du stress et même d'en tirer profit. Et ce en vue de mieux nous connaître et de mieux connaître la société dans laquelle nous vivons. Identifier d'avance ce compagnon de voyage sournois, savoir où et comment il se cache, connaître les techniques pour le réprimer : voilà des moyens qui permettent d'améliorer la vie et les rapports avec autrui.

Le système pénal italien par rapport aux missions militaires à l'étranger, **par Giuseppe Scandurra (p. 82).**

Les opérations menées dans le golfe Persique; en Somalie, en Albanie, en Bosnie et au Kosovo sont régies par la loi pénale militaire de guerre, contrairement aux opérations de l'ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) et aux autres opérations effectuées sur les territoires afghan et iraquien.



**Le prix de la liberté,
par Luigi Poli (p. 96).**

De 1943 à 1945, le concours des militaires italiens à la guerre de libération fut décisif. La délivrance du peuple et la conquête de la liberté eurent un prix élevé en termes de pertes humaines et matérielles.

Aujourd'hui, nous nous devons de remercier ces prédécesseurs généreux qui nous ont légué une nation libre et démocratique. Les mots de l'auteur, qui a vécu lui-même ces événements historiques, illustrent le long parcours des nombreux italiens qui ont sacrifié leur vie par amour de l'honneur et de la Patrie.

**L'orgueilleuse insurrection
du peuple parthénopéen,
par Attilio Borreca (p. 102)**

Quatre jours de lutte acharnée et héroïque auront suffi aux napolitains pour libérer leur ville des troupes allemandes. Des militaires, des ouvriers, des professionnels et des chômeurs, des hommes et des femmes, des religieux et même des enfants, ont trouvé, au prix de nombreuses vies et de souffrances inouïes, la force morale de se racheter avant l'arrivée des forces alliées. La chronique des différentes étapes de l'insurrection rend hommage à la ville parthénopéenne qui a mérité, pour cet exploit, la Médaille militaire.

**Voyage autour d'un mythe
impérissable,
par Anita Garibaldi (p. 110).**

L'on assiste depuis quelque temps déjà à la renaissance du mythe de Giuseppe Garibaldi, un personnage qui sut catalyser les sentiments les plus sains des dernières générations. Garibaldi ne fut pas seulement l'un des auteurs de l'Unité italienne, il fut également un

citoyen simple et exemplaire à la fois, que le monde entier reconnaît et apprécie.



**Der flussige Gold des 3.
Jahrtausends,
von Giovanni Marizza (S. 2).**

Die Wasserstrategie ist die Wissenschaft, die in den naechsten Jahren immer wichtiger sein wird. Es gibt zunehmende Konflikte in Gegenden, in denen die Wasserressourcen gering sind, weil ungenuegend oder ungleich verteilt.

Mit anderen Worten, scheint das Wasser verurteilt zu sein, das Erdoel in seiner Rolle als Konfliktstoff zwischen den Staaten abzuloesen. Es sei denn, man findet eine schnelle Loesung fuer diese bedrohenden Probleme.

**Krieg und Technologie in
ewiger Evolutionssymbiose,
von Giancarlo Bove (S. 12).**

Die Verbindung zwischen Krieg und Technologie ist sehr eng. Seit immer beeinflussen diese zwei Begriffe die Wissenschaft, die Planung und die Leitung der Militaeroperationen. Voraussetzungen unserer Zeit sind Forschung und Entwicklung der Militaertechnologien, aber auch gezielte Investitionen fuer die Modernisierung der Streitkraefte und der Verteidigungsindustrie. Um ueber die Entwicklung der zukuenftigen Kriegsszenarien nachzudenken, werden wir die

Elemente nachpruefen, die mit den Kriegs- und Friedenszuständen zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart zusammenhaengen und wie sie zur technologischen Forschung zu zufuehren sind.

**Jenseits von Macht und
Gewalt,
von Enzo Gasparini Casari
(S. 26).**

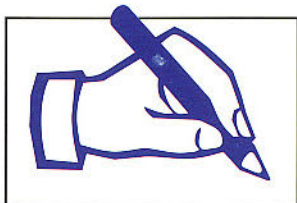
Der momentane soziale und historische Zeitpunkt sowie auch die Zunahme der Aussen-Missionen, bringt uns zur wirklichen Bedeutung der Worte «Macht» und «Gewalt». Die berechnete Anwendung der Macht schuetzt die Wehrlosen, waehlt die Ziele aus, folgt dem Menschenrecht und den Internationalen Abkommen, hat eine feste ethische und moralische Basis. Die Gewalt jedoch benuetzt, ohne Unterschied, ihre Kraft und hinterlistig trifft sie die Schwachen mit Niedertraechtigkeit, um die Grundlagen der demokratischen Kultur zu erschuettern.

**Die Basis des aktuellen
geostrategischen Zustandes,
von Antonio Ciabattini
Leonardi (S. 38).**

Vom Konflikt zwischen Laendern und Koalitionen zu den aktuellen Risiken des Terrorismus, scheinen Jahrhunderte vergangen zu sein. Es sind aber erst 50 Jahre her. Viel hat sich in so kurzer Zeit veraendert. Sehen wir denn warum und weshalb.

**Private Militaereinheiten, von
Carmino Masiello (S. 52).**

Manchmal befuerchtet, manchmal bewundert, oft mit Vorurteil gesehen oder zum Mythos erhoben sind die privaten Militaereinheiten



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Fruechte unserer Zeit. Wir wollen hier Ursprung, aktuellen Stand und Perspektiven der Private Military Companies (PMC) aufdecken, eine Wirklichkeit, die diskutieren laesst und die einer ausfuehrlicheren Pruefung wert ist.

Mit dem Stress leben, von Antonio Marchetti (S. 68).

Es ist moeglich, den Stress zu ueberstehen, sogar ihn manchmal zu eigenem Vorteil zu benuetzen. Dieses, um uns selbst und die Gesellschaft, in der wir leben, besser zu kennen. Die rechtzeitige Erkennung von solchem heimtueckischen Reisegefahrte, das Wissen, wie und wo er sich einnistet, die Kentnisse der Methoden, um sich ihm zu widersetzen, verbessern wesentlich unsere eigene Existenz und die Beziehung mit den anderen.

Das italienische Strafsystem fuer die Militarmissionen im Ausland, von Giuseppe Scandurra (S. 82).

Die Operationen im Persischen Golf, in Somalien, Albanien, Bosnien und Kosowo muessen nicht von dem Militaerstrafgesetz der Kriegezeiten geregelt halten werden, unter dieser rechtlichen Disziplin fallen dennoch die ISAF-Missionen (International Security Assistance Force) sowie die anderen in Afghanistan und Irak.

Der Preis der Freiheit, von Luigi Poli (S. 96).

Von 1943 bis 1945 war der Beitrag der italienischen Soldaten zu dem Befreiungskrieg entscheidend. Die Nationalerloesung und die Eroberung der Freiheit

kosteten einen Tribut von Trauer und Truemmer. Heute muessen wir jenen grosszuegigen Vorfahren dankbar sein, die uns das wertvolle Erbe einer freien und demokratischen Nation hinterlassen haben. In den Worten des Autors, der selber in erster Linie jene Ereignisse erlebte, kommt's deutlich hervor, wie viele Italiener, sich mit Ehrengefuehl und Vaterlandsliebe opferten.

Der stolze Aufstand des neapolitanischen Volks, von Attilio Borreca (S. 102).

In nur vier Tagen befreiten die Neapolitaner ihre Stadt von der Besetzung der Deutschen, in dem sie tapfer kaempften. Obwohl Militaers und Arbeiter, hochbezahlte Berufsgruppen und Arbeitslose, Maenner und Frauen, Religiuese und sogar Kinder einen hohen Tribut an Blut und Leid zahlten, brachten sie die moralische Kraft auf, sich noch vor dem Eintreffen der Alliierten um ihre Freiheit zu schlagen. Die Geschichte um die einzelnen Phasen des Aufstandes ist eine Huldigung an die Stadt Neapel, die sich fuer diese Kriegsepisode die militaerische Goldmedaille verdiente.

Reise durch einen Mythos ohne Ende, von Anita Garibaldi (S.110).

Seit einiger Zeit ist eine Wiederentdeckung von Giuseppe Garibaldi im Laufe, einer Persoenlichkeit, die die gesunden Gefuehle der letzten Generationen katalysiert hat. Er war nicht nur unter den Gruendern unserer Nation, sondern auch ein einfacher und wuerdiger Buerger, den noch heute die ganze Welt als gleichen bekennt und schaezt.

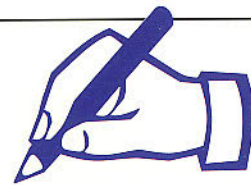


El oro líquido del tercer milenio, Giovanni Marizza (pág. 2).

La ciencia denominada hidrogeoestrategia ira cobrando creciente importancia en los años venideros. Aumenta la conflictividad en las regiones donde carecen o resultan mal distribuidos los recursos hídricos. O sea que, por lo visto, de no resolverse urgentemente los problemas apremiantes, el agua podría llegar a remplazar el petróleo como causa de conflicto entre Estados.

Guerra y tecnología en perfecta simbiosis evolutiva, por Giancarlo Bove (p. 12).

Es muy profunda la relación entre guerra y tecnología. Este binomio viene condicionando desde hace mucho tiempo la ciencia, la planificación y la implementación de las operaciones militares. La situación actual vuelve necesario invertir no sólo en investigación y desarrollo de tecnologías militares sino también en la modernización de las Fuerzas armadas y de la industria de la defensa. Analizamos los aspectos relacionados con las condiciones de guerra y de paz, entre el pasado y el presente, y su correlación con el desarrollo tecnológico, siendo nuestro objetivo entablar una reflexión sobre la evolución de los futuros escenarios bélicos.



Más allá de la fuerza y de la violencia,
Enzo Gasparini Casari (pág. 26).

Los acontecimientos históricos y sociales que están marcando nuestra época y el incremento de las misiones fuera de zona, vuelven necesario aclarar el sentido de las palabras «fuerza» y «violencia». El empleo legítimo de la fuerza consiste en tutelar a los indefensos y seleccionar los objetivos, y se inspira en el Derecho humanitario y en las Convenciones internacionales, además de tener una base ética y moral. La violencia, en cambio, es el uso indiscriminado y solapado de la fuerza, ataca vilmente a los desamparados para azotar a los pueblos democráticos.

La base de los actuales equilibrios geoestratégicos,
Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (pág. 38).

Parecen haber transcurrido siglos desde los tiempos de los conflictos entre países y coaliciones a la época actual de los riesgos del terrorismo. Y sin embargo, pasaron tan solo 50 años. Mucho ha cambiado en poco tiempo. Tratemos de ver cómo y por qué.

Las Compañías militares particulares,
Carmine Masiello (pág. 52).

A veces inspiran admiración, otras temor. Unos las condenan, otros las mitifican. Las Compañías militares particulares son hijas de nuestros tiempos. Descubrimos los orígenes, la situación actual y las perspectivas de las Private Military Companies (PMC), una realidad de la que se discute mucho y que merece un ahondamiento.

Acabar con el estrés,
Antonio Marchetti (pág. 68).

Podemos acabar con el estrés e incluso hasta podemos sacarle

provecho. Y ello para conocernos mejor a nosotros y a la sociedad en la que vivimos. Identificar previamente este solapado compañero de viaje, saber dónde y cómo se esconde, conocer las técnicas para reprimirlo: he aquí una manera para mejorar nuestra existencia y nuestra relación con los demás.

El sistema penal italiano para las misiones militares en el extranjero,

por Giuseppe Scandurra (p. 82).

Las operaciones en el golfo Pérsico, Somalia, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, no se sujetan a la ley penal militar de guerra, mientras sí son sujetas a dicha ley las de la ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) y las otras desempeñadas en el territorio afgano o iraquí.

El precio de la libertad,
Luigi Poli (pág. 96).

De 1943 a 1945, la aportación de los militares italianos fue determinante en la guerra de Liberación. El rescate de la Nación y la conquista de la libertad tuvo un precio muy alto en concepto de vidas humanas y de daños materiales. Tenemos que agradecer a aquellos generosos predecesores por habernos legado una nación libre y democrática. De las palabras del autor, quien vivió aquellos acontecimientos históricos, se desprende el largo recorrido de los numerosos italianos que se sacrificaron por el sentido del honor y el amor a la Patria.

La orgullosa insurrección del pueblo partenopeo,
por Attilio Borreca (pág. 102)

En tan solo cuatro días de lucha valerosa e infatigable, los napolitanos consiguieron librar su ciudad de las fuerzas alemanas. Militares y obreros,

profesionales y parados, hombres y mujeres, religiosos y hasta niños, a coste de vidas y sufrimientos, lograron encontrar la fuerza moral para rescatarse solos antes de que llegaran la fuerzas aliadas. La crónica de las distintas fases de la insurrección es un homenaje a la ciudad partenopea a la que aquella hazaña hizo merecedora de la Medalla de Oro al mérito militar.

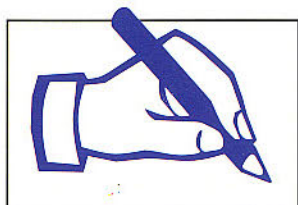
Viaje en torno a un mito imperecedero,
por Anita Garibaldi (p. 110).

Renació en estos últimos tiempos el mito de Giuseppe Garibaldi, un personaje que supo catalizar los mejores sentimientos de las últimas generaciones. Garibaldi fue no sólo uno de los artífices de nuestra Nación, sino también un ciudadano simple y ejemplar a la vez, al que el mundo entero sigue apreciando.



O ouro líquido do terceiro milénio,
de Giovanni Marizza (pág. 2).

A hidrogeo-estratégia será a ciência destinada a assumir uma progressiva importância nos próximos anos. Está num aumento de conflito em áreas em cujos recursos hídricos são carentes enquanto escassos ou distribuídos de maneira desigual. A água, noutras palavras, parece destinada a suplantir o petróleo, a causa de controvérsias entre assuntos estatais. A menos que não se resolvam com urgência os problemas incumbentes.



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Guerra e tecnologia em perene simbiose evolutiva, de Giancarlo Bove (p. 12).

A ligação entre guerra e tecnologia é muito profunda. Desde sempre que este binómio influencia a ciência, a planificação e a condução das operações militares. Os tempos actuais confirmam a necessidade de pesquisa e de desenvolvimento das tecnologias militares, mas também de investimentos com a finalidade de modernizar as Forças Armadas e da indústria de defesa. Analizemos os aspectos conectados com as condições de guerra e paz entre passado e presente e como estes são correlativos ao desenvolvimento tecnológico, a fim de reflectir sobre a evolução dos cenários bélicos futuros.

Para além da força e da violência, de Enzo Gasparini Casari (pág. 26).

O actual momento histórico e social, assim como o incremento das missões fora de área, induzem a esclarecer o significado real das palavras «força» e «violência». O uso legítimo da força tutela os inermes, selecciona os objectivos, inspira-se no Direito Humanitário e nas Convenções Internacionais, tem uma sólida base ética e moral. A violência, porém, usa indiscriminadamente a força e, astuciosamente, atinge os débeis com cobardia para abalar as civilizações democráticas.

A base das actuais disposições geo-estratégicas, de Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (pág. 38).

Do conflito entre Países e coalições aos riscos actuais do

terrorismo, parecem ter decorrido vários séculos. Decorreram, porém, 50 anos. Muitas coisas mudaram em tão pouco tempo. Vejamos, então, como e porquê.

As companhias militares privadas, de Carmine Masiello (pág. 52).

Por vezes admiradas e por outras temidas, frequentemente vistas com preconceito ou então mitificadas, as Companhias militares privadas são fruto dos nossos tempos. Descubramos origens, situações e perspectivas das Private Military Companies (PMC), uma realidade que provoca discussão e que merece uma análise aprofundada.

Vencer o stress, de Antonio Marchetti (pág. 68).

É possível vencer o stress, aliás, por vezes pode-se até mesmo se usá-lo em nossa vantagem. Isto para nos conhecermos melhor a nós mesmos e a sociedade em que vivemos. A individuação preventiva de tal traíçoeiro companheiro de viagem, o saber como e onde se aninha, o conhecimento das técnicas para combatê-lo, melhora nitidamente a própria existência e a relação com os outros.

O sistema penal italiano para as missões militares no estrangeiro, de Giuseppe Scandurra (p. 82).

As operações no Golfo Pérsico, Somália, Albânia, Bósnia, Kosovo não se devem manter reguladas pela lei penal militar de guerra, enquanto estão sujeitas a tal disciplina as operações do ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) e outras desenvolvidas em território afgão ou iraqueno.

O preço da liberdade, de Luigi Poli (pág. 96).

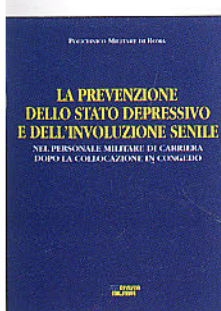
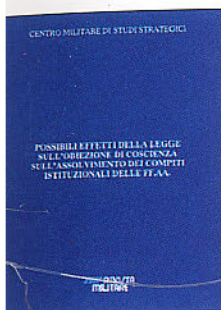
De 1943 a 1945 foi decisiva a contribuição dos militares italianos para a Guerra de Libertação. O resgate nacional e a conquista da liberdade custaram um notável tributo de lutos e ruínas. Hoje devemos estar gratos àqueles generosos predecessores que nos deixaram a preciosa herança de uma nação livre e democrática. Nas próprias palavras do autor, que viveu na primeira pessoa aqueles acontecimentos, emerge o longo percurso de tantos italianos que se sacrificaram pelo sentido de honra e amor pela Pátria.

A orgulhosa revolta do povo partenopeu, de Attilio Borreca (p. 102)

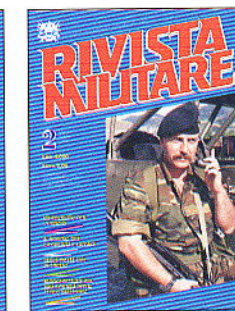
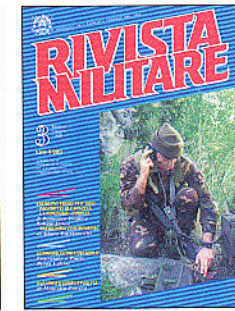
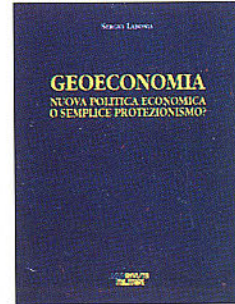
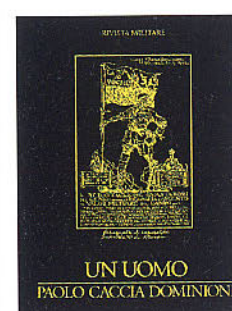
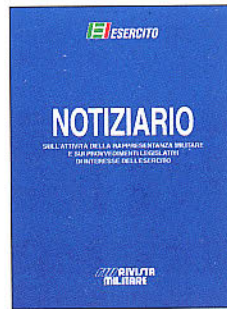
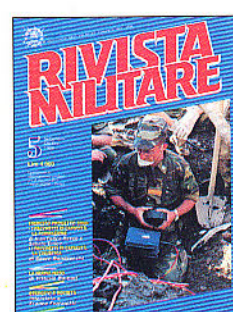
Apenas em quatro dias, os napolitanos lutaram estrenuamente para libertar a sua cidade das forças alemãs. Militares e operários, profissionais e desempregados, homens e mulheres, religiosos e até mesmo crianças, pagando um alto tributo de sangue e sofrimento, encontraram a força moral para se resgatarem sozinhos, antes da chegada das forças aliadas. A crónica das várias fases da rebelião é uma homenagem à cidade partenopeia que, pelo episódio de guerra, mereceu a Medalha de Ouro de Valor Militar.

Viagem num mito que não tramonta, de Anita Garibaldi (p. 110).

Há já algum tempo que decorre uma redescoberta de Giuseppe Garibaldi, um personagem que soube catalizar os sentimentos mais sãos das últimas gerações. Não esteve apenas entre os artífices da nossa Nação, mas foi também um cidadão simples e exemplar que ainda hoje todo o mundo reconhece e aprecia.



THE EDITORIAL STYLE OF RIVISTA MILITARE



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JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856



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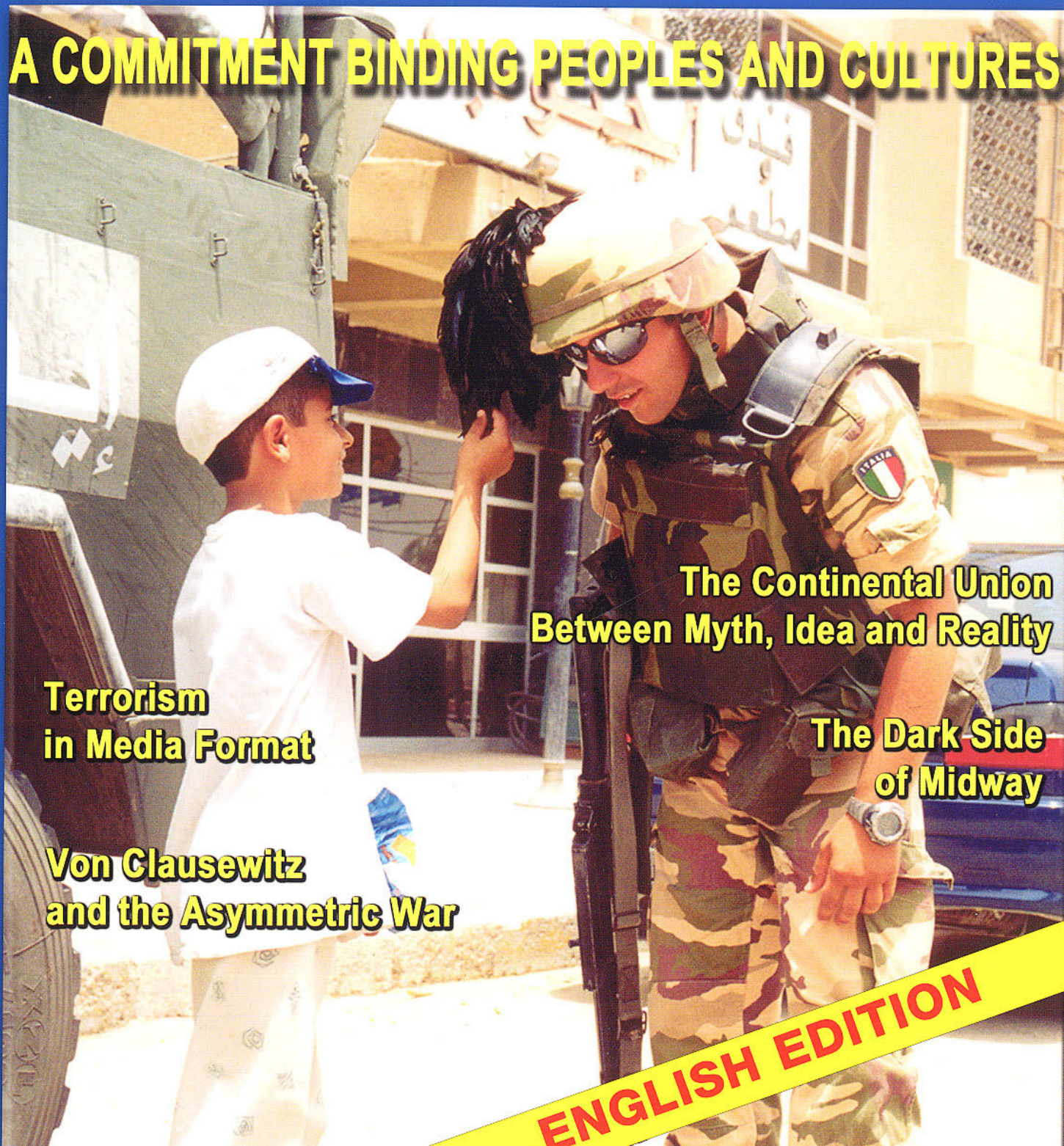
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RIVISTA MILITARE

JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856

A COMMITMENT BINDING PEOPLES AND CULTURES



**The Continental Union
Between Myth, Idea and Reality**

**Terrorism
in Media Format**

**The Dark Side
of Midway**

**Von Clausewitz
and the Asymmetric War**

ENGLISH EDITION



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"RIVISTA MILITARE"
magazine**



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September-October
November -December

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Also in 2004 the women and men of our Army have been working for the stabilization and reconstruction of crisis areas, to give hope to peoples victimized by violence. The sense of duty of our soldiers goes together with their capability of establishing real bonds of friendship. They take with them, far from home, the Christmas feeling which brings together many peoples, different from each other but with the same dignity.

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The great terrorist organizations are now capable of systematically employing every psychological and communication means in order to leave their mark on the feelings of public opinion

TERRORISM IN MEDIA FORMAT

The role of the free information organs is indispensable for configuring the terrorist phenomenon and in order to fight it through an effective anti-terror action in the people's conscience, also as a preventive measure.

by Giancarlo Bove*



The use of information in emergency situations must counterbalance the effects of terrorist actions, which the media – bound to react to the stimuli of the communication market – tend to magnify. Today this is a very important aspect, since modern society, very sensitive to all types of communication, is also particularly vulnerable to the sometimes spectacular effects of terrorist actions.

International terrorism has worked out an indirect communication strategy which, passively exploiting the diffusion of images through the media, can hit the mind of public opinion, producing on the psychological plane emotional reactions which are to be considered secondary effects, successive to the main one caused by the terrorist attack.

In addition, the modern techniques of electronic manipulation allow to modify perfectly – according to one's wishes and intentions – the actual images of the attack, thus permitting to further improve the art of shaping the perception of reality.

Similar considerations are valid also for any form of propaganda which, by using the methods deriving from psychological and social sciences, acts on the recipients of the messages through conscious and unconscious mechanisms.

Besides, we should not forget that the indirect strategy adopted by international terrorism, from the military viewpoint can take the shape of a long war, which seems to be the terrorists' trump card. As George Orwell used to say, the only way to end a war quickly is to lose it. This means that the only alternative for increasing the probability of victory against terror is to plan a long-term evolution of the politico-military intervention.

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

What is terrorism? What and how many forms of terror are threatening the security of the institutions and the citizens' freedom? Are there clear divisive or pervious borders in the complex geography of extremism, fundamentalism and separatism? Are terrorism, guerrilla warfare and state-sponsored terror different phenomena or do

they have as common denominator an identical subversive mould, which hides and mingles behind apparently different denominations and ideologies? Who is a terrorist and what does he represent? Where and how does he train?

Sufficiently valid and complete answers to these questions are not easily found in the specialized press or in the statements of politicians and experts, also because the possible answers are marked by the ideological and cultural imprints which vary according to the political, economic and social background that characterises the events and situations of the past and contemporary history.

For example, in the bipolar era, in the middle of the Cold War, terrorism was considered a new form of war to be reckoned with in a world divided by diametrically opposed ideologies and economic/social models: communism and capitalism.

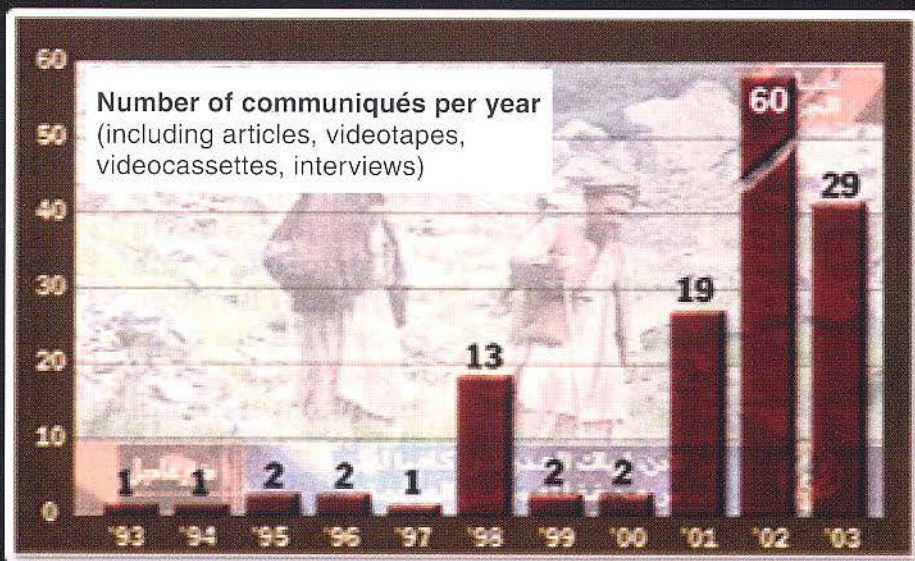
In the Middle East Countries, on the contrary, most Palestinians used to think, and still do, that the only real terrorism was – and is – that of the State of Israel, which deprived them of their land. The fall of the Berlin Wall (irony of fate!)

has been followed by the construction of another new wall by the Jewish State, as if it wanted to point out in material terms the existing cultural and territorial differences, with the consequence of further aggravating the tensions prevailing in a territory already tried by violent clashes, thus holding up the slow and gradual peace process that the entire world has long been yearning for.

It must be noted that historically the construction of boundary walls is not something new. In ancient Greece the development of weapons and the terror aroused by their use induced Themistocles to maintain, and impose on the strategists, the principle of resisting the enemy by building defensive walls around the cities.

Besides, the Government of Israel and most of its people believe that terrorism is strongly rooted in some organizations which plan bloody attacks against innocent and defenceless civilians.

The analysis of terrorism in all its forms and expressions becomes even more complex and polyhedral, to the point that it confuses and criminalizes those who in the past have been fight-



ing for freedom and therefore for a true and just cause; let us not forget that Marshal Petain and the German occupants considered the French partisans as terrorists, together with the paramilitary organizations, the various forms of guerrilla warfare for national liberation and the opponents of this or that dictatorship.

The question becomes delicate if we consider that one of the main and indispensable rights proclaimed by the French Revolution and the Declaration of Human Rights was the resistance against oppression, which justifies the recourse to force and any action, even coercive, which otherwise would be condemned by the moral principles of human conscience.

This ambiguity can be approximately eliminated by classifying as terrorist every violent physical, psychological and political action carried out against innocent populations in order to establish a climate of insecurity and instability, most suitable for realizing a subversive project aimed at the destabilization of democracy and liberty.

Let us not forget that terrorists dread democracy and all forms of individual and collective freedom which characterise the civilized world they want to destroy; their society is claustrophobic, closed, hierarchical and hostile to every novelty, reform and change.

Finally, if we think about fighting terrorism, we must find some fundamental strategies that enable us to achieve positive results. On the one side they require the planning of new methods of intelligence, with mutual exchanges of information among the Countries concerned, on the other the common will to find possible solutions alternative to a military intervention against, for example, those Middle East Countries accused of supporting terrorism.



Military action can be an extreme solution, but is also the least advisable, because if it is not carefully planned and studied, it risks to strike indiscriminately – and without distinction between innocents and guilty – military and civilians, terrorists and non-terrorists, thus making the serious mistake of strengthening the terrorists, since they would find in the armed intervention the pretext not only for new attacks, but also for organizing a dangerous propaganda aimed at taking advantage of the feelings of hatred and revenge of the Islamic people against the Western world.

We must remember that the Islamic civilizations, and therefore the Islamic peoples, albeit divided, constitute a *umma*, i.e. a single community, so that any direct action against one of them is *de facto* considered as directed against the *umma* and therefore against the whole Islamic universe, and this is what the international terrorism wants: the uncontrolled and relentless expansion of hate and violence,

on a world scale, among different civilizations and within the same culture.

And it is precisely within a single culture, such as the Islamic one, that, already in the past, the seed of violence and religious fanaticism found the fertile ground where the plant of terrorism grows, its roots feeding on the same violence from which it was born. Although condemned by the Koran, violence is practised by the same fundamentalists who are inspired by the Book but ignore the ideals of love, tolerance and brotherhood expressed in every *sura* (1).

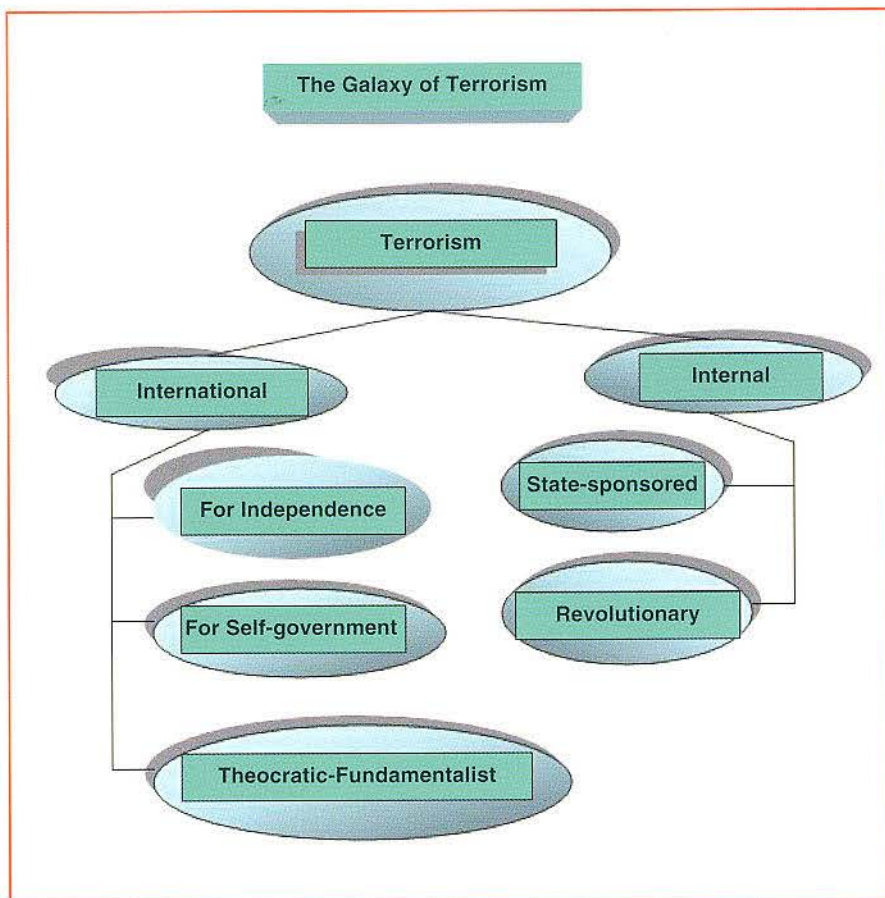
In order to try to understand the cultural background in which – for example – the Islamic terrorism or, more precisely, fundamentalism, develops, one must go back to the origins of Islam, to which Moslems always refer whenever a reform is desired. They go back to the beginning of the 18th Century when *Adb al Wahab*, a wise and learned man, in Arabia, started to preach a doctrine, very strict as regards

moral conduct, which had already been professed in the 14th Century by another wise man, *Ibn Taymya*; a doctrine that prohibited shaving and the use of alcohol and tobacco.

In 1740, *Adb al Wahab* meets Emir *Ibn Saud* in the desert and they conclude the pact of making God's word reign and be respected by any means, not so much in order to convert the unbelievers, but rather to re-Islamise the Arabs. The meeting is celebrated in the emblem of Saudi Arabia: two crossed swords under a palm tree.

Despite the blows received, international terrorism has launched attacks in various parts of the world and succeeded in achieving its main goal: i.e. spread terror and force the Western Countries to invest considerable amounts of money to conduct a battle which, besides having to effectively guarantee a system for controlling the territory and the population, requires, together with the support of intelligence and anti-terrorism organizations, also an appropriate moderation and steadiness in fighting the enemy through actions that should be carefully studied, because they could be misinterpreted as terrorism, with the risk of triggering off another form of terrorism, that could be even premeditated, called "State-sponsored terror". A terror which, in the name of security, would limit the people's freedom of thought and movement, with controls, visas and authorizations. This is precisely the way through which terrorism and State-terror manage to destabilise society, making the citizen's life difficult and precarious.

With regard to this, Father Ignacio Martin-Barò, on the occasion of a congress held in California in November 1989, presented a very significant report on "The psychological consequences of political terror".



The presentation gives a very accurate definition of terrorism; to disregard it would be very risky indeed, and would make the fight against terror completely useless.

Noam Chomsky, in his book titled "Deterring Democracy", published by Hill and Wang, New York, in 1992, gives a brief summary: *...Martin Barò has underlined several important points. First of all, the most notable form of terrorism is by far the State-terror, which aims at terrorising the entire population through actions carried out by the forces of the State...Second, this type of terrorism is an essential part of a socio-political project imposed by certain governments.*

The possible strategic alliance between terrorism and State-terror can be considered a form of symbiosis ensuring mutual advantages on the plane of the possible political objectives (and

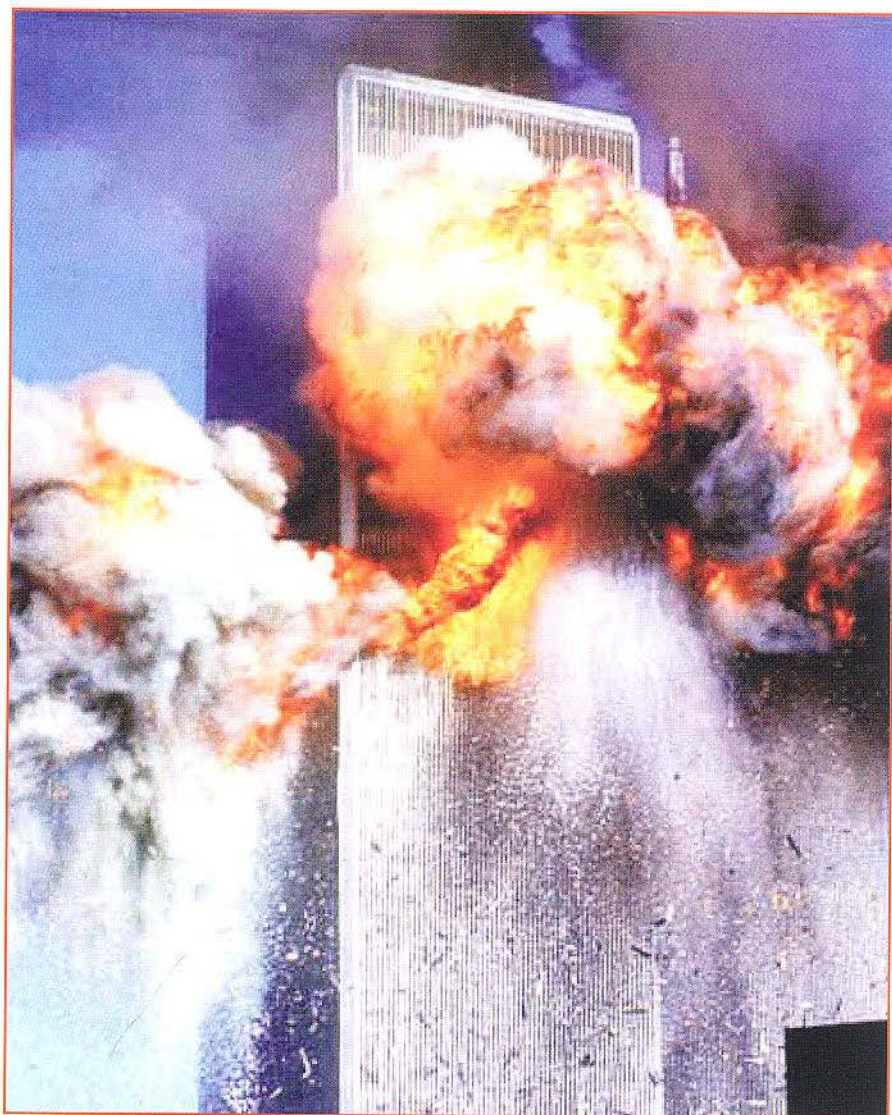
not only) pursued by the enemies of democracy and liberty.

THE ATTACKS' SPECTACULARITY IN THE COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

The fight against terrorism has produced considerable results but they are not enough to proclaim its final defeat.

According to American appraisals, some leaders of terrorist organizations, such as Al Qaeda, have been killed or captured together with a few thousand terrorists, about six hundred of whom are detained in Guantanamo, Cuba, at the Camp David military base.

However, these estimates do not contribute to the improvement of the general security picture, at least until the brain of the terrorist organization is destroyed, and this implies a



thorough knowledge of the enemy. We should not forget that terrorism hides behind a cultural substratum, a religious (or rather theoretic-fundamentalist) identity, with which the moderate and tolerant part of Islam has nothing to do.

This is one of the main problems that face the American end international intelligence: it is not so important to find the enemy, what counts is to know and interpret him in every psychological, behavioural and cultural detail, in order to avert any possible terrorist action.

For example, many aspects of Islamic terrorism are well known, since unfortunately, in the past years, some terrorist

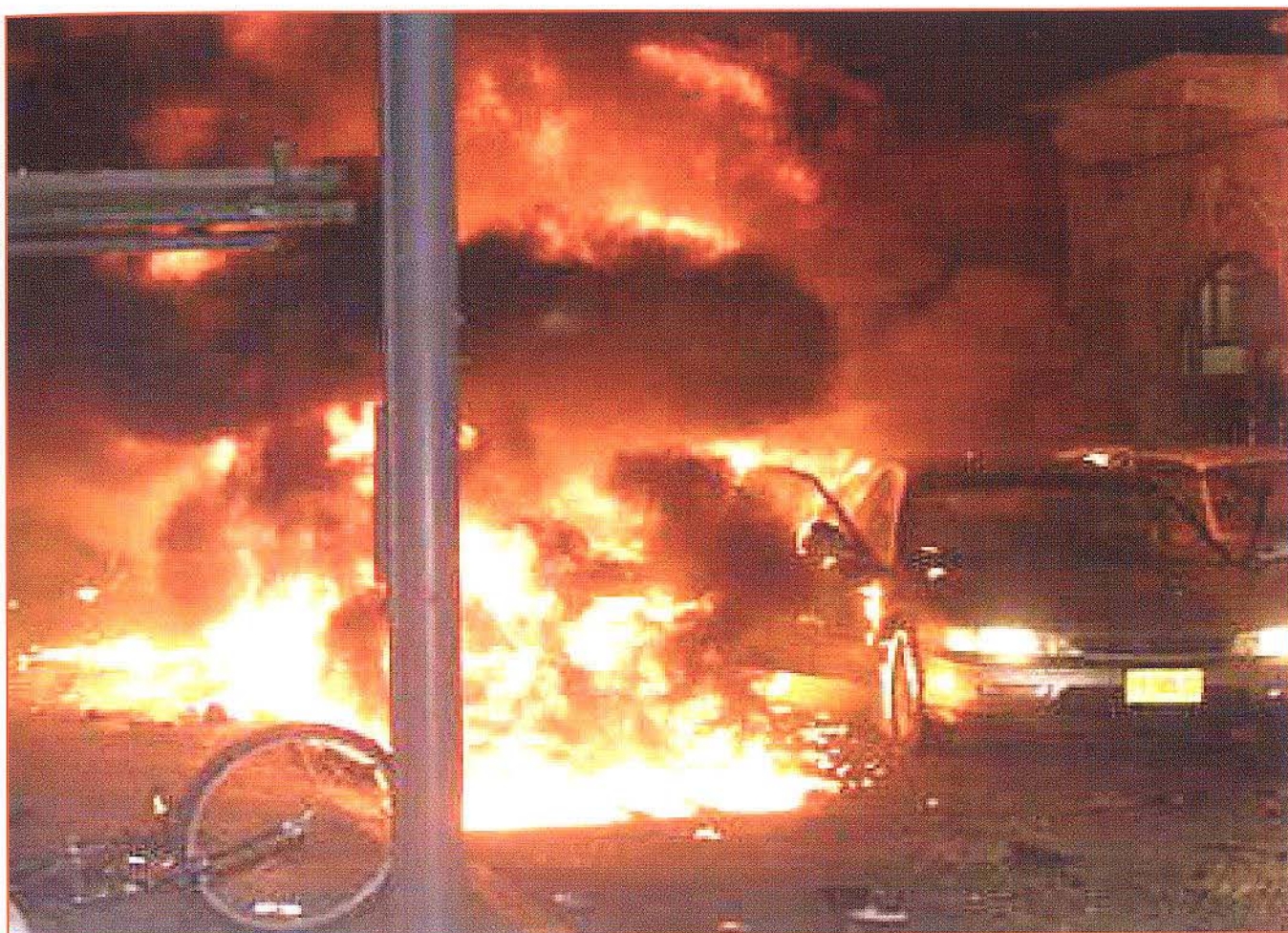
attacks have been carried out: in 1992, in Yemen, near Aden, against the U.S. troops on their way to Somalia; in 1993, in New York, against the World Trade Center; in 1998, in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, where more than two hundred people died and more than five thousand were injured.

But none of these attacks can be compared with that of September 11, 2001, because in the U.S. history, if one excludes the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, of December 7, 1941, the American territory had never been violated so brutally, both for the spectacularity of the attack and the number of victims.

Precisely the spectacularity of the attack is a weapon of terrorist propaganda, a psychological weapon whose effects are amplified by the news and images spread all over the world through the media and by radio, television and internet, causing other victims besides those made by the attack.

On the one side dead and wounded, on the other the emotional victims caused by the psychological impact of a fear which, besides striking the collective imagination, works like an ice blade that tears the senses down to the bottom of conscience, creating anxiety and instability within a public formed by ever more fragile and vulnerable people, not only from the security point of view, but also from that of physical and emotional resistance to stress, pain and fear.

The more is the terrorist action violent and tragic, the greater is the communication impact which, in its turn, amplifies the demand for further information and explanations which, if not appropriately controlled, classified, filtered and confirmed, can create chaos. The risk is to unintentionally play into the hands of terrorism, publicizing it and fostering a form of insecurity which must be considered an unwanted collateral effect of the sacred right to information, sanctioned by all democracies. This negative result does not come from a bad management of information but from the inappropriate use of the media-representation consisting of photos, images and symbols, all within the context of the delicate situation prevailing after a grievous attack. Luckily the media now understand this concept and the terrorist attack on March 11, 2004 in Madrid was not as amplified by the media as had been the case with 9/11. As a matter of fact, we all noticed that the spreading of photos and



images about the attack against the Spanish capital was limited.

Therefore the use of information in emergency situations must offset the amplification of the effects of the terrorist acts that the media, compelled to react to the urgings of the communication market, have a natural tendency to make. This fact is very important today, since the modern society of "Information Technology is now more organized and therefore more vulnerable to the effect of communications and terrorist actions.

Terrorism, particularly the international one, has long been aware of the fact that information and communication techniques are a form of power, not only ideological, economic and military but also political; if one of the main objectives of terrorism is political, obviously the

future terrorist attacks will follow a complex strategy, based also – or mainly – on communications, passively exploiting the channels of news broadcast in general; "passively", because terrorism draws from these channels a welcome and free publicity.

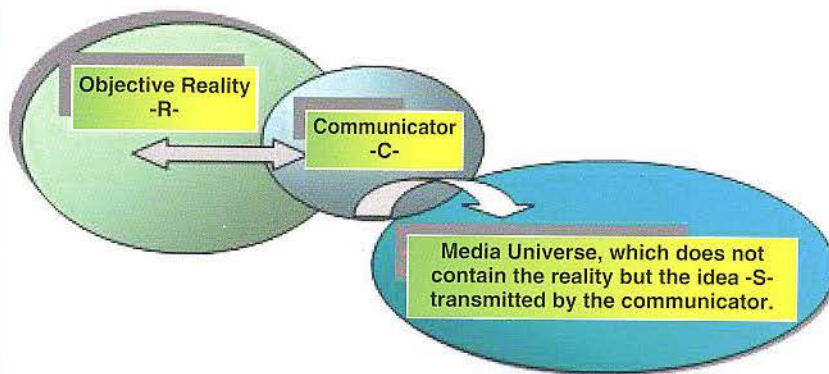
An attack is in itself an objective reality as regards its physical aspect, such as destruction, dead, wounded, but the communication of the news and its representation by the media are, on the contrary, psychologically subjective realities connected, for example, with anger and grief. These are emotions that, in their turn, could be manipulated by hidden powers, concealed behind the slaughterers, in order to determine certain political orientations and decisions already planned not by the executors of the attack, but by the brains of the organization.

At this point, a spontaneous question arises: if there are hidden powers, what are the structures of the organization that can profit by terrorism? As Seneca said: *He who profits most by a crime is the main suspect*. Who is then the main suspect?

One could try to identify him by reflecting on the way of planning certain strategies employed in the fight against terrorism.

Well, if these strategies are based on rhetoric and ineffective statements like "We don't negotiate with terrorists, we eliminate them", they can have the indirect effect of encouraging them.

Terrorism strikes inside the cities, not so much because they are densely populated by potential victims, but because there is more concentration of journalists and TV cameras that can inform the whole world of the results of the attacks.



The diagram shows that the Communicator, by placing himself between the Objective Reality and the Public (recipient of the information), does not transmit the real content of the Objective Reality, but the apparent and subjective content of a certain idea, which distorts the real meaning, thus manipulating and using the perception and view of the facts.

Therefore there is the alarming hypothesis that identifies in terrorism's direct or indirect exploitation the pretext for justifying certain actions. This hypothesis is considered in an essay by Michael Rivero titled "Fake Terror: The Road to Dictatorship". The author maintains that *"terrorism is the oldest stratagem in history and goes back to ancient Rome; it creates the enemy that one needs. The strategy is simple and consists in provoking crisis situations in order to have recourse to the desired solution"*.

These crisis situations are made known by the media and used by special information circuits which are in a position to manipulate and exploit them for a certain type of propaganda, aimed at emphasizing some aspects of terrorism that would be better if kept hidden, as we are going to see later on.

THE COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES

Now, in order to understand the importance of the concepts expressed above and thus go thoroughly into them, one should describe briefly the communica-

tion techniques such as, for example, the analyses and methods employed to elaborate, or better to mould, information.

The term *information* means to give form to its contents, which includes data, news, symbols and images coming from different sources and transmitted in writing or orally.

The first great historical civilizations, the Chinese and Egyptian ones, were based on the written word, on information-communication. In particular the Chinese, who have remained traditionalists

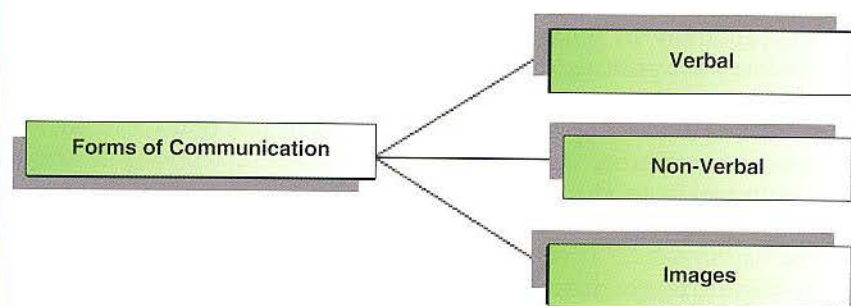
throughout the millennia, have maintained that characteristic.

The power of information-communication is immense, but depends on the dual aspect of human nature. In fact, it can be used for good or evil. Therefore if, as we said, to inform means "to give form", at the same time the organization of the form can be oriented towards the exploitation-manipulation of data and facts, in order to achieve a goal, either good or bad. This concept has been well understood by the ideologists of terrorism and State-terror.

The scheme for organizing the exploitation-manipulation is rather simple: the members of the general public are very rarely eyewitness of events in their objective reality (R); these facts are normally reported by someone who, by using or capitalizing on the media (TV, radio, press, internet) intervenes, as communicator (C), between the real facts and the recipient of the message (or news) contained in the information, i.e. the public.

But, to do that, C must shape and elaborate the facts several times, explain them and sometimes submit them to the supervision of occult "directors".

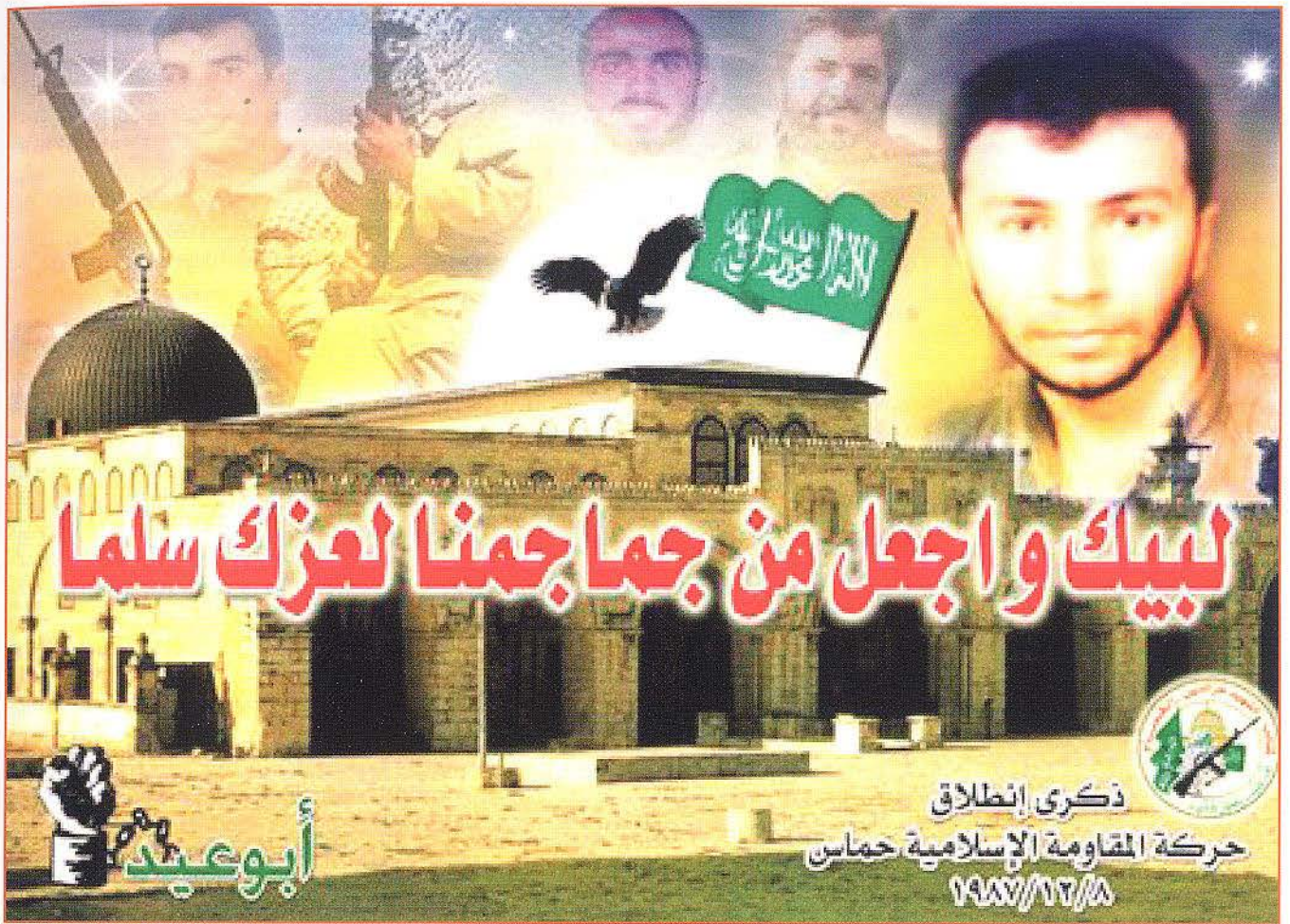
This is the neutral level of the



Verbal Communication: messages of content, such as radio-television media

Non-verbal Communication: messages of relation, such as press, fax and e-mail.

Visual Communication: visual messages (images and photos)



manipulation, which could be compared to a two-sided coin, where one side is inevitably constituted by the personality of the communicator (C), his ideas and the object of his persuasion.

In selecting the subjects or the most important aspects of information, any communicator becomes the creator of the desired form of the message: to the recipient of the message or news contained in the information he does not transmit the reality, but rather the idea (S) that he has made up by manipulating the information.

In some cases this manipulation or, more precisely, exploitation-manipulation, becomes inevitable and spontaneous. For example, just think of the rigorous, cold, clean contents of a data-bank. Well, even this has been "warmed up" at the time of processing, since those who

worked on it were human beings. We all know about the manipulation of statistical data which are apparently objective but become subjective and oriented when they are aggregated and presented.

It is easy to sense the extent of the spaces open to information when exploitation-manipulation is concerned. The use of certain adjectives and audio-visual images can change the sense of the whole communication.

Propaganda has always worked on this basis, and it is not by chance that this method is systematically used by the totalitarian regimes, where the form of terrorism called State-terror is widespread.

Another vast sector where information is widely employed is that of publicity. But here the recipient of the message is not a passive subject, because he is a

human being and as such has his own ideas, feelings, emotions, tastes, judgements and preferences.

He reacts to the exploited-manipulated information with his intellectual and emotional patrimony, producing new ideas, concepts, trends and ways of thinking and acting. This explains why sometimes a flow of information generates effects and results different from those pursued by the strategists of communication and propaganda.

If we keep in mind that every day, in the whole world, more than seven hundred million copies of newspapers are printed and that there is an equal number of television sets, we can realize how enormous is the avalanche of information that falls incessantly on the public. No doubt that there are areas of greater concentration as well as



title "Wrong is Right" sounds like a warning of alarming topicality, if we consider the error made by the intelligence agencies in disregarding some "messages in a bottle" of remarkable social clout that can help to understand, and therefore foresee, not so much "when", but "where" the terrorist threat could strike in all probability (3).

But beware, because "where" is not the exact geographical spot, as experts in neuro-linguistics may point out, but rather its representation, which is nonetheless a system formed by structural elements deriving from behavioural patterns connected with any sensorial activity, from hearing to sight, but also formed by sensation, thought and therefore communication.

This is the reason why the analysis of facts and stories about terrorism as told by media, literature and cinema could help to understand what, as regards the present, past and future phenomenon, is in the mind not only of the simple, innocent and honest authors and scriptwriters, but can also concern persons familiar with certain socio-cultural circles, who are probably more experienced than the general public in those complexities and social evolutions.

The mentioned example of the film "Mortal Objective" means that it was possible to know the future event, which was anticipated back in 1982 and unfortunately occurred in September 11, 2001. We should remember that the ideas of the authors of books, films and articles can be included and employed in a cognitive sphere with a very wide range of interests which include the civil-private-industrial sector, the sector of the partially military-public marketing and that of security and intelligence. The latter characterizes two special professions, the analysts and the

rarefied areas, but in the end we can see that the attention of all mass-media is focused on some fundamental subjects.

As far as we could see, all the world followed the attack on the Twin Towers, in New York, on September 11, 2001: an event which produced an emotional wave that involved the entire mankind, regardless of race, religion and culture, as if the dramatic occurrence of the aircraft's crash had been literally guided by remote control.

Terrorism not only uses the media, but can also be put into practice and represented on them. Let us be careful not to create dangerous misunderstandings, because when we say "on the media" and not "by the media" we exclude any connivance of the media that ensure an honest information.

The universe of information-communication includes also the area of entertainment and culture in general, and also in this area can terrorism be exercised and represented. Just think of the message conveyed by the media representations of the images contained in a film or

a novel, whose plot can anticipate by years a dramatic event like a terrorist attack.

It is true that the threats made by these representations are not immediate, but still they hide a phenomenon connected with the hypodermic principle of communication (2), which is not automatic, in that it conceals a timing device capable of transforming into a real event the idea or the message contained in the plot of a film or novel.

A tangible example comes in fact from literature. The scheme of a spectacular attack on New York's Twin Towers can be found in the plot of the American picture "Mortal Objective", filmed in 1982, interpreted by Sean Connery and inspired by the novel "Wrong is Right" by Richard Brooks, who in his turn had got the idea from Charles Mc Carry's book "The Better Angel".

The author had connected Islamic terrorism with a dreadful attack in New York, starting precisely from those symbolic skyscrapers, which at the time were the highest in the world.

On the other hand, the novel's

experts in scenarios who, also here in Italy, are indispensable for creating a profitable synergy between intelligence and media, which would lead to a new and quite innovative branch called "mediaence", to which we shall go back later.

The operators of "mediaence", according to Robert Reich, are specialists in symbols and images, and have the appropriate knowledge for identifying, solving and mediating the problems, not only through the manipulation, but also through the interpretation of figures, dates and words and therefore of any form of oral, symbolic and literal representation.

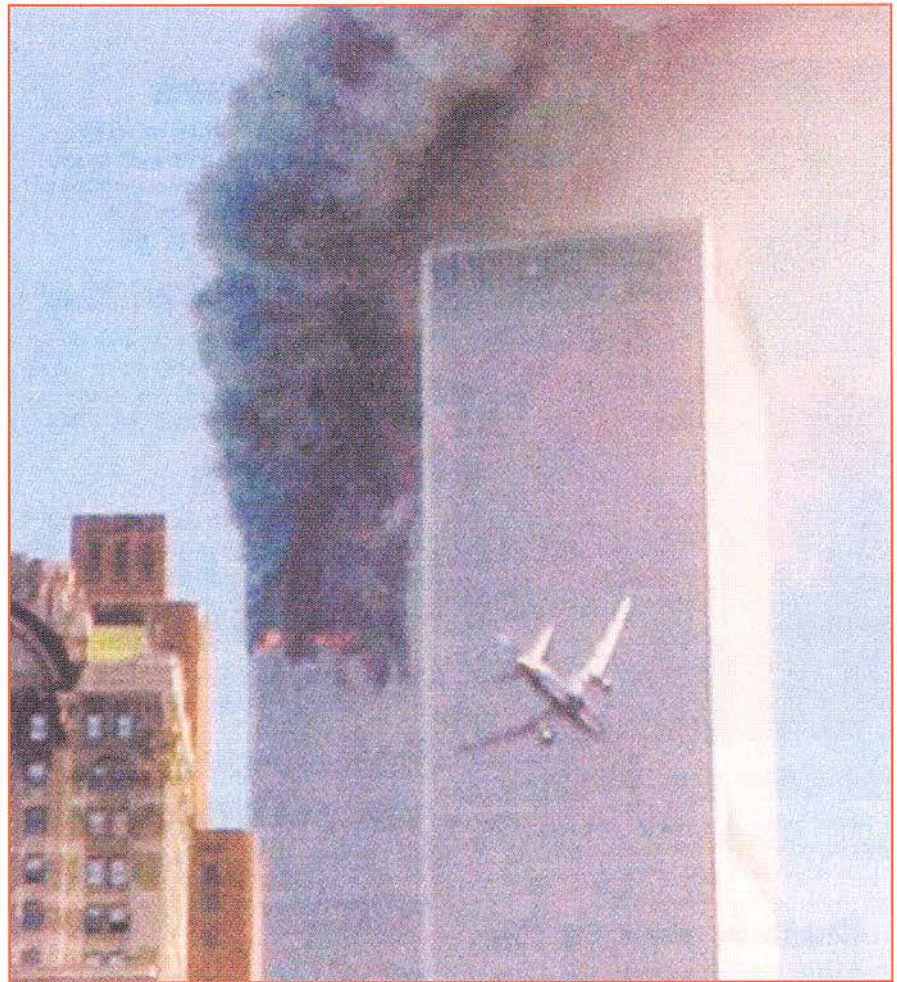
In addition, we should remember that all the possible facets of "giving form" – namely information through the media – condition both "acting" and "being". It is impossible to disregard this, and the terrorists perceive it clearly when they try to spread their messages through media and propaganda.

THE PROPAGANDA OF TERRORISM

The possible connection between terrorism and propaganda may include three different situations: terrorism can use the media by applying two distinct strategies: passive or active; terrorism can strike or be struck through the media; terrorism can exploit the communication techniques applied to various forms of propaganda.

As regards the first situation, we have already mentioned the passive strategy aimed at a kind of passive exploitation of the media, making use of the publicity that the terrorist event obtains from the inevitable propagation of the news.

For terrorism the spectacular destruction of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center represented the greatest and free-of-



charge ad, broadcast again and again by the televisions of the whole world.

The message contained in those dramatic images was clear and concise: *"it can be done and it works"*. If we consider the assessments on Islamic terrorism made by the networks, we can understand how the good advertising result achieved marks the beginning of new phases of aggression, whose scale is the first step towards a future escalation of violence. It will be characterized by increasingly brutal attacks, capable of causing hundreds of victims with conventional weapons – see March 11, 2004, which was a direct consequence of September 11, 2001 – and up to several thousands by using weapons of mass destruction.

The active strategy is very different, because it envisages the

possibility of creating and exploiting special information networks. This was the case with *Aginter Press*, an international press agency founded in Lisbon, Portugal in September 1966. In the mid seventies it was disclosed that the agency was really a cover-up for activities aimed at collecting, classifying, analysing and manipulating information to be successively employed, not only on the ideological plane for spreading anti-communist propaganda, but also at technical level to plan guerrilla warfare in operations and terrorist actions, for the destabilization of pro-Marxist governments in some African Countries.

The second situation derives from a twofold observation: terrorism can strike – and be stricken – through the media. Well, the expression "can strike"



emphasizes the threat against the media or, more precisely, against the professional figure of the investigative journalist whose enquiries could get results that could be useful for fighting terrorism.

As a matter of fact, the information gathered or produced through the analysis of facts and situations could be a destabilizing element for the terrorist organization if, on the investigative plane, a close cooperation were established between media and intelligence (we can define it "mediaence"), since both consider information a precious raw material with which to work. The former, i.e. the journalists, in order to publish news items of public interest, the latter, i.e. the experts and the intelligence operators, in order to guarantee the citizens' security and respect for the democratic institutions through actions of prevention and opposition carried out by transforming information into knowledge.

The intelligence activity, just like antiterrorism, can neither be photographed nor described and, for this reason, the media

only provide one-way information, concentrating their attention especially on terrorism. This attention should not be focused on the single attack, with large spaces given on papers and on radio and tv news, but rather on the hidden sides of terrorism, on the voluntary suicides (who are not voluntary at all), on the repentant former terrorists who, after a long time in jail, realize how wrong and useless their cause was, thus dissociating themselves from terrorism.

In this way the media could provide, although indirectly, a support useful for the antiterrorist activity, making the hidden aspects of this particular war more visible to that part of the people who, owing to their socio-cultural origin, are more receptive and responsive to such issues and who, in their turn, from passive news-consumer subjects would become active, informed, and perhaps informing, subjects, because they would be involved in the process of news elaboration and analysis, pointing out signs, hypotheses and proposing questions to be

subsequently studied in detail by agencies and organizations, such as, for example, the Centre of High Studies for Fighting Terrorism and Political Violence, an institution which has probably no equal in Italy.

Clearly these considerations may be dangerous, and some investigative journalists have paid their inquisitiveness with their life, because they had transformed the information into a weapon aimed at terrorism.

A thorough examination of the third situation is much more difficult: terrorism can exploit the communication techniques applied to the various forms of propaganda.

At this point we ought to specify the communication techniques employed and, above all, what type of propaganda they are associated with. These techniques require a specific know-how about neuro-linguistic programming and analysis. We are not going to investigate in depth these matters here and shall just say that they are indispensable for an effective elaboration of the different forms of propaganda diffused before and after the terrorist attack in order to claim responsibility for it, thus drawing the attention of media and public.

The study and analysis of the form to be given to the message is based on the knowledge of the characteristics of the recipients, i.e. those groups of individuals or social classes whose culture, knowledge and emotions are most suited to receive, absorb and understand its contents.

The message, in its turn, reflects the ideological characteristics of the terrorist organization, suitable, for example, for the anti-imperialist propaganda of the politico-subversive and anti-West groups of Islamic terrorism.

In every form of propaganda we can find ideological elements of refusal of any political or cul-



tural reform, a refusal exploited through uncertainty and fear.

Let us consider, in this regard, the anti-West propaganda diffused by Islamic terrorists. It appeals to the most traditionalist recesses of the Islamic culture, taking advantage of the sense of fear born as a consequence of an inevitable confrontation and future integration with the Western civilization.

And precisely the Western civilization, whose technological progress is at the basis of modernization, unintentionally contributes to nurture the phenomena of refusal which are exploited by the by the fundamentalists.

The propaganda against the West is studied and devised around the differences between the identity and culture of the

two civilizations. Clearly the Islamic civilization, grown for centuries on a rural and pastoral pattern, when faced by the technological Western civilization is bewildered and turns to extreme forms of religion going back to the origins of Islam.

Another element is the sense of frustration coming from the memory of the old times, when Islam, at the peak of its expansion and dominion, was the example of a winning civilization that could afford to take in the culture of the conquered peoples.

Today the situation is reversed, and made even more complicate by the fact that Islam has never been monolithic, but is varied in its divisions. The main one is that between Shi'ites and Sunnites, not counting the

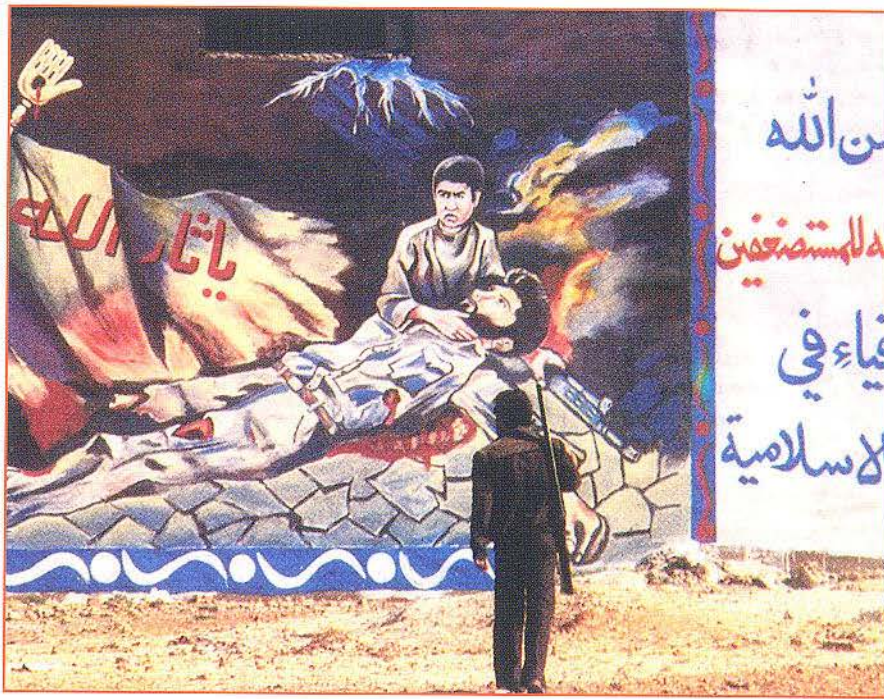
others which concern various rites, such as Malekites, Hanafites, Shiafites and Hanbalites. Therefore, even if there is only one Koran, there are different currents of interpretation which share with the fundamentalists the fear of seeing the downfall of traditions and cultural models.

The same fear is used by terrorism as a double-edged weapon: on the one side as a psychological deterrent which contributes to create instability through the strong and violent signals contained in the slaughtering practice of the attacks, on the other as an indispensable ingredient of the anti-West propaganda against all forms of progress, modernization and democracy, to the advantage of poverty and authoritarianism, which breed that sense of deep humiliation exploited by terrorism.

Finally, it is important to distinguish the three fundamental types of propaganda: *white*, which utilizes facts and observations containing some truth; *grey*, which uses news that are partially both true and false; *black*, which employs news that are completely false, but very important for stirring up feelings in the desired direction.

The propaganda's message is spread thanks to the modern computer technologies and also through the web. This type of "cyberspace propaganda" is now used by the Middle East terrorists. A short visit to the site of the Izz-Adin Al-Qassam Brigades, connected with Hamas, is enough to see hundreds of posters praising terrorist actions, with symbolic representations and images studied by communication experts.

These experts have introduced in the posters the psychological components of the elation of martyrdom, which shines on the face of the terrorist, seen against a background of images with deep and suggestive colours.



In conclusion, all classes of propaganda consider the mind a target much more important than the body. On the other hand, if to strike the mind terrorism relies on propaganda, to hit and destroy the body it must employ real and deadly instruments, such as conventional weapons and, in the future, weapons of mass destruction.

THE TACTICAL EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM

We have seen that the slaughters carried out by the terrorists aim at spreading fear through a sudden and brutal death combined, if possible, with a spectacular attack inevitably diffused by the media.

In order to cause this fear, the act of killing is not always necessary *per se*, but is undoubtedly the most direct way to achieve the objective using conventional instruments of death, such as light arms and explosives.

This type of traditional armament does not require a high level of training and professionalism: what counts is the destructive effect, which is

almost always assured.

Suffice it to remember the 250 French and American servicemen killed in Beirut in 1983 by the explosion of the two truck-bombs, the 235 civilians who lost their lives in 1995 in Oklahoma City in the blast of a van, and the victims of the attack at Nassiriya, Iraq, in 2003.

Terror and death so far have been sown with conventional weapons, but it is precisely the spectacularity and the enormous effects of the attack that worries the antiterrorism analysts, who see in the weapons of mass destruction an instrument capable of achieving that purpose, thus amplifying to the utmost its effects, with very serious physical and psychological consequences.

Certainly the weapons of mass destruction can cause thousands of victims with a single attack, but many difficult technical problems remain unsolved, such as those connected with the type of the industrial processes involved and the modalities of transport and employment.

From this viewpoint, we can say that the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons is much

more likely than that of nuclear devices.

In fact, nuclear weapons are difficult to manage and need appropriately protected spaces, whereas a vial of virus, toxins or nerve gas is much easier to handle and use. In particular, the toxic products of the ex-Soviet *Biopreparat* programme are a cause for concern which is certainly not inferior to that provoked by the nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union.

At the same time, the gathering of information has permitted to develop a variation to the attack from the sky, which could be effected in case of failure of the original plan. For example, the variant envisaged included an underground attack and God knows what else.

Another worry should be added to these logistic and organizational concerns. It comes from the presence of skilled terrorists, who can handle and employ weapons of mass destruction; a mathematician like "Unabomber" and the Al-Qaeda university graduates are typical examples.

The terrorists' violent radicalism betrays a lack of morality and common sense, but not necessarily scarce skill and intelligence. The matter is controversial: some experts cherish the hope that the extremist groups will refrain from using weapons of mass destruction, stressing the fact that terrorists are more interested in having people talk about them than in killing.

Besides the fact that a mass murder is a good subject for conversation, it is very likely that it was the lack of capability, rather than lack of determination, that prevented the number of the victims of terrorism from being higher than that caused by a traditional war. But until when?

Furthermore, we should not forget that the type of weapon reveals the brand of terrorism. For example, computer technolo-

gy is the weapon preferred by terrorist organizations such as the "Armed Phalanx".

This group is rather atypical, considering the technological contents of the instruments employed to achieve certain political objectives through telematic interferences in the data banks of the media and the diffusion of false information processed according to the technique of "black" propaganda, typical of psychological operations.

This type of attacks or, more exactly, terrorist attacks are part of the "Information War" strategy and require measures of prevention and protection for the telematic nets of civilian and military interest.

CONCLUSIONS

The psychological attitude necessary to defeat terrorism must be based on the realization that terrorists, in the modern era of information, look for publicity through propaganda and exploitation of the media universe.

Thus one should oppose this strategy by adopting a "non-violent" model of defence, as proposed by British military scientist Liddell Hart. The ways of implementing this model are numerous (4), but the principle for its application consists in not paying attention to the actions of the enemy.

In our case, this refusal is expressed through a management of information realized by applying an appropriate moderation in amplifying the effects of the terrorist actions. A thing that the media, in response to the demands of the communication market, tend to do.

This moderate management is now very important, because the industrialized societies, owing to their rigid organizational models, are extremely vulnera-



ble to the effects of communications and terrorist actions.

**Professor
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NOTES

(1) Sura: Chapter.

(2) The hypodermic principle of communication or, in general, the "hypodermic theory", deals with the case where each member of a mass public is personally and directly attacked by the message. It is the theory of propaganda, where the mass emphasizes the element of the theory, according to which the individual is isolated and detached.

(3) After the failure of all preventive systems, "Echelon" included, which appeared very clearly on September

11, 2001, the United States set up a sophisticated spying system called "Total Information Awareness" (TIA). Thanks to a very advanced computer net, billions of data can be processed, correlated and analysed in order to extrapolate information that can foretell possible terrorist actions and adopt specific security measures. Adm. John Pointdexter, former National Security Adviser in the Reagan administration and Director of the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), is a TIA supervisor.

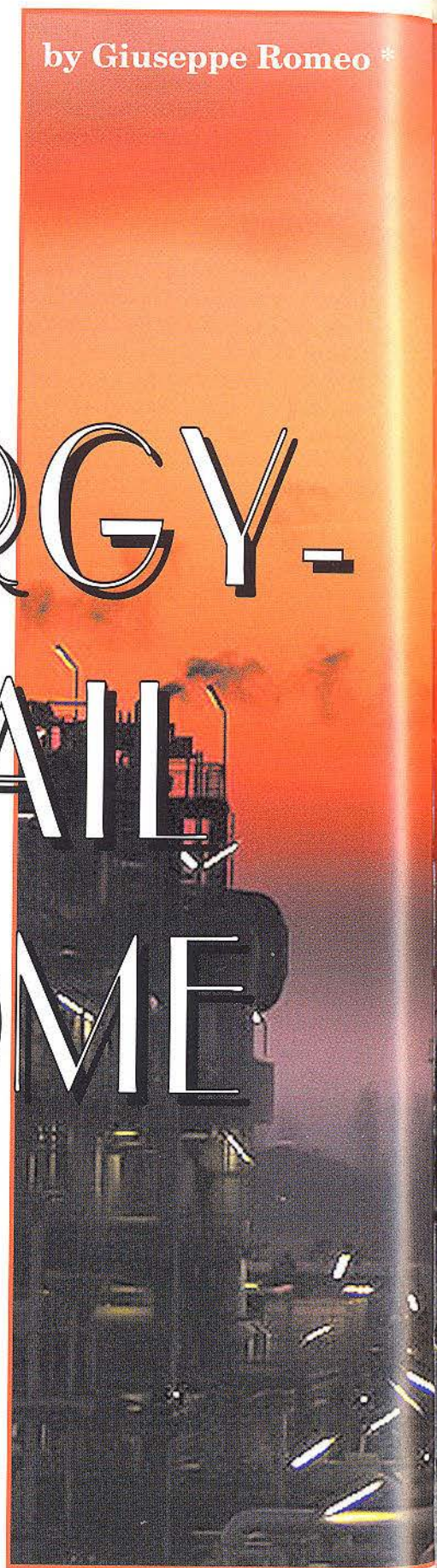
(4) In Italy, the literature about the non-violent defence model – which, let us remember, is an integration and not a replacement of armed defence – is very lacking, and refers to foreign translations, such as those by Gene Sharp in the U.S., King Hall in the U.K. and Mellon Semelin in France.

OIL CRISES ARE OFTEN
INSTRUMENTAL BECAUSE THEY
ARE AN EFFECTUAL MEANS OF
BLACKMAIL AND CAN CONDITION
THE CHOICES OF MANY
COUNTRIES

by Giuseppe Romeo *

THE ENERGY- BLACKMAIL SYNDROME

Energy crises are characterized by periodicity, as they are affected by the geopolitical instabilities of the producing Countries. The Islamic fundamentalist radicalization can complicate the scenarios, putting entire areas at risk of destabilization, together with the danger of a domino effect that could influence the supply policy.







which were necessary for production and marketing. On the other hand, the oil economy, i.e. the process of pumping, refining, transporting and exporting of crude oil, does not create economies of scale, because all its phases are perfectly functional to the production of the final product. The consequence is that without controlling the supply from the very start, there could be a first crisis for the independence of the consumer. This is why the only protection at hand consists in making production undergo a strict regime of management. Especially from the main consumer point of view, this accounts for the shifting of its lines of strategic support. The Western European productive model is strongly connected with the availability of energy resources and a growing domestic oil deficit causes an increase in costs, not only as regards goods but also consumption, and alters the possibilities of access for every social class.

Another consequence is that moving the productive capabilities to areas with a better extracting potential causes a reorientation of priorities towards the mid-central Asian

THE ENERGY POLICY

Oil crises are periodic because they suffer from the political sensitivity of the Arab-Islamic communities, which control more than two thirds of the resources. They are also instrumental, since they are an effectual means for threatening the survival, and for co-opting the wills, of those who cannot do without oil, as is the case with the Western world and China.

The Western political and economical model, in order to survive, must take into account the availability, reserves and suppliers, including those who are politically more distant. The West is aware that the Countries' borders do not coincide any longer with the size or the limits of the political authority on economy and society. In the economy, the unequal distribution of the energy and its sources becomes a decisive variable in order to achieve a balance between the conflicting interests for oil control.

The oil production, not being limited only to the sphere of national production, appears as the largest extension of a production and distribution line. By

ensuring a continuous supply, it realizes a space of transnational support, essential for industrial growth. However, the consequence of such a development is an ever growing consumption of energy. This means that the access to oil gives the possibility of managing a source which is as essential for starting a productive process as it is critical for its direct effects on the market. The goods produced are affected by the cost of the oil and energy





region and the Caspian-Caucasian area. This is a way to reduce the pressure and risk of a blockage of the supplies coming from the countries of the Persian Gulf, by trying to anticipate the future projection of opportunities and the requests of access which will come from those areas where the economies are steadily growing, such as the Indian sub-continent and China.

Taking for granted the character of vertical integration of the processes of production and energy consumption, the resulting scissors-like effect could end up in an attempt to diversify the supply sources. The political variable, i.e. the ability to hold a dialogue with the producing/ supplying Country, represents the critical factor for the definition and the stability of the relations in

the region, ensuring a steady and durable flow and guaranteeing a minimum governability.

OIL AS A POWER FACTOR

It is obvious that the control of the oil flow and of the market is a structural factor of wealth and power. It is interesting to note that since the end of the second Gulf War(1) and up to now, besides the looming terrorist threat, everything happens along intersecting lines of conflict which cross even the borders of the Countries of the middle-Eastern area. That is the reason why the West has a new task in a region where the political formula regains the ground it had lost vis-à-vis the economic reasons. A region where the lines of energy

support mingle with those of the survival of the Western model, which depends more and more on the situation of the producing Countries.

So, despite the economic leadership assumed in the process of markets internationalization and life-model indexation, for the West the availability of energy represents the fear of the future.

This worry is based upon an objective consideration: energy dependence means to limit any chance of being successful as an economic and military power. Energy dependence implies the vulnerability of both the economic and the political system. The Middle-Eastern variable, being so near to the West, remains the most important. The agreement with Russia, and the opening to Moscow of an Atlantic partner-



ship, sealed a coincidence of geopolitic and geo-economic interests. Being shared at present, and possibly also in the future, they aim at limiting the effects of a supply monopoly exercised by the producing Countries of the Gulf region.

The strategic importance of Alaska and the exploitation of Siberia should allow to revive the Russian production system. A pipeline linking these regions would represent a very close connection between Moscow and Washington. It would be an attempt to preserve the economic-military independence of them both, vis-à-vis the emergent powers and the endemic instability of the Middle-East and the middle-Central Asian region.

On the other hand, between international unrest and the struggle against terrorism, the question of energy supply for the developed countries and for those

which are growing economically, changes the geopolitical border of the regions which own the energy wealth and expands the effects of the power diffusion which prevailed after the depolarisation.

All this causes some worries, and consequently determines the political choices of the United States, Canada and Western Europe. Eastern Europe, Russia and Japan are becoming more sensitive to the availability of oil resources and to the risk of depending on the Middle-Central East for the preservation of their economic models.

So there are two possibilities of relationship left to the consumer Countries. The first is the military option, to ensure a significant balance in the critical areas and stabilize the institutional structures. The second is the progressive reduction of the dependence on oil by investing on alternative energies. The first hypoth-

esis is easier as an immediate action. The second is more difficult from an economic point of view, due to the high costs of the technologies concerning renewable and alternative energies, but it grants a durable independence. Those who manage the energy supply have a remarkable power, if we consider that oil has both a real and a psychological cost. And this is what is going to make the difference.

THE LATEST LESSON

The Middle East appears as a space where geopolitics and geoeconomics intersect, showing a high level of systemic complementarity. A mutual dependence in which the energy value, within the relationships of the region, has taken the place of the fear of the nuclear threat, which prevailed during the Cold War, and

lays the basis of "hot" wars, which are asymmetric, composite and more and more aimed at ensuring the control of energy. A competitive system which, within the confrontation, represents a point of contact in the life of the States and an instrument for the regulation of relationships through economic dynamics. By putting together economic reasons and psychological effects, we realize why in the Middle East the energy policy is free from any strategic-tactical technicality and assumes a political interest. A clear signal is given by the sensitivity shown by the world's public opinion, especially the Western one, as regards the nature of the strategy in the energy differential. This is defined by the availability of what is necessary to secure and keep the welfare that has been reached, together with a pacific and democratic future, achieving an independence from need to be

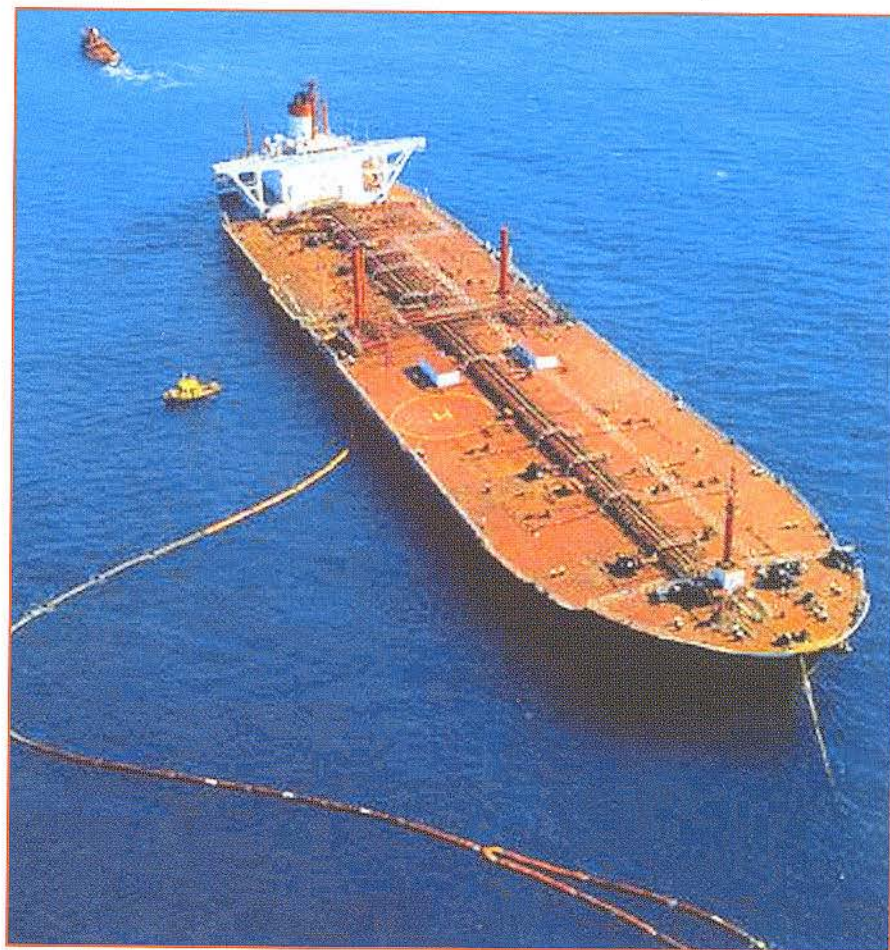
estimated in terms of easy access and competitive costs on the market, avoiding to let one's standard of living depend on somebody else's will.

September 11, the war in Iraq

and March 11 are the events which contributed to the development of a syndrome, this time political and economic, caused by the energy blackmail. If, according to some, one of the strategic goals of al-Qaeda was the control of the oil resources in the Middle East, after the attacks of Riyadh and Madrid this is almost sure, especially if we consider the difficulties concerning the stabilization of Iraq and the sudden rise in oil costs. The actual aim of Osama bin Laden is to topple the governments of the Persian Gulf. This is not fantasy-politics, but rather a clear consequence of his geopolitical role.

He wants to gain credit, in an antagonistic way, as defender of the Arab wealth, in terms of values and resources, according to a neocaliphate-style model. The accusation against the United States of stealing billions of dollars from the producing countries, or his statement that oil could reach the cost of 144 dollars a barrel could make us smile, but if we take into consideration the fact that our living standards depend almost completely on the energy coming from the Gulf, we might shift our attention to that region in order





THE SCENARIO OF TOMORROW

The future scenario depends on the stability of the Islamic legitimacy of Riyadh. Saudi Arabia is the only producing Country capable of introducing in the market, when needed, the quantities of crude necessary to contain any blackmail attempt. It is an ally of the United States and suffers because of its institutional weakness, being a monarchy founded on *Wahhabite* Islamic orthodoxy and, at the same time, bound to the wealth opportunities ensured by the oil exports.

Other variables are the terms of governance within the middle-Eastern autocracies. But the West had already met with these variables, discovering, already in the 1970s, its energy vulnerability. Since then the predominant fear has been represented by the political variable, and this is clear if we look at the internal structures of the producing countries. The risk is an extension of the formula of the Islamic Republic to Saudi Arabia. The danger is a strategic redefinition, in a "neocaliphate" style, of a latent utopia present in the Arab nation, according to Sunni orthodoxy or to the theocracy of the masses attracted by the Shi'ite model. So, in Iraq, with a relationship system undergoing a great crisis, the Shi'ite leadership keeps on putting Teheran again at the centre of the political region of the Gulf. Clearly the Pan-Islamic utopia cannot do without a Saudi Arabian reorientation in institutional terms, evaluating the competitive Sunni variable. A reorientation could grant the future control of the only producing Arab Country able to carry out a flexible policy thanks to its extractive capacity. The only Arab Country that holds in its hands the fate of the world energy supply, and where the Islamic fundamentalism and the terrorist threat are

to understand the actual strategic factor, the relationships in the Middle East area and the West's survival.

The war against Iraq, conducted by the Anglo-American coalition, did not produce scenarios of oil shocks. The Saudi production was not reduced and the agreement with a non-OPEC Country, i.e. Russia, ensured a short-term solution and the chance of intervening in the market by controlling the oil price. The statement made by Saddam Hussein about closing the oil taps created some initial uncertainty and confusion in the world markets. On the other hand, we should not be deceived by the non-occurred shock, which was due to the OPEC will to continue keeping stable the supply and the price of oil. The Arab governments depend on dollars in a vital and important way, just as the West relies on oil. The psychological

impact that the political use of the energy blackmail has had on the Western communities must be considered as an indirect factor of power in the definition of the relational dynamics in the Middle East and in the conduct of relations in the Arab-Islamic world. After Saddam's statement, also Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the Iranian leader, launched a similar appeal, followed by Gaddafi's Libya and the President of the Iranian Parliament, Mohammed Khatami in the phases preceding "Iraqi Freedom". Although no producing Arab country took part in the boycott of oil export, this did not lessen the Arab and Iranian awareness of having at their disposal a factor of outstanding strategic importance. OPEC ensured uninterrupted supplies and so there was no shortage effect. In fact, the boycott of exports is not profitable for anyone.

very strong and deep-rooted. From this standpoint the Shi'ite changeover would come full circle with Teheran's leadership, should the Iraqi Shi'ites turn into a political force.

As a matter of fact, should there be a boycott of oil exports to the West by a producing country belonging to the Persian Gulf area, the blackmail effect would be extremely serious, both in terms of resources availability and of market stability. The situation would stay serious even if Russia intervened. It would be sufficient that some Arab countries took up a challenge to arrive at a systemic chaos and the paralysis of the Western producing model, especially in a moment when the extractive difficulties do not permit to have the alternative represented by the oil fields of Central Asia.

CONCLUSIONS

The risk of a regional redefinition of the internal balances of the countries of the Middle-East and the Persian Gulf cannot but influence the security of the West. The overthrowing of the



Arab governments in favour of a reformist involution of Shi'ite origin, would determine a crisis of the existing fragile balance and start a domino effect that would make it impossible to govern the region. A possible alternative could be a democratic and secular choice for the political communities, a stable democratic situation in Iraq and the creation of political and economic opportunities based on a

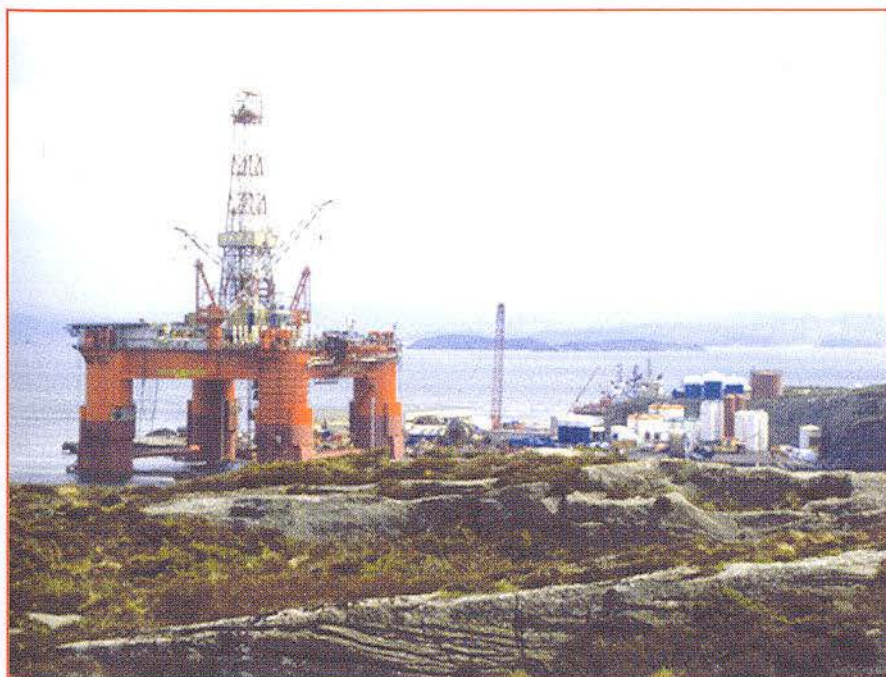
widespread consent, thus isolating all possible attempts of anti-West propaganda. The game would put at stake the West's technological monopoly of the energy resources and turn the Islamic masses away from those who exploit their poverty. This is a basic condition for trying to save human resources from terror and violence, encouraging them to achieve the stabilization of their institutions through an active participation in the modernization process of their communities, without forsaking their identity. If the West follows this path it will succeed in strengthening its socio-economic security.

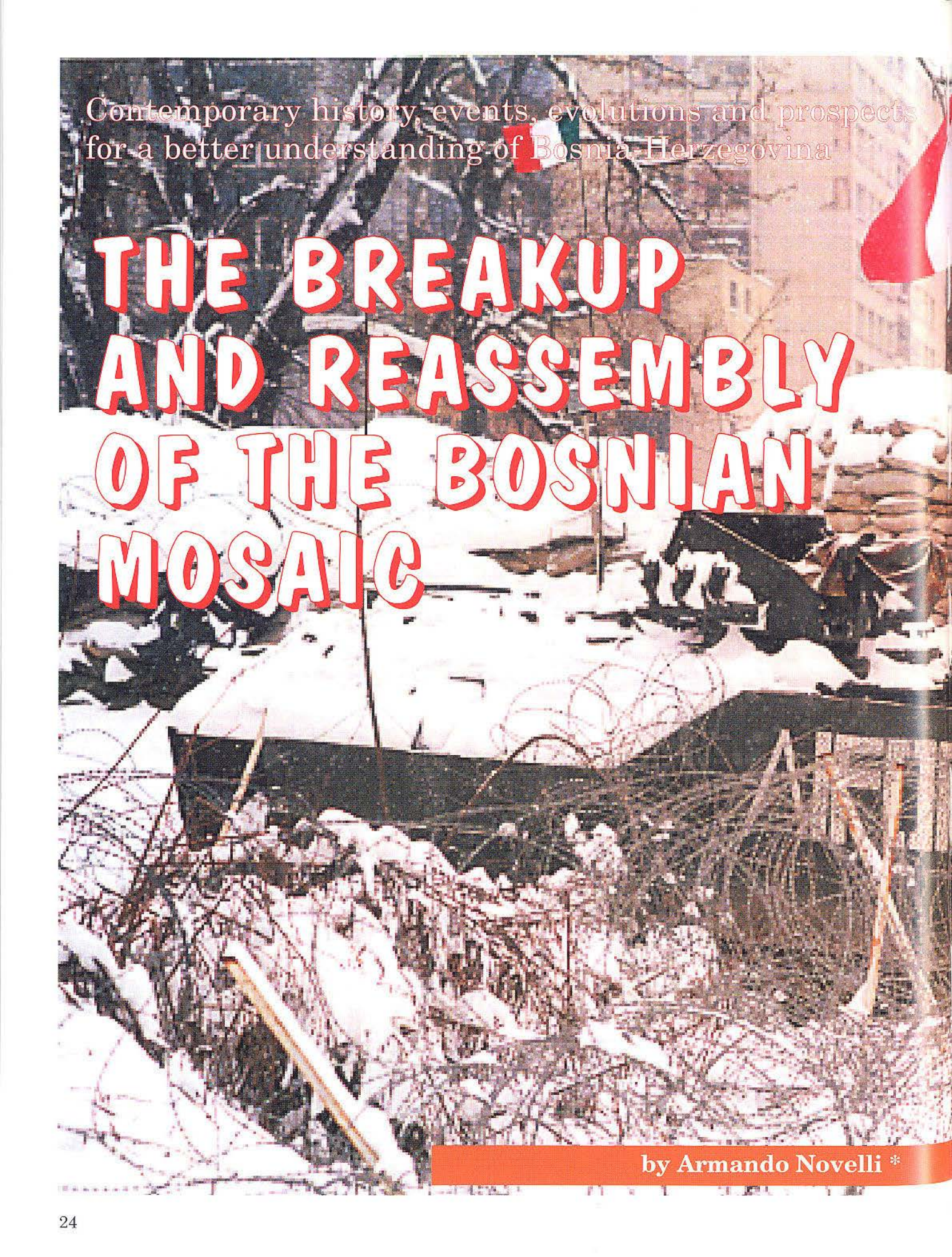
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NOTE

(1) We refer to the war between the Anglo-American coalition and Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Some writers, though, consider the 1980 Iranian-Iraqi conflict the first war in the area. From this point of view, the present war in Iraq would be the third one.





Contemporary history, events, evolutions and prospects
for a better understanding of Bosnia-Herzegovina

THE BREAKUP AND REASSEMBLY OF THE BOSNIAN MOSAIC

by Armando Novelli *



Without going over all the phases which characterized the troubled history of the Bosnian territory, exposed to successive rulers in the course of time (Ottomans, Austro-Hungarians), we ought to sum up briefly the events that affected Bosnia most recently, beginning from the death of Josip Broz "Tito".

During the Second World War he led a partisan movement which, almost only by its own efforts, managed to free the Yugoslav territory from the Italian-German troops and the Croatian and Serb Fascist groups. In the post-war period, he succeeded in uniting a Country, Yugoslavia, which was ethnically very complex, turning it into a Socialist state and, nevertheless, pursuing a policy of autonomy vis-à-vis the superpowers, so much so that he became the leader of the movement of the non-aligned Countries.

In 1980, Tito's death seriously destabilized a situation which was already critical due to the 1974 changing of the constitution along semi-confederal lines (the sixth constitution in thirty years) and to the great economic crisis caused by foreign debt.

The outcome of the 1990 elections, in which the Communist Party had a majority only in Montenegro and Serbia, pointed out the nationalist leanings of the various Yugoslav ethnic "components" and their will to become independent.

The presence of peace forces and the attention of international organizations are still necessary to guarantee the socio-economic development. They have to perform a deterrent role and safeguard the security and development of an area which is trying to revive.

The electoral results gave Croatia, Slovenia and FYROM (Macedonia) the strength to declare their independence, between June and September 1991, causing the intervention of the federal Army in those regions, in order to stop the disintegration of the Federation.

In December 1991, the European Community recognized Slovenia and Croatia, thus giving an international value to the military operations that, in the meantime, had ceased in Slovenia, but

were still continuing in Croatia.

This was the beginning of the events that were going to change the set up of the entire Region.

THE BREAKUP

Obviously also Bosnia-Herzegovina strove for independence, although its domestic situation was quite different from that of Slovenia and Croatia, where the people identified themselves with their State and where

one ethnic group undeniably outnumbered the others.

Bosnia-Herzegovina, instead, was a multi-ethnic and multi-religious state, where the presence of Bosnian, Serb and Croatian factions reduced the state's power of attraction and identification, also because their territorial distribution was patchy.

As regards this country, we could say that Serbs and Croats were not longing for independence as such; actually they were more interested in a





reunion with their “mother” Serbia and Croatia, but this concerned only the Muslims since they were the most significant part of the population (44%).

To them, Bosnia-Herzegovina was, and still is, the only possible homeland.

They were the most interested in setting up a multi-ethnic state, as they did not have external references and feared that an only-Muslim State within Bosnia-Herzegovina would be too small, too frail and economically too weak to survive among surrounding countries which were stronger and driven by ancient hatred for anything that could be traced back to the Turkish rule.

So the Muslims had to bet all their cards on the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious federation, and, in order to reach their goal, had to join forces with another ethnic group: the Croatsians.

Therefore a referendum was called on the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it was boycotted by the Serbs (31% of the

population), although its result was destabilizing, as 99% of the voters were in favour.

It was March 1, 1992. On April 5 the Serbs laid siege to Sarajevo and in the following weeks they got control of other towns, such as Foca, Visegrad and Zvornik.

On April 6, as a reaction, they proclaimed the independence of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with Pale as its capital.

This was the beginning of the war, which was declared by the Bosnian authorities on June 24, with an appeal to the United Nations and a request for the use of force against Serbia.

From that moment, the fight among factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina increased.

Mixed formations of federal troops and paramilitary groups attacked and took over the most crucial road junctions and the strategically important small towns. Soon the conflict became widespread and involved the whole Country, with Muslims, Serbs and Croatsians fighting one another in order to assert their

own ethnic, political and religious identity by force of arms.

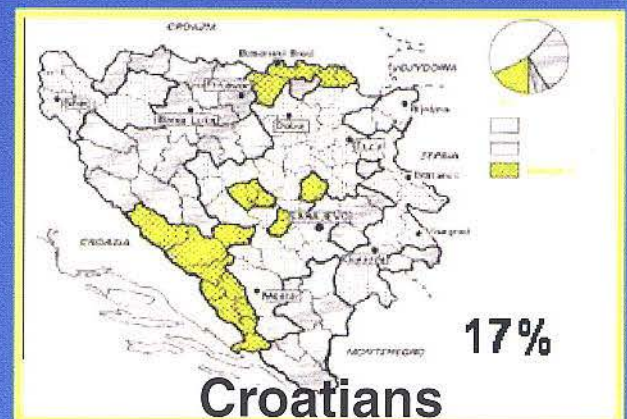
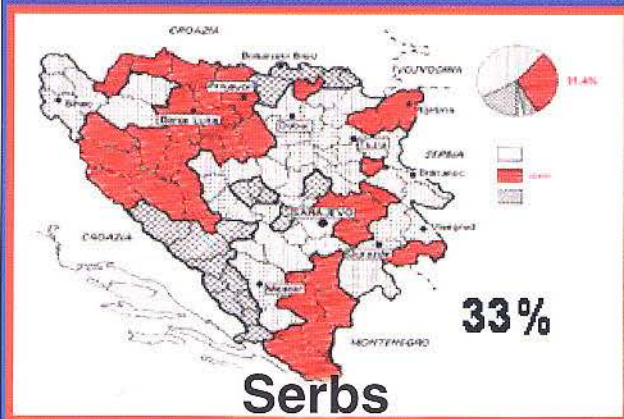
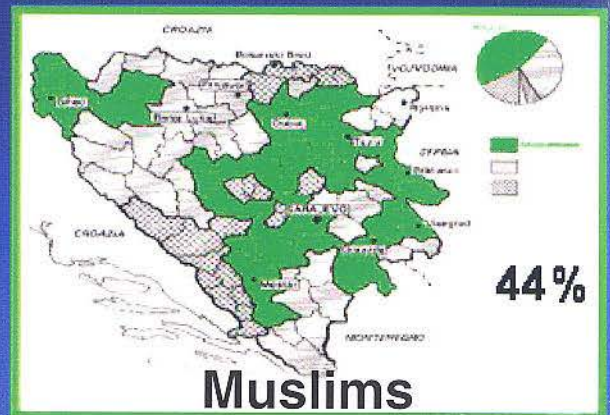
Contrary to what it had done in the past, the Federal Army Command left only symbolic forces in the town barracks, moving the main body of the troops to well-organized camps on the hills surrounding the main towns or near important road junctions.

From these positions, and with the help of the Serb “territorials”, they could terrorize the Muslim and Croatian communities.

The encounters were bloody and often broke the rules of international law, being studded with episodes of genocide and ethnic rape, and between 1992 and 1995 caused the death of hundreds of thousands of people (about 290,000 between dead and missing) among the local population, and about 2,200,000 refugees.

In addition to the tragic disintegration of the social fabric, the war actually froze the Bosnian economy. In 1995 the per capita annual income, about 500 dollars, was a fourth of that of 1990. 45%

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION



of the industries were destroyed and the production of electric energy suffered an 80% decrease. 18% of the houses were completely destroyed and 63% severely damaged.

The water system and the road network were seriously crippled, and the effects were going to last for a long time: still in 1998 a great percentage of the population depended on humanitarian assistance for food supplies, most of the territory was mined and telecommunications were only partially reactivated.

THE INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION

The intervention of the International Community was

immediate, and already in 1992 many attempts were made to reassemble the Bosnian puzzle which had been definitively shattered by the war. The UN, in particular, started many projects.

On February 21, 1992, the Security Council approved Resolution 743 for the dispatch of the UNPROFOR (*United Nation Protection Force*) Contingent, with the task of ensuring the stability in the three UNPAs (*United Nations Protected Areas*), in Western and Eastern Slavonia, and in the region of the Dinaric Alps (Krajine).

In April 1992, the first peace-keeping troops arrived in Croatia and soon after, on May 30, the Security Council imposed also economic sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro (Resolution 757).

In June, a French contingent was authorized to control the Sarajevo airport (Resolution 758) and in October a "no-fly zone" was established over the whole Bosnian territory (Resolution 781).

As regards UNPROFOR, it should be underlined that while the contingents that were operating in Krajine and in Slavonia could, in most cases, carry out their classic duty of interposition and garrison of buffer zones between the parties which had signed and accepted a "cease-fire", those that had to guarantee the stability in the UNPAs were constantly involved in a series of violent fights between the opposing parties, with continuous "cease-fires" that were signed and regularly broken the next day.



As a matter of fact, the tasks of these UN forces were extremely difficult because there was no real contact line, and progressively they found themselves practically under siege, with very little freedom of movement, so much so that they were exclusively and passively garrisoning some areas.

In 1995, UNPROFOR was a considerable complex of forces amounting to about 40,000 "Blue Helmets", from as many as 40 Countries (the United States, Great Britain, Pakistan, France, Russia, Sweden, Turkey, Canada, Malaysia and Jordan among them). They ensured the supply of humanitarian assistance to the besieged populations, but could not prevent the well-known massacres. To mention just one of them: Srebrenica.

Italy was not among the Countries engaged because it had decided not to participate for historic-political reasons, but also in compliance with a UN rule, which does not envisage the participation of neighbouring Countries, since they might act out of self-interest.

In parallel with the land operations, there were also naval and air activities. In particular, I refer to the NATO/WEU "Sharp Guard" naval operation, and to the NATO "Sky Monitor", "Deny Flight" and "Deliberate Force" air operations.

Operation "Sharp Guard" assembled several missions, carried out under NATO/WEU aegis, in order to enforce the embargo decided by the UN Security Council.

During Operation "Deny Flight" (which started on April 12, 1993) NATO engaged American, French, British, German, Turkish, Greek, Danish, Spanish and Belgian aircraft to prevent flights over the air space of Bosnia-Herzegovina, aiming in particular at stopping the Serbian flight activity.

After more than 100,000 sorties, the operation ended on December 20, 1995.

Finally, Operation "Deliberate Force" developed between August 30 and September 14, 1995 and involved American, British, French, Dutch, Spanish, Turkish,

Italian and German aircraft which attacked the Command and Control system, the Serbian-Bosnian gun emplacements and the industrial targets near the "Safe Areas", in order to neutralize them.

This operation coincided with the Croatian counteroffensive from the Krajine, which determined a stressing operational situation for the Serbs, which forced them to accede to the Dayton Agreement.

THE REASSEMBLING

The Dayton Agreement

As from August 1995, Holbrooke, the American envoy, intensified his diplomatic activity, whose most important events occurred on:

- September 8. In Geneva, the Foreign Ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia subscribed a document which provided for mutual recognition, the observance of the existing borders of

Bosnia-Herzegovina and the constitution of a State which was to be based on the union between two entities: a Croatian-Muslim Federation and a Serbian republic. The agreement was confirmed in New York on September 26;

- September 14. The Serbian-Bosnians signed an agreement for the withdrawal of all heavy weapons from the mountains surrounding Sarajevo (within a range of 20 km);
- October 5. The parties agreed on a "cease-fire" of 60 days, on the whole Bosnian territory (the "cease-fire" was to start on October 12).

On November 1, the Dayton peace negotiations started at the U.S. Air Force Wright-Patterson base. They were attended by Izetbegovic, Tujiman, Milosevic, Holbrooke (the host), Boris Ivanov from Russia and Stoltenberg, as UN representative.

On November 21, after 21 days of uninterrupted talks, President Clinton, from the White House, announced the conclusion of the Peace Agreement.

The accord envisaged Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single and multi-ethnic State, but divided into two entities, each with its own constitution: the Croatian-Muslim Federation and the Srpska Republic.

A complex institutional system was also created, led by a collective Presidency, formed by three members representing the three ethnic groups (Muslim Bosnian, Croatian Bosnian and Serb Bosnian); the actual Presidency would be exercised in turns.

The Armed Forces were reorganized in the Federation Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (VF) and the Army of the Srpska Republic (VRS), both subordinate to the collective Presidency.

The territory was allocated as follows: 51% to Croatian-Muslim Federation and the rest to the

Srpska Republic. Besides, the "cease-fire" line was modified and a new line called IEHL (Inter Entity Boundary Line) was introduced: it included Sarajevo and Goradze, practically two enclaves within the territory of the Federation, to avoid their isolation.

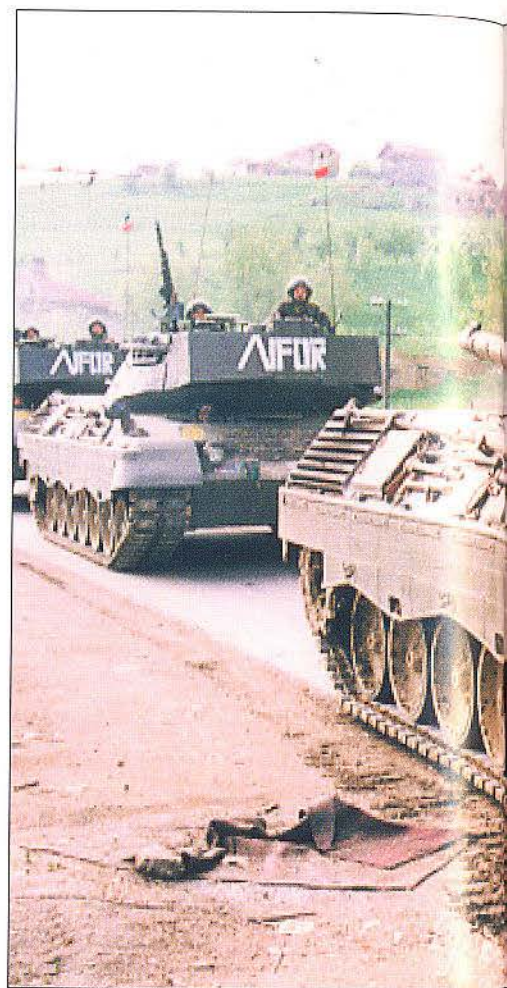
On December 8 and 9, in London, a conference was held, to deal with civil affairs and, finally, on December 14, during a solemn ceremony in Paris, the Agreement was signed before Clinton, Chirac, Kohl and Major.

The NATO Intervention

On December 15, 1995, the Italian Government decided on the participation of a national contingent consisting of a Brigade-level unit of 2600 men, that was assigned to the French-led DMN-SE. For historical and political reasons it was avoided to position the contingent in the Croatian areas, where the Italian Army had fought during the Second World War.

The Italian Brigade was made more evident by the presence in its sector of Sarajevo and of the cities of Pale, Goradze and Visegrad. Our contingent was reinforced by two battalions, one Portuguese and one Egyptian, thus taking on a full multinational connotation.

As from January 1996 the Italian Contingent became operational and soon met with various emergencies. It was positioned at a crucial point, where the "cease-fire" line, as a consequence of the Agreement, did not coincide with the IEHL (Inter Entity Boundary Line), and this was going to cause the migration of the Serbs from the regions around Sarajevo and Goradze; the critical situation of the Bosnian enclave of Goradze made very urgent the delivery of humanitarian aid; the presence of the capitals of the two entities, Sarajevo and Pale, attracted conflicts and tensions.



At first the Contingent's activity was concentrated on the military aspects of the agreement and on humanitarian aid.

In particular, the Contingent had to garrison sensitive spots; patrol the territory; escort the aid convoys during transfers; inspect military sites (warehouses and barracks) of the two entities and proceed to the destruction of redundant arms and equipment; provide protection for the political authorities who met in Sarajevo at least twice a week.

Besides, when the first general elections were held, the Italian Contingent contributed to the security of the operations.

Afterwards, also other activities became pre-eminent, such as: providing security for the returning refugees; finding areas for their possible settlement; monitoring public order; training the local police; fighting crime; pursuing



war criminals; reconstructing public buildings.

At the same time it was necessary to safeguard the working environment of civil organizations and international agencies.

As for the strength of the Italian Contingent, after an initial stage with about 2600 men, in January 1997 the soldiers became 1700. The number was reduced again to 1400 at the end of 1998 and, on March 15, 2000, the formation took the present connotation: 1,200 soldiers are now engaged in Bosnia.

In August 1998, they were joined by a Contingent of "Carabinieri", the MSU (Multinational Specialized Unit). It is a multinational division led by Italy, currently consisting of approximately 250 men.

At first, the MSU was set up to cooperate with the military forces in the theatre, and with the local

or UN police forces in keeping law and order, but shortly took up also the functions of gathering information and conducting criminal investigations, making up for the shortages of the local police structures and, after September 11, 2001, it dealt also with the capture of terrorists and war criminals. This unit can intervene all over the theatre of operations, and is under the authority of the SFOR Commander.

Italy's commitment

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Political and socio-economic results

As stated by the High Representative of United Nations, Paddy Ashdown, since 1995 considerable progress has been made in the implementation of the mandate. About a million refugees and evacuees have returned to their homes, and the infrastructure of the Country has been generally restored.

Freedom of movement has been re-established. Today, all Bosnians can freely move about the entire territory (the border between the two entities has only an administrative meaning).

The macroeconomic management has been considerably

improved, with encouraging results: the GDP went up by 2.3% (2002), the industrial production by 7% (2002); the annual per capita income is 1900 dollars with a fourfold increase compared to the war years.

The currency is practically stable: in 2002 the inflation rate was 3.5%.

Some of the goals on which the OHR (Office of the High Representative, i.e. the operational structure of the United Nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina) invested time and resources over the years, such as the development of the media, have been achieved or are managed by the local Authorities.

Nevertheless there are still other spheres of interest, such as constitutional reforms and justice, on which the OHR is working, in order to pass them on, as soon as possible, to the local authorities.

Our Country is one of the most committed in this process and concentrates on the Adriatic Sea as a

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES



cohesion area to establish a European *continuum* between our peninsula and the Balkans.

In fact, Italy is taking an active part in all the projects regarding the Balkan region (Stability Pact, Stabilization and Association process, Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilization) and, with Law n.84, issued in 2001, set up a technical and operational unit which fosters the dialogue among national companies, local and regional organs and the components of the Balkan civil society. Moreover, it was decided to grant subsidized loans (with a fund of 100 million euros) to all the companies interested in investing in this region.

Thanks to these commitments, Italy is already the first import/export business partner in the region, and the upward trend of trade flows is constant (+24.8% in 2001).

As regards the reconstruction of civil institutions and of the Bosnian socio-economic fabric, the great efforts made by our Armed Forces, and in particular by the Army, should also be underlined. Our military contribution, besides guaranteeing a stable and pacified environment, and preventing the onset of new hotbeds of tension, today is mostly concerned with reconstruction activities. Within this scope lies the work of the "Italian CIMIC Group", a national

unit made up of SFOR civil engineers who, by using funds made available by the E.U., design and supervise the building and restoration of the infrastructure and road system.

Among the many works carried out, we should mention the restoration of the University and the National Library of Sarajevo, and the construction of a hospital in Gorazde. Finally, we wish to point out the contribution of the Italian Railway Engineer Regiment which, since 1997, has been employed in the Theatre to help rebuilding about 700 km of local railway and has trained Bosnian personnel in running the lines.

DAYTON AGREEMENT



Military results

As far as purely military questions are concerned, the Joint Military Commissions (JMC), established at the beginning of the intervention to deal with military issues in a constructive way and without clashes, turned out to be very useful.

Actually, the three ethnic groups still have three armies (the Serbian-Bosnian VRS and the Federation's VF – which is divided in two components – the Bosnian-Muslim VF-B and the Croatian-Bosnian VF-H) and three Defence Ministers, but the number of soldiers was progressively reduced to the current 20,000, which is a lot

for a Country with a population of about 4 million, but show that a good job was done, if one compares this number with the 430,000 men who were serving in the army at the end of the war.

Moreover, it should be stressed that the goal of reducing the force levels to 20,000 men, fixed by the parties within the "Standing Committee on Military Matters", was reached 3 years in advance, saving about 100 million euros and cutting military expenses from 6% to 4.5% of the GDP.

Besides, NATO, through the SFOR activity, supports the retraining plan of the local Armed Forces, in order to allow them to participate in the activities of

"Partnership for Peace", to join the European and Atlantic organizations and be employed in PSOs or other humanitarian tasks.

Also the Police forces are divided between the two entities and currently their training and integration process are supervised by EUPM (European Union Police Mission) which on January 1, 2003 replaced the UN-led IPTF (International Police Task Force).

EUPM is in fact the first crisis-management operation conducted by the European Union, even if it is limited to improve the police standards of the two entities.

A chapter apart is deserved by the question of people wanted by the International Court for war



crimes in ex-Yugoslavia: 91 criminals have already been tried and 53 are detained awaiting trial and among them there is Yugoslav ex-President Slobodan Milosevic. Finally there are still 20 fugitives, including two dangerous most-wanted persons: Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic.

present in the Eastern region of the Serbian Republic, in support of local leaders wanted for alleged war crimes; some Islamic organizations, mostly young people, given to religious proselytism and, finally, some exponents of the *mujahidin* movement, naturalized Bosnians, allegedly linked to al Qaeda.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is in fact fertile ground for Muslim-rooted terrorism, because of the large fundamentalist human potential which moved there during the war.

The first flow of fundamentalists goes back precisely to that period, when many mujahidin, after being employed in the Muslim

THE STILL UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS

But all is not over yet: the recent crisis in Kosovo has shown how precarious are the balances in this region.

Besides, despite the mentioned improvements, the economic situation is still weak (unemployment is close to 30%) and fosters corruption in the government institutions and a rampant organized crime.

To these destabilizing factors we have to add those related to the potential activism of: Serbian-Bosnian paramilitary formations



ITALIAN SECTOR



Army, settled in the Country and got the Bosnian citizenship (through the grant of passports or by marriage with local women).

CONCLUSIONS

Should we express a general evaluation of the current situation in Bosnia, without fear of being wrong, we could say that the situation is calm and greatly improved but still quite unstable, due to a welfare state still to be put together, a weak economy and a security system threatened by a national and regional mix of crime, extremism and terrorism.

There are episodes of "intolerance" which are taking place in the theatre of operations that should be carefully considered (for

example the destruction, last March, of the Orthodox church in Cipoljic and of the mosque in Gradiska, both in the Srpska Republic, which call attention to a conflict that still exists between the two ethnic groups).

Therefore, the presence of the multinational forces and the attention of the international organizations are and will be necessary as guarantors of the conditions which pave the way for any socio-economic development. They are to perform a deterrent role and safeguard the security of international and local institutions.

Besides, they must prevent the rearmament or the reconstitution of extremist and terrorist armed groups, as well as the exportation of destabilization and insecurity

from one region to the other. Moreover, by encouraging all forms of development, it is also necessary to keep under control the local security groups, or those which aspire to such a role, preventing them from becoming an internal or external threat.

Undeniably, the mosaic will be reassembled only if this area enters the virtuous circle represented by a combination of social peace, institutional stability and economic welfare.

□

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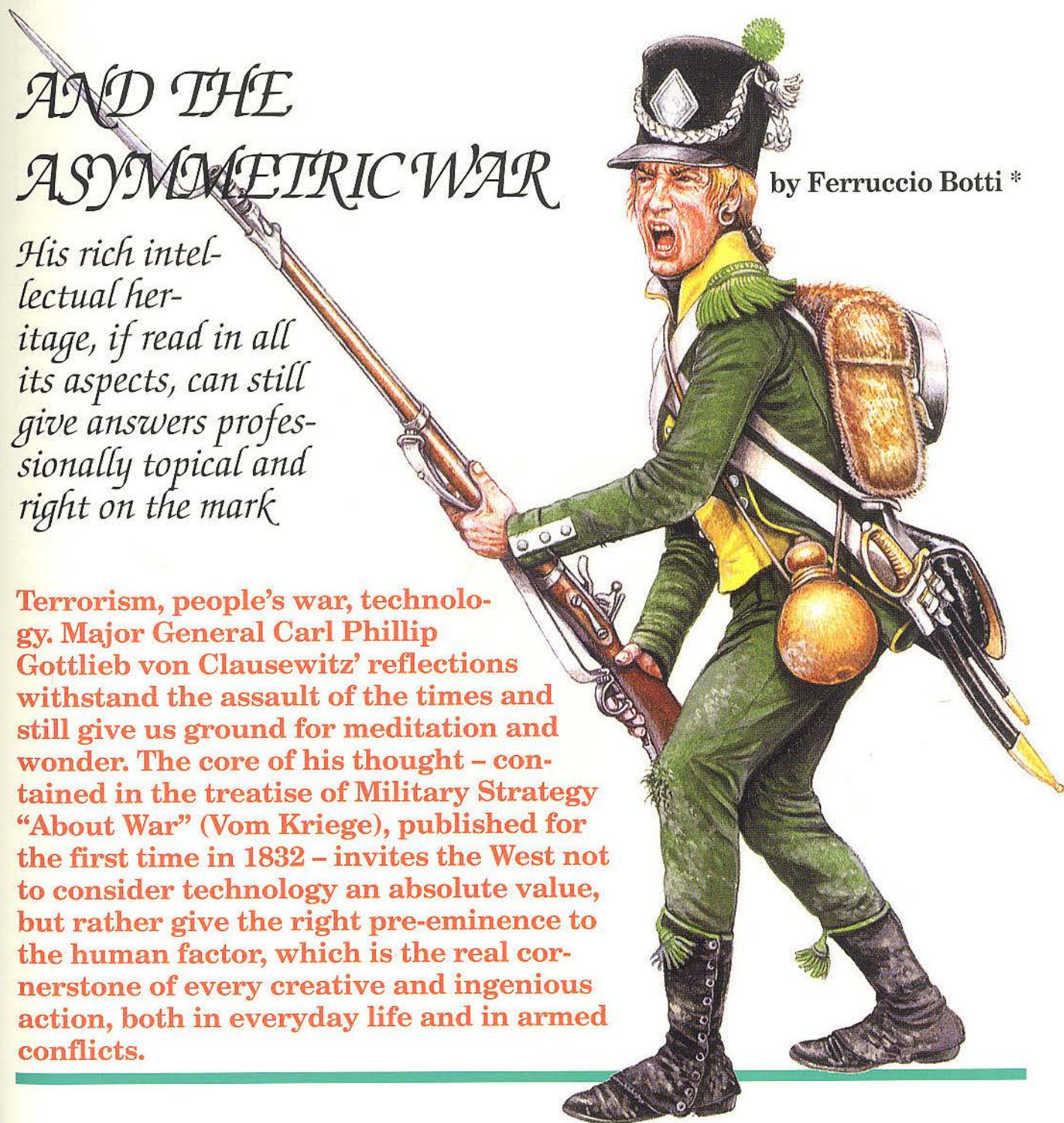
WORLD WARS AND TERRORISM HAVE NOT
INVALIDATED IN THE LEAST THE
WORK AND THOUGHT
OF THE GREAT PRUSSIAN STRATEGIST
VON CLAUSEWITZ

**AND THE
ASYMMETRIC WAR**

His rich intellectual heritage, if read in all its aspects, can still give answers professionally topical and right on the mark

Terrorism, people's war, technology. Major General Carl Phillip Gottlieb von Clausewitz' reflections withstand the assault of the times and still give us ground for meditation and wonder. The core of his thought – contained in the treatise of Military Strategy "About War" (Vom Kriege), published for the first time in 1832 – invites the West not to consider technology an absolute value, but rather give the right pre-eminence to the human factor, which is the real cornerstone of every creative and ingenious action, both in everyday life and in armed conflicts.

by Ferruccio Botti *



In Italy the well known book "About War", written by the Prussian General Carl von Clausewitz, was posthumously published in 1832 but integrally translated into Italian only in 1942, about a century after the French version. It was probably due to this delayed translation that, after the Second World War, the book has been continuously – if often hurriedly – quoted, particularly because it stresses the close relationship between politics and war (which, in point of fact, was done also by other writers of the time) and deals with the theoretical contents of the war phenomenon, showing a clear preference for Napoleon's model, which can be summed up in an offensive war, with the rapid destruction of the enemy in a few decisive battles. During the Cold War, in a very critical period for the role of the classic military component, also in view of the nuclear threat, the passages of the treatise most suitable for strengthening the theses upheld by the two sides became almost mandatory finishing touches for all scholars, and the author was universally praised.

We spare the reader the numerous wrong, questionable or one-sided aspects of these hasty or partial reexaminations, which can be better evaluated only by inserting Clausewitz' thought (as should always be done) in the preceding, coeval and successive thinking, also casting a glance beyond the Alps and across the Ocean. In any case, it should not be forgotten that (as can be inferred from the preface by the author's wife, Maria, as well as from the "Notice" at the beginning of the book), only the first chapter of the first Book can be considered complete. In particular, according to Clausewitz: *the manuscript concerning the conduct of the great war, which will be found after my death, must be considered, in its present state, only as a collection of fragments... Most of the work has not satisfied me as yet....*

As a consequence, the book is full

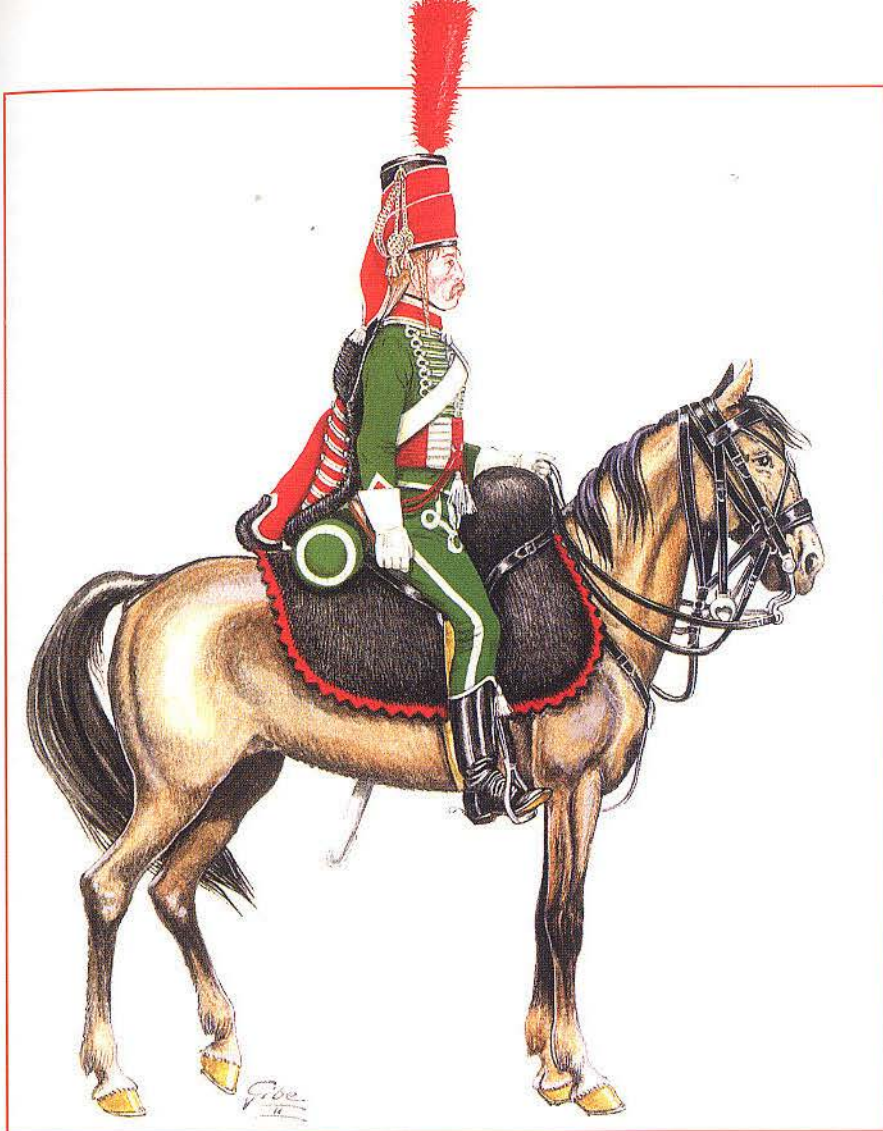
of contradictions and therefore it is possible to have Clausewitz say anything and the opposite. For example, to his preference for the great offensive battle (*which must be considered as the quintessence of war*) and for the destruction of the enemy (*the purpose of war is to wipe out the enemy*) one can oppose the other well-known statements that "war is a chameleon", subject to the moderating influence of politics, or that "the defensive is strategically stronger than the offensive". His numerous extollers of the Cold War period, which was based on the confrontation of nuclear arsenals, should have also considered that the Prussian General is the

Grenadier of the line infantry (1801).



leader of the *spiritualists* of the 19th Century and, as such, he refuses to take into consideration the influence that preparation, logistics, arms and materials exercise on war, limiting himself to study the conduct of the operations and, even of that, he considers only strategy and tactics. He also believes that war is subject to unforeseen events as well as to moral and spiritual forces impossible to quantify. Therefore, in his opinion, it is wrong to attribute a constant and immutable reference role to the principles and rules of war, maintaining that they have a purely academic value: they must be studied, but should not accompany the commander on the battlefield. Last, he thinks it is impossible to formulate a positive and thorough doctrine of war and, assigning the commander and his qualities an exaggeratedly pre-eminent role, warns him against the excessive influence of the General Staffs and, in particular, of the geographic factors that they study, and perhaps overrate, to the detriment of other elements.

To these characteristics and limits of Clausewitz' thought we must add, as underlined by Gian Enrico Rusconi in the latest Italian book on "Clausewitz the Prussian" (1999), that his ideas must be set in the politico-social background of the time, in the politico-strategic war model most profitable for his Country and in the conflicts among States – wars between regular armies – which lasted until the end of the Cold War (1989). Only a scholar from Prussia and from the continental Europe of the 19th Century could write a book which only referred to the land war and diverged from the dogmatic model of the strategy adopted by his enemies (we should not forget that Clausewitz, with his treatise, wants to oppose the theories supported by Jomini, a French-speaking Napoleonic (and later Russian) Staff-General of Swiss origin. In the same way, only an American Navy Officer like Mahan could



Requisition Hussar (1797).

preparation of extremely powerful weapons, in the hope of not having to use them, someone reversed the famous maxim replacing it with: "politics is the continuation of war with other means".

If this is how things stand, and also remembering the attempts to make Clausewitz topical during the Cold War, it would be natural to exclude his theories from the asymmetric war of the present day, with which we have been dealing even before the Iraqi war. In this latter case, a rapid and daring Clausewitz-type advance has been followed by a situation of disorder and daily terrorist attacks, which seem to prompt the American politico-military leaders to send land reinforcements, despite their immense air-naval power and the availability of sophisticated technologies. This said, we feel that to exclude the usefulness of Clausewitz' theories in the post-Cold War conflicts and in the so-called peace missions, would be even less logical than extolling their value in the Cold War; if anything, in today's wars we see the reemergence of the unexpected and of those immeasurable moral and spiritual factors which seemed incompatible with the "War of Machines".

In order to prove this, it is necessary, first of all, to explain what is meant by *asymmetric war* and *terrorism*. The former is a *low- or high-intensity clash between two opponents, one of which (the U.S. and the Western world in general) relies on regular or auxiliary forces which, by employing the most advanced technologies and the power and abundance of his fire means, replaces, as much as possible, men with machines and strives to reach his strategic objectives avoiding, or reducing to a minimum, the loss of national forces. The moral effects of these losses, amplified by the mass media, strike very strongly the West's public opinion. On the con-*

have written a book, mainly inspired by Jomini, such as *"The influence of the maritime power on history"* (1890), and only an Englishman like Corbett could write the *"Principles of maritime strategy"* (1911), which are closer to Clausewitz than to Mahan.

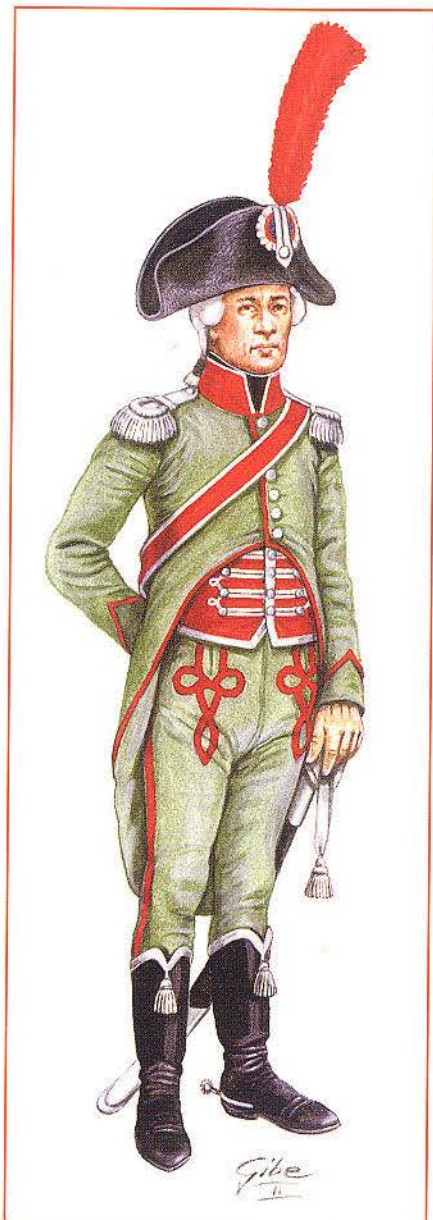
One could also object that the model of the Napoleonic rapid and decisive land war, for which Clausewitz had a clear liking, was proved utterly wrong by the two world wars and the Cold War, where preparation, logistics, technology, arms and materials ended up by being the trump card, respectively for the enemies of Germany (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) and for those of the former USSR (in the Cold War), even apart from the value of the leadership and the fighting spirit of the nation and the army, which were

referred to by Clausewitz as the foundations of military efficiency (1). It is not by chance that in the U.S. and in France (especially, but not only, after the hard experience of WWI) there was, and still is, a prevalence of Jomini-inspired doctrines, based on the superiority of fire and materials (2), factors which are almost completely disregarded by Clausewitz, despite his initial statement that war is a social phenomenon. The experience of WWI prompted the German general von Seeckt, architect of the new *Reichswehr* in the twenties, to remark that the well-known Clausewitz' saying "War is the continuation of politics with other means" should be replaced by *War is the bankruptcy of politics*", while during the Cold War, based on the nuclear balance between the two superpowers and therefore on the

Bugler of the Hussars of Liberty (1797).

trary, those who fight against the U.S. and the Western system in general, have no respect for human life, tend to shun a classic, war where they would certainly be wiped out, and resort to every possible means capable of hitting the numerous vulnerable points of the enemy and particularly his morale (including the capture and murder of civilian hostages and employment of "kamikaze"). In practice,

Officer of the Venetian Provinces on France's service.



this type of anti-West war tends to have recourse to the only means through which it is possible to react to the technologic and military superiority of the enemy, and in particular of the United States, exploiting the many military and civilian "windows of vulnerability" of the West, which are very difficult to eliminate. Thus, the most sophisticated war instruments are replaced by man, resorting to an operational conduct that often succeeds in taking away important objectives from the enemy, simultaneously striking him where he is weaker and less protected.

A definition of "terrorism" could be the following: *a whole of acts of violence against limited civilian or military targets (mostly civilian) carried out by small organized groups, internal or external to the State, exploiting the element of surprise. They aim at reaching, rapidly and forcibly, political goals,*

in order to destabilize a given situation, producing significant changes in internal and international relations. The targets and moments chosen are always such as to arouse a great and immediate impression on public opinion (their own and other people's) striking the morale of the enemy and heightening their own. In this sense, the often indiscriminate effects of terrorism favour its impact. Terrorism acts as a primer of guerrilla warfare or goes along with it, and is part of a psychological war, both in peacetime and in every type of conflict. Even if Clausewitz does not seem to consider its importance, many passages of his work can provide good material for meditation to those willing to understand, starting from the past, the transformations presently occurring in the strategic-tactical field, as well as the changes in the organization. We list hereunder some passages of his

work which may help to clarify the present theoretical context.

It is well known that the present wars conducted by the West for politico-social reasons tend to be of limited violence and are not always aimed at *compelling the adversary to submit to our will* – as Clausewitz would like – but rather leave room for negotiations, suspending the operations on one's own initiative or transferring the responsibility of their conduct to local friendly land troops or international forces. What does Clausewitz think of this? According to the Prussian General, the frequent complaints of the military leaders about politicians hampering a rational military conduct of the operations are not always justified because *war is only a part of the political work and, therefore, is not something apart*. It has its own grammar but not its logic; its foundations (war plan, campaign plan and even the plan for a battle) are political. As a consequence, *if one admits the influence of the political goal on war (and it must necessarily be admitted) there are no limits in the mitigation of war, and we must resign ourselves to move down to those wars that only threaten the enemy and serve merely to support negotiations [...]* The whole art of war (in this case) becomes a question of prudence, aimed mainly at preventing an half war from becoming a full war.

On the other hand, Clausewitz is against any limitation of war for humanitarian reasons: *the humanitarian souls may think that there are technical means capable of disarming and knocking down the enemy without inflicting him too many wounds and that this is the real aim of the military art. The appearance of this may be very enticing, but this error must be destroyed because, in dangerous situations such as war, precisely the mistakes deriving from good-heartedness are the most harmful*. Therefore, he who employs his strength without restrictions will overcome an enemy who is not

doing the same (3).

Also, Clausewitz does not like at all the “cabinet wars” following the pre-Napoleonic model, which resemble closely the West's wars of today. For example, as he praises decisive battles, he also writes that, because of the price in blood that they entail, *at all times governments and army commanders have been striving to find possible means of avoiding decisive battles [...]* Then, historians and theorists have been trying to see in the hesitations of these battles and wars not only results equal to those that would have been achieved by the battles not carried out, but indeed



the peak of the art. So, in the war's economy, in our times we went very close to consider the battle a necessary evil imputable to mistakes, more or less like a pathological crisis [...] Only the generals capable of conducting a war without bloodshed were entitled to be crowned with laurels [...] The contemporary history has wiped out these illusions, but no one can guarantee that they will not reappear [...] There may come a day when Napoleon's campaigns and battles will be considered brutalities and half-stupidities and a courteous and confident eye will be turned again on the dress-sword and the well-mannered set of decrepit methods. It is unnecessary to underline the relevance of these remarks to the present day: on the one side they confirm, as maintained by Clausewitz, that bad politics breeds bad strategy, on the other emphasize the contrast between the present Western strategy – tending to limit war for politico-social reasons, whose influence is admitted by Clausewitz – and the strategy followed by those who fight against the United States and the West, offsetting the lack of modern weapons with the mobilization of the people, total war or extremely cruel methods. Without going too much back in history we can say that the peace missions have not solved for good all local problems, which often have centuries-old roots, albeit they reached the commendable goal of preventing the recourse to arms, which is already something.

Anyway, the preceding statements should be tempered, if not completely reversed, by Clausewitz' contradictory admission that *each era has its own forms of war, its restrictive conditions and its prejudices. Thus, each era should have its own special theory of war, even if there were a general willingness to carry it out, at all times, according to purely*

Light-Cavalryman of the Lombard Legion (1796-1797).

rational criteria [...] But he is a bad prophet when he says that in the most recent epoch (i.e. Napoleon's time), war has reached its absolute might, but it is very unlikely that, from now on, wars keep this grand character. This statement became true only after the Cold War.

Other passages of *On War* that fit very well the present strategic reality are the ones where it is stated that, in war, actions are never directed only against physical matter, and the moral factors cannot be ignored (hence the importance of propaganda and mass media). Furthermore, often

Soldier of the Venetian civic troops (1797).



there is no need to continue the operations till the complete physical destruction of the enemy: to cause him to capitulate without crushing his military strength it is enough to resort to actions with immediate political repercussions, such as, among others, terrorist attacks. *As a matter of fact, if there are undertakings particularly suitable for breaking and paralysing the alliances of our enemy, in order to get new ones for us, and for stirring up in his Country political phenomena in our favour, it is quite clear that they can remarkably increase our probabilities of success, letting us achieve our goal through a much shorter path than the destruction of his forces.* These words really anticipate the present situation, where the Western mass media amplify the negative effects of certain events, while on the opposite front the successful acts of terrorism favour the adhesion of new recruits to the terrorist organizations.

To the above considerations one should add the value of surprise which shows its effectiveness by opposing the enemy in a given point, with a number of troops larger than he can presume. This kind of numerical preponderance is very different from numerical superiority in a general sense: it is the most important element of the art of war. The terrain, specially if one knows it thoroughly, is one of the essential factors leading to victory or, at least, it can notably favour the local guerrillas (suffice it to think of the Soviet and American wars in Afghanistan). And, thinking of Afghanistan and Iraq, we can say that Clausewitz was very farsighted when he wrote that *the conqueror (i.e. the foreign troops that enter a State for any reason) always loves peace (Napoleon said that about himself) and would like to come into our State peacefully and without opposition.* As happened in the last world war, as the Anglo-American troops arrived in France and Italy.

Now, it remains to be established

whether and in what measure Clausewitz who, in the background of his reflections has practically always a war of mass armies (4), considers the possible contribution of a people's war (literally, in German, "armament of the people"), which implies arming the civilian population, and their participation in war, in irregular formations, capable of conducting only a guerrilla warfare. One could observe that the model of war between regular armies that he preferred – inherited from Napoleon and typical of Prussia – implicitly excludes the people's contribution to a war, especially to a defensive one. But we cannot

Venetian National Guard (1797).



forget that Clausewitz is Prussian and, thanks to a widespread national spirit, the politico-military leadership of his Country had been willing and able to overcome, already during the Napoleonic wars, the traditional mistrust of the ruling classes towards the armament of the people, a mistrust that had been very much alive in other Countries until the XX Century.

In 1813 the King of Prussia, sure of his prestige, proclaimed the mobilization of the people (not only the army's) against the French. Up to WWI Germany, unlike Italy and France, never used the imperial army to keep public order, for the purpose of safeguarding the army's popularity. Finally, at the end of WWI, the Socialist President of the new German Republic, Ebert, went to the Brandenburg Gate to welcome the army returning from the front (needless to mention here what happened in Italy in the same period).

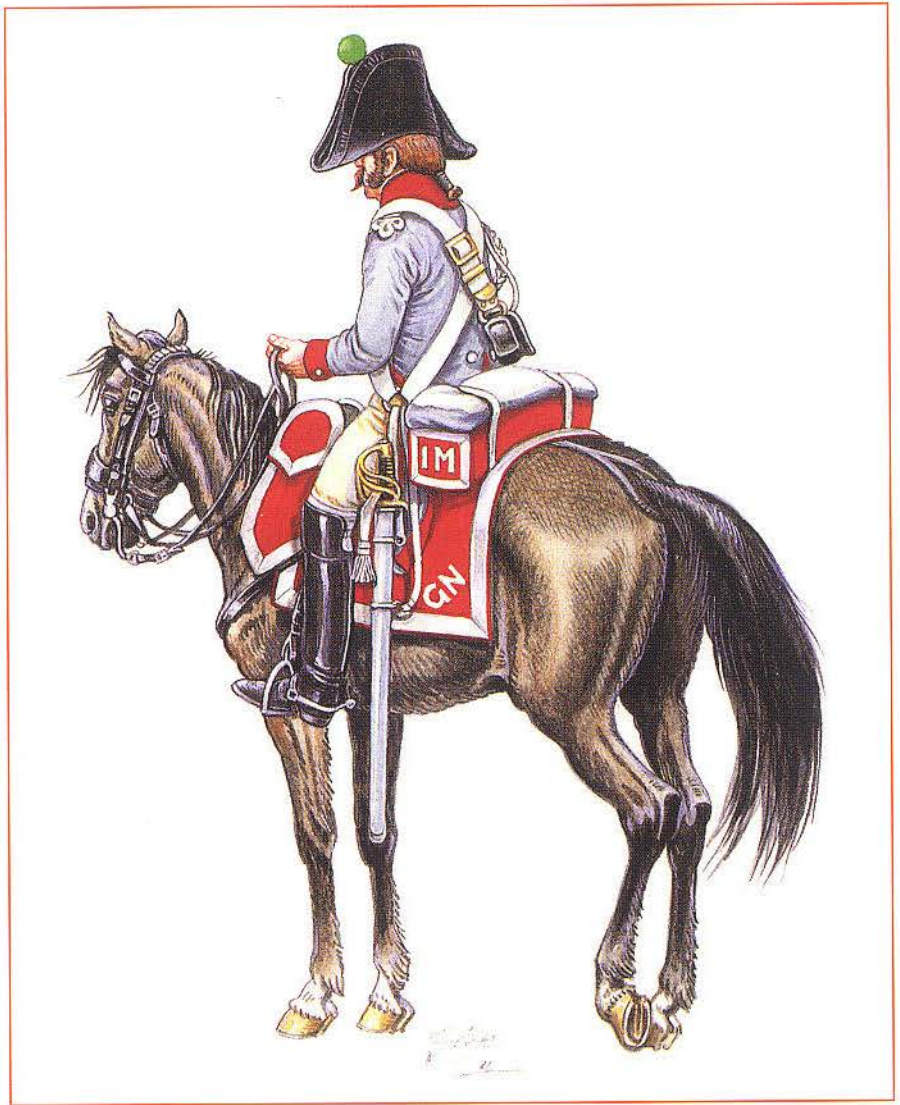
Therefore it is not surprising that Clausewitz, unlike his rival Jomini, is far from underrating the people's war or from launching moralistic anathemas against it. On the contrary, he believes that *in general, it can be considered as a consequence of the break made in our times by the war factor through its artificial wall, i.e. as a strengthening of the fermentation process that we call war.* Those who are capable of using it in a rational manner against an enemy who does not employ it, will gain a lead. Thinking that the energies spent in a people's war could be more profitably employed otherwise is wrong, *because these energies are generally not available for being employed to one's liking; on the contrary, a considerable part of them, the moral factor, expresses itself only through that kind of employment.* After 1945, some strong supporters of guerrilla warfare accused Clausewitz of theorizing the people's war only in conjunc-

tion with the army. But, besides the fact that having an army is strategically very useful, Clausewitz disproves them, observing that *if from these generic relations (with the regular forces), which are never missing, we move to particular cases where the population begins to take part in the fight, up to the point, as in Spain, where the war was mainly conducted by the people in arms, (but not exclusively: the British were also there, with their troops and their fleet) we understand that the matter is no more the accentuation of the people's assistance, it is as real power.* He also acknowledges the importance that great spaces and guerrilla warfare had in Russia, against Napoleon's troops.

The recourse to people's war in

cooperation with the national army cannot be accidental: it must be planned carefully, envisaging the help of the people in arms as an extreme chance after a lost battle, or as a natural support before a battle. In any case *no State should believe that its destiny, or indeed all its existence, could depend on the outcome of a battle, even if it is an extremely decisive one. In case of defeat, the constitution of new forces and the natural weakening, which typically occurs in any attack with the passing of time, can cause a radical change in the situation. Moreover, the defeated State could receive help from outside.*

Let us examine the conditions – still fully valid – that favour a people's war: to achieve results, the war needs time and space; it must





Light-Cavalryman of Modena (1797).

out a tactical defence, the enemy could easily overcome these groups, taking many prisoners and making people think that the war's outcome is already decided, to the point of *making the arms fall from the people's hands*; on the other hand, one should concentrate against the wings of the enemy deployment and the major garrisons he leaves behind. In this case, the support of local troops will be very useful. In substance, Clausewitz likens guerrilla warfare to a cloud which lets the rain fall rapidly and then dissolves with the same rapidity.

We cannot claim of having exhausted the subject with these brief remarks. Many other considerations could be drawn from Clausewitz' book, both on war in general (including naval and air warfare) and on today's war. Anyway we think it is worth remembering that, until 1945, there were two unilateral interpretations of the book. The German politico-military leadership read Clausewitz in a way that stressed the armies' war, aimed at knocking down the enemy as rapidly as possible and which was symbolized by the *Blitzkrieg*, victorious in 1939 but defeated in the end. The British school (Keegan, Liddle Hart), on the contrary, has been anti-Clausewitz since the Napoleonic wars and considered the Prussian general, extoller of Napoleon, as theoretically responsible for the great and bloody land battles, especially in the two World Wars. The British thought opposes to the land direct and mass encounter, also thanks to the British sea- and (after 1939) air-superiority, the so-called peripheral or indirect strategy – victorious in Spain against Napoleon's troops – which proposes to strike the enemy on his weakest points and/or far from the gravitation centre of his power. A recent example of this constant attitude was the British

be carried out inside the Country and in a large theatre; it must be favoured by the population's temperament; the land *must be very uneven and not easily accessible, because of mountains or woods, swamps and cultivations*; it is made easier by the scattering of houses thorough the countryside, because if people were crowded into villages *the most restless ones would be occupied by the troops and then probably plundered and set on fire as punishment to the inhabitants*; it must not be conducted against the main body or large formations of the enemy, but rather it should *corrode it on its*

surface and flanks. To this end, the people's war must be organized in *the lateral provinces* (to the enemy's army) *with large forces, in order to take those provinces from the enemy's influence; it must never establish compact formations, otherwise the adversary will send adequate forces against these groups, destroy them and take many prisoners*, with negative repercussions on the morale of the other guerrillas; *this great strategic means of defence should never, or at least very rarely, become a tactical defence*, for which it does not have the required qualities of discipline, energy and tenacity. If it carries

strategy in the Mediterranean from 1943 to 1945, as opposed to the American standpoint, which wanted to concentrate the forces in Britain in order to land on the continent and conduct an offensive against the heart of Germany.

Actually, during the American Civil War (1861-1865) the American officers carried in their knapsacks Jomini's works which, according to Colson, have greatly influenced the U.S. war doctrines up this day.

This is no accident: a great and advanced economic and technological power could not (and cannot) but give great importance to technology, weapons, materials and logistics. Nevertheless, even the U.S., with the strong ideal motivations of its wars, the importance attributed to the moral and material warfare of the soldier, to the support of public opinion (its own and the allies') and to propaganda, follows the true spirit of the Prussian General, for whom man is the measure: a man who changes very little. This is why those who can pick out the precious stones among the vast material left by him can find hints of topical interest also for the post-Cold War conflicts, where it is important to have a clear and realistic definition of the strategy's political goals, and where, more than ever, uncertain and unexpected occurrences dominate, together with the skill and *coup d'oeil* of the politico-military leaders, the spirit of the Armed Forces and of the Nation.

Thus the factors pointed out by Clausewitz as prerequisites for military and political victory continue to be of primary importance also in the West. It is significant that Lenin and Mao Tze tung should have carefully studied the writings of this Prussian general as the highest military expression of a system they wanted to destroy, with different strategies suited to the situation of their Countries. This is the reason why we can say that the two World Wars did not consign Clausewitz to oblivion, but,



Aide-de-camp to a Division Commander (1800).

at most, they put him back in his right perspective. The persistent validity of many of his reflections on the real nature of war bears witness to his greatness and, especially today, urges the West not to overestimate the contribution of technology, advanced space, air and land weapon systems and materials. The terrorist attacks – including the tragically historical one of September 11 – are still carried out with relatively simple weapons and, in order to have an

effective control of the territory, it is necessary to have a great number of well-trained troops, able to confront the enemy and prevail over his snares.

□
*Colonel (ret.)

NOTES

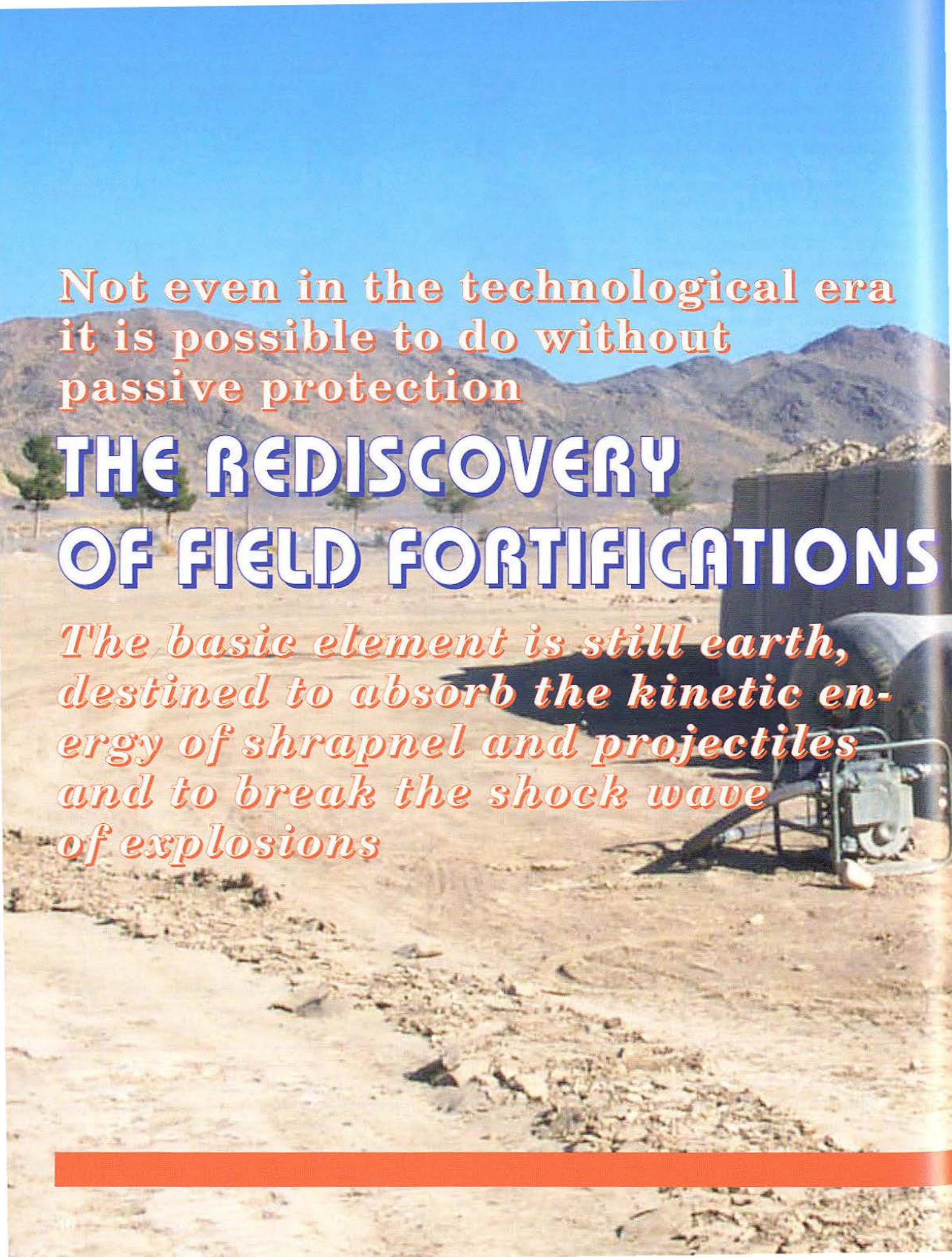
(1) After the experience of WWII, Stalin wrote (1947) that Lenin, of Clausewitz' ideas, had particularly appreciated the link between war and politics; he thought nevertheless that the Prussian General *was in fact a representative of the "manufacturing" period of war. We are now in the period of the "machine in war". There is no doubt that the "machine" period requires new military ideologists.* It should be pointed out that, with these statements, Stalin referred only to wars between great industrial powers and certainly not to the wars of the *third world*.

(2) A contemporary symbol of Jomini's theories is the unsuccessful French strategy between the two World Wars, which was based on fire and fortifications (Maginot Line).

(3) Clausewitz' adds that the use of force is *accompanied by insignificant restrictions, barely worth mentioning, which are given the name of "international law"*.

(4) The "Armed Nation", a myth that enjoyed great favour in the XIX Century and until the beginning of the XX Century, was interpreted by the antimilitarists as the elimination of the regular army in peacetime (replaced by some short training) and the tumultuous rush of people to arms only in case of defensive wars. On the contrary, the same concept was often understood by the military as an enlargement of the army, in war and in peacetime, to the maximum achievable extent, with a possible reduction of conscription in peacetime.

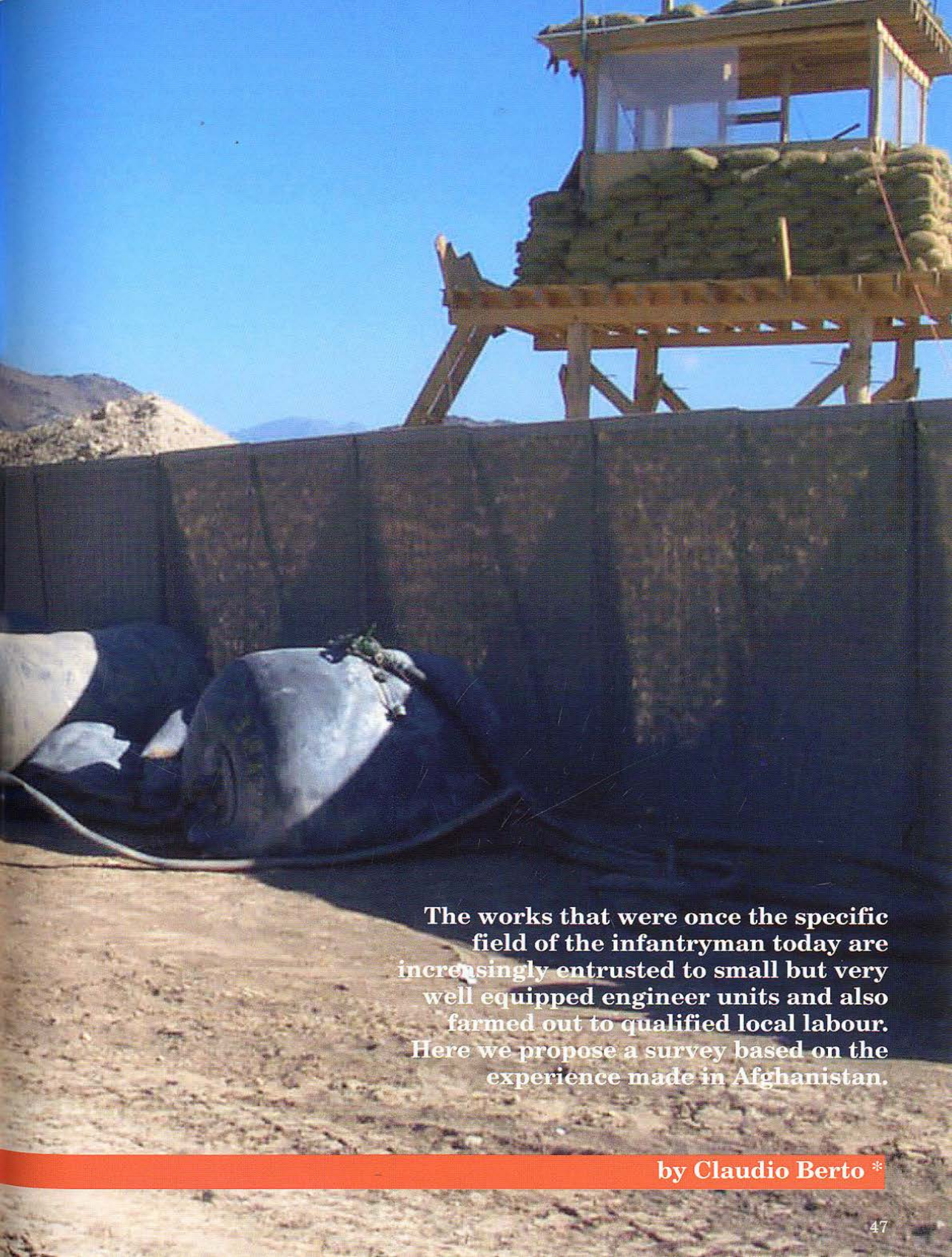
(5) An exception to this strategy was the conduct of the 1915-1918 war by the British generals in France, which resulted in the corroboration of the theories advocated by the supporters of mechanized war (Liddel Hart, Fuller) and indirect strategy (Keegan).

The background of the entire page is a photograph of a desert landscape. In the distance, there are brown, rocky mountains under a clear blue sky. In the foreground, the ground is sandy and uneven. To the right, a large, black, cylindrical object, possibly a tank or a large container, is partially visible. A small, light-colored vehicle or piece of equipment is parked near the base of the cylinder.

Not even in the technological era
it is possible to do without
passive protection

THE REDISCOVERY OF FIELD FORTIFICATIONS

*The basic element is still earth,
destined to absorb the kinetic en-
ergy of shrapnel and projectiles
and to break the shock wave
of explosions*



The works that were once the specific field of the infantryman today are increasingly entrusted to small but very well equipped engineer units and also farmed out to qualified local labour. Here we propose a survey based on the experience made in Afghanistan.

by Claudio Berto *

The era of advanced technology has not yet invalidated the practices, techniques and procedures aimed at ensuring an adequate passive protection to the sites: emplacements, outposts, bases, where

the personnel are exposed every day to the effects of the direct fire of light weapons and the indirect fire of artillery, rockets and mortars. The availability of new tools and materials and the recourse to more powerful

machines have enabled us to realize more and more important works, thus improving the soldiers' safety.

The guiding principles of work planning remain unchanged. The task is to interpose a barrier solid enough to guarantee protection, create compartments that reduce the effects of shrapnel, block intrusions (or at least make them as difficult as possible), have sufficiently wide and elevated visual fields, have the possibility of moving without being observed from outside, permit the appropriate employment of weapons that must be safe for the friendly forces and non-combatant civilians, and effective towards the enemy.

The systematic recourse to fortifications is again a "procedure", as it used to be in the past. And, as it was then, simple earth is the inert material mostly used to raise embankments and fill sandbags, which are no more canvas but plastic containers, and the baskets of different sizes, called *Hesco Bastion*, after the firm that patented them. They, just like the little "Lego" bricks, form the barriers, turrets and terraces of the numerous structures – castles – inside which most Western soldiers take cover.

It is earth which, depending on its compactness and composition, will have to absorb the kinetic energy of projectiles and shrapnel, block the shock wave of explosions and, when it is not sufficient to do that, scale down the effects.

This article reports the experiences gained in Operation "Enduring Freedom" at the "Salerno" Advanced Base at Khost, Afghanistan.

OLD REQUIREMENTS AND NEW TECHNIQUES

The most common system





employed to build a barrier are basically two: the "earth embankment" and the "basket barrier". Both systems necessitate, although in a different way, the employment of earth-movers. In the first case, the earth has to be heaped up to the desired height; the second method consists in filling canvas bags stiffened by metal netting (*Hesco Bastion*). From the protection point of view, the results are very similar; what differs are cost and building speed. The earth embankment is economically convenient, but its construction is affected by the composition of the soil. Rocky soil is difficult to work and the soft one, in time, suffers metamorphoses due to weather's action (rain, wind and sudden changes in temperature), and needs a periodical maintenance to avoid landslips, fractures and collapses. The baskets, on the contrary, must generally be procured outside the operation theatres and carried to the site, often becoming a considerable logistic burden. Nevertheless, their flexibility of employment, together with their structural

sturdiness, permits to achieve a decidedly higher level of reliability. In short, if it is true that all the protection perimeters are raised with the employment of these two systems, at the "Salerno" Advanced Base the general rule was to apply the first solution for sheltering materials and the second for

personnel protection. In practice, it was a mixed solution envisaging two successive shields: earth and baskets.

The fuels depot (fuels were contained in bags) and at least one of the ammunition stores could rely on a protection perimeter consisting entirely of an earth embankment. The inhabited areas were mainly located in the interior of basket barriers, since the latter, appropriately assembled, could reach a greater height. In fact, the baskets come in different sizes; the largest ones are about three metres long, the smallest measure about one metre and a half. Within the limits of statics, therefore, by superposing small and large baskets, it is possible to have over four metres of external wall and then place concertina and barbed wire on top of it.

Moreover, a protection perimeter raised with this system is defended by an anti-intrusion barrier made of a triple row of concertina or several lines of barbed wire at the suitable height, completed





ing uncontrollably, involving and destroying everything; in case of personnel shelters, the partitions are useful to check the effects of the shock waves and shrapnel produced by the explosion of bombs or rockets.

PROTECTION OF THE ENCAMPMENTS

In the encampment built at the "Salerno" Advanced Base, the off-duty personnel could not be considered risk-free. Their vulnerability derived from the fact that the falling shots and

with concertina if necessary. The distance between the two elements – defensive perimeter anti-intrusion barrier – can vary according to need but in general is about 30 metres, i.e. the throwing distance of an object.

If the one of the structures inside the compound (fuel depot, ammunition store, parking structure) needs a higher level of security, another anti-intrusion barrier can be built. The final result is that a first barrier surrounds the whole compound, the single structures have their own anti-intrusion barrier (the second) and all of them are equally protected by a barrier of baskets or by an embankment.

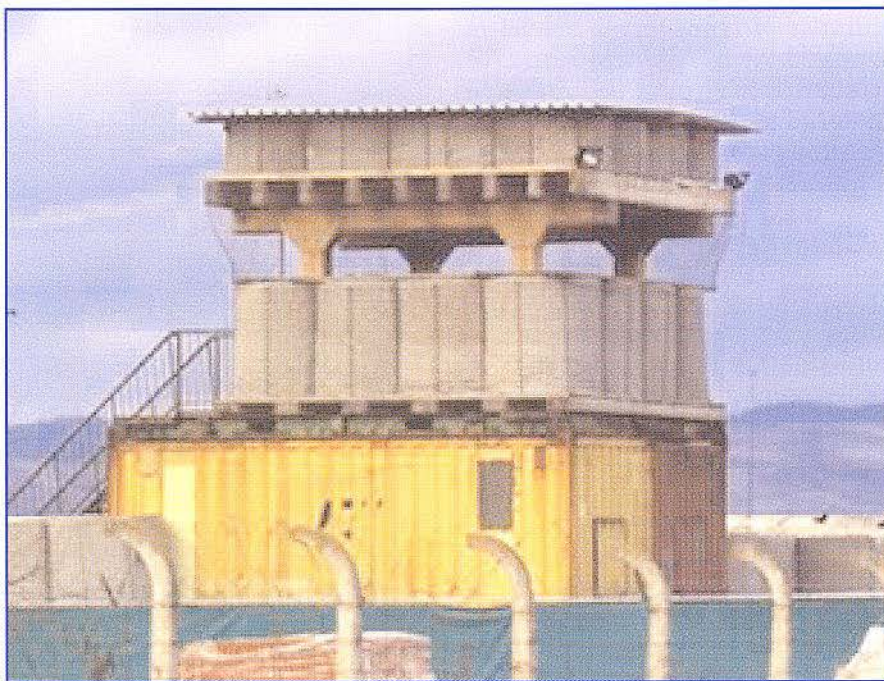
The complete system looks like this: outside there is an anti-intrusion barrier, very strong and very high; inside, very close to the protected area, a second barrier, less solid than the first one; more inside, a protection perimeter high enough to provide the necessary cover.

The ideal solution would be to compartmentalize the interior of the protection perimeter by building a number of partitions with the technique of the basket barrier. In the case of ammunition or fuel stores, this prevents a single explosion from spread-



the effects of rockets and mortar bombs that had succeeded in going over the height of the protection perimeter and landed in the inhabited area, would not find any sufficiently hard obstacle. Besides, it was impossible to sleep or eat inside the camp wearing a bullet-proof jacket all the time.

In fact there was no definitive solution to this problem, since the obvious one, that of preventing the enemy from firing, was not always feasible. The worst danger derived the 122 mm rockets launched against the base. Their range was over 10



km and, even without the support of sophisticated ramps and firing procedures, they guaranteed a reasonable precision.

However the risks could be reduced by applying some simple measures. Each tent was surrounded by a low wall of sandbags, whose ideal height was that of a cot. The partitions inside the area were increased by using the system just described which, as a matter of fact, prevented the fragments from hitting at their full range. But the most important measure was the construction of a system of shelters which were to be occupied in case of alarm. They were the best protection, and their only drawback was that they could be used only when the threat was located. Therefore the only protection from a surprise rocket-attack consisted in taking cover behind the first wall available.

THE SHELTERS

In order to provide an adequate protection from attacks launched with mortars or

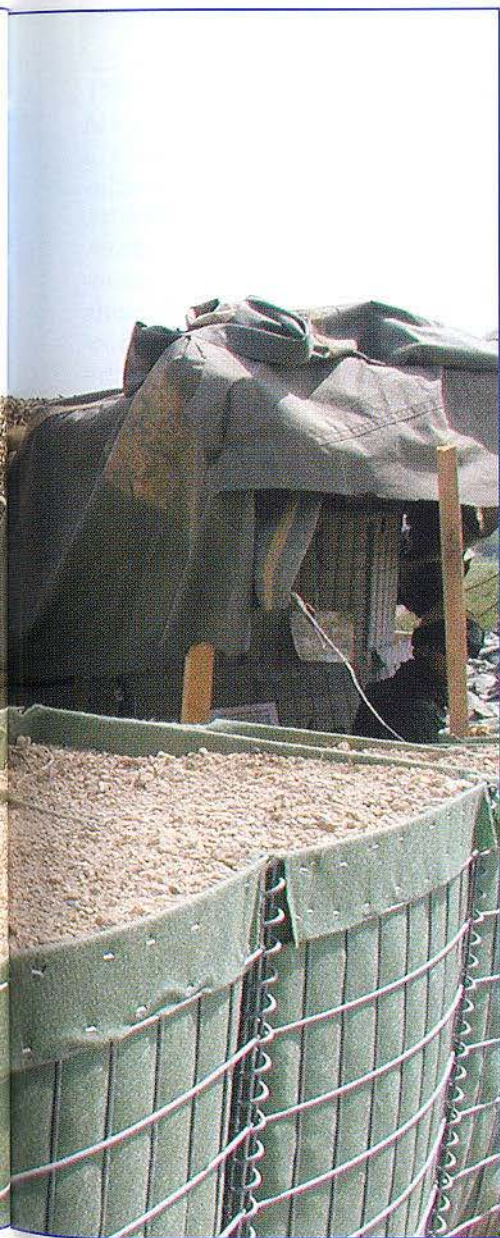
rockets, the following solutions have been adopted: dug-in containers and double lines of baskets covered with concrete blocks.

Dug-in container

Its construction is simple. It needs an earthmover, to make a hole large enough for the container. The container is let down or pushed into the hole along the ramp used by the machine. The ramp is also the access to the shelter. Once the container is inside, its roof is covered with one metre or more of soil, in order to guarantee an adequate protection from above. The system can consist of a single excavation, or a double one when it can hold two containers with opposite openings.

Double line of baskets

A second line of baskets filled with earth is built inside the protection perimeter, therefore along the perimetric barrier, and then another barrier is raised. Over the two lines of baskets, as elements of union, a

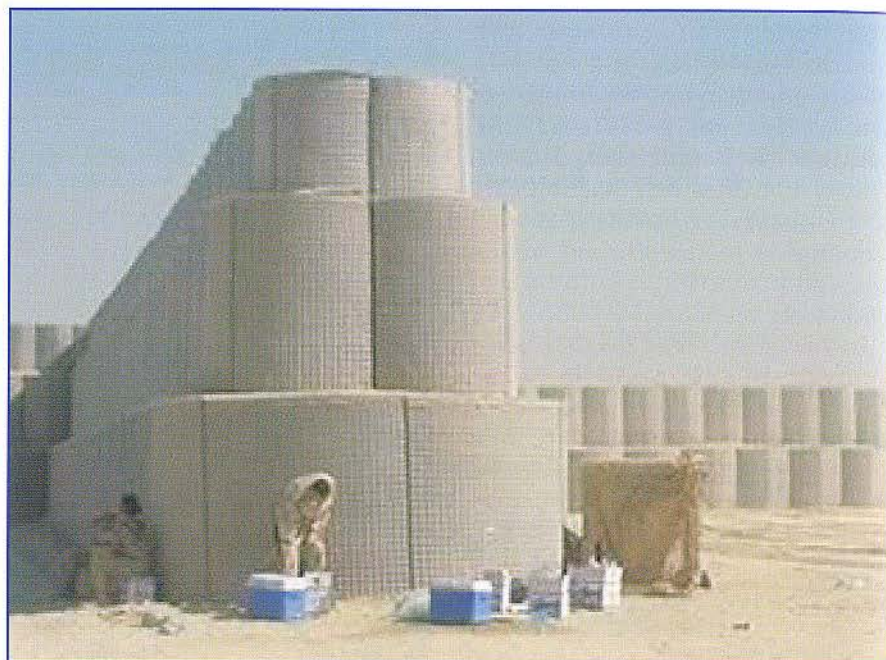


number of transversal beams is wedged in at the appropriate distance. These beams are covered with several layers of sandbags or smaller baskets. The shelter thus obtained, unlike the one described before, is external and elevated, and can also be used as observation turret or defensive emplacement.

Composition of concrete segments

The work is usually handed over to local contractors, responsible for manufacturing concrete segments in the shape of an inverted U, of suitable height and width. The measures of these elements are standard and, once they are placed side by side, they form a strong and reliable protection against direct fire and mortar/rocket fragments. To absorb the impact on the upper part, it is useful to place a layer of sandbags on the covering.

The common characteristic of these solutions is that they need a wall of sandbags or concrete in front of the entrances, in order to prevent fragments from penetrating into the



shelter.

THE OBSERVATION POSTS

The Observation Posts are elements which permit to survey the external defensive perimeter. Depending on the specific requirements, they can be integrated into the firing centres. The main requisite of a perimetrical OP is to have a good view of its responsibility sector, as regards the actual

perimeter and the natural accesses, as well as to permit a good view of at least two adjacent OPs. Hence the need to build the OPs on naturally dominant spots or raise the structure. At our Base both solutions were adopted. We just built protected emplacements on the small hills which existed along and inside the defensive perimeter and erected real towers, with wooden poles and ladders. In the latter case, the Engineer Corps of the U.S. Army had a good quantity of materials on hand: poles, planks and covers of proper thickness and reliability, which ensured a good result.

An alternative system, for example, was the one realized at the Bagram Base, which consisted in stacking up to three containers, which permitted to obtain the appropriate height but still needed a suitable superstructure to protect the personnel.

In short, the OP was a small tower which permitted to have a complete view of the area and ensured an adequate protection of the personnel on the platform. In general, this protection consisted of a small wall of



sandbags on the sides of the platform and a layer of bags on the roof.

In order to face possible critical situations, a number of secondary emplacements were built at the foot of each tower. They were rather deep and properly covered, and were to be occupied if the elevated platform had to be abandoned in order to continue defending the sector from a more protected place. These excavations were generally carried out with earthmovers and completed with sandbags and planks, as well as several layers of sandbags on the roof.

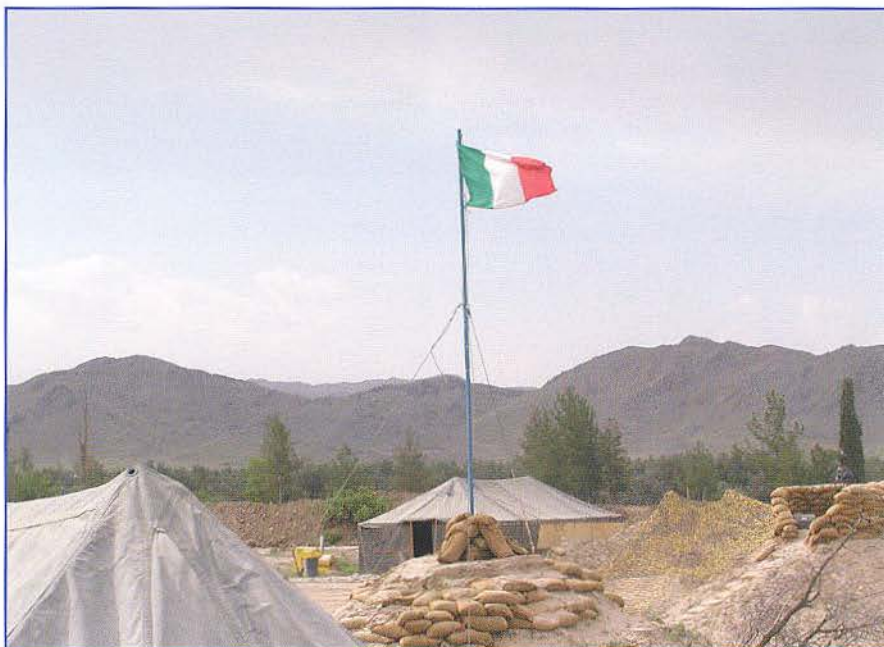
PROTECTION OF THE ACCESSES

The accesses to the perimeter and the individual areas of the compound were reinforced and continually controlled. A standard entrance included a series of barriers built with baskets or also with 200-liter drums filled with inert material. They were placed in such a way as to compel the vehicles to slow down and go through the chi-

cans at low speed and – in some cases – to manoeuvre. The flow was canalised by lateral ditches which were signalled by pickets and prevented last-moment evasive movements. The emplacements at the entrance were positioned in such a way as to enfilade the driver and were equipped with heavy weapons that could pierce also possible armour-plating. The entrance was also

blocked by barbed-wire entanglements. At night, and on some other occasions, a heavy vehicle obstructed the last passage, just in front of the guardroom.

As concerns the entrances to the internal areas, provided that it was necessary to slow down the vehicles with chicanes, a metal gate (closed at night), with concertina on top and in front, made the entrance of personnel on foot impossible.



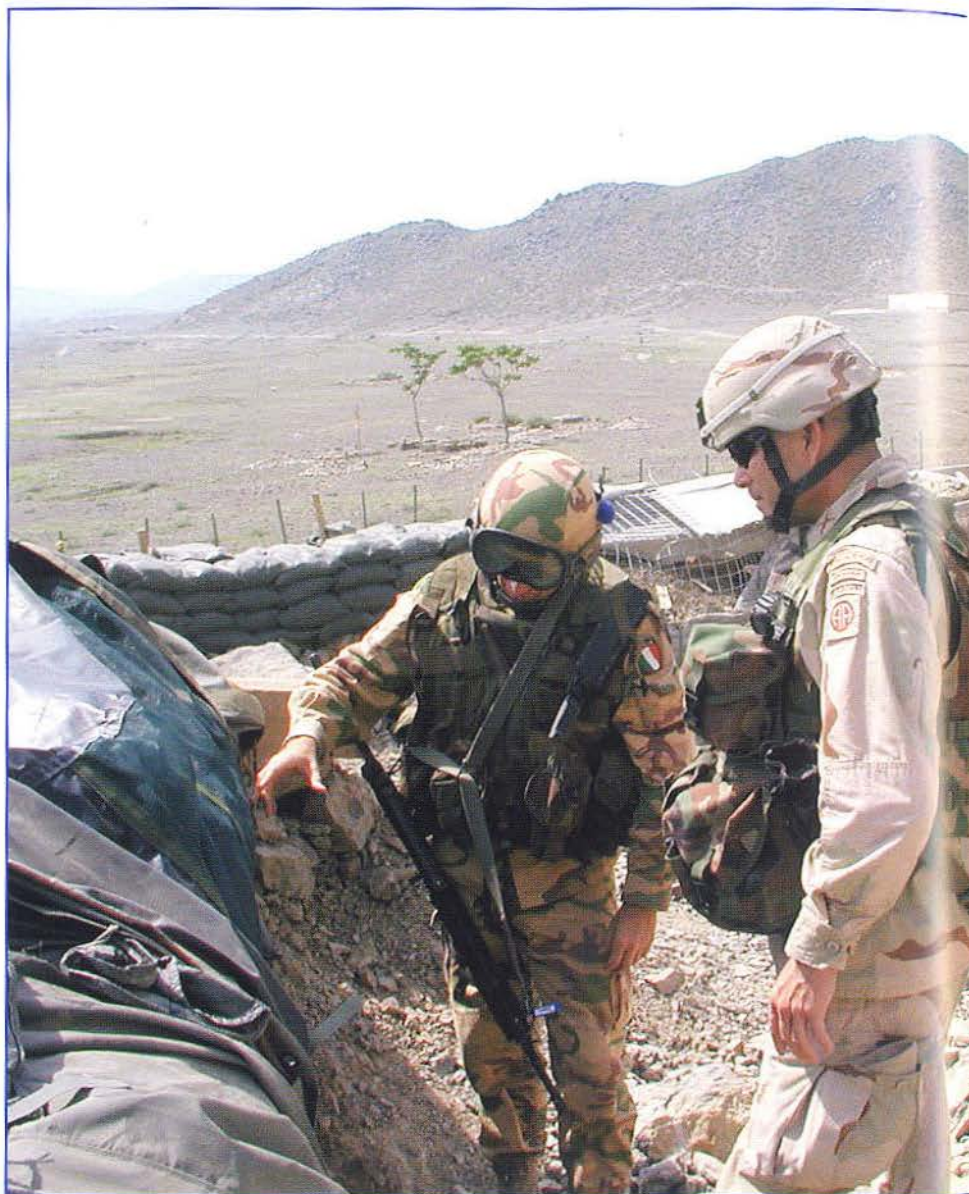
The gates were watched by a guard consisting of the number of soldiers considered necessary for the identification and control of personnel and vehicles.

THE FIRING CENTRES

Considering the length of the defensive perimeter, over 7 km, including the landing strip for the Hercules 130, the firing centres had the double task of integrating the OP functions and ensuring a constant and reactive presence in isolated and difficult positions, carrying out a completely autonomous defence of positions for more than 24 hours and be, at the same time, a deterrent for ill-intentioned persons.

The structures were located around a central Shelter-Command Post, appropriately fortified so as to provide a high survivability, and where it was possible to rest and eat; moreover there were several emplacements with their small depots.

Despite its being located inside a main defensive perimeter, each Firing Centre had its own defence, which in its most complete configuration included an external anti-intrusion barrier consisting of a triple concertina, an internal barrier formed by a



single concertina or a low barbed-wire fence and the actual defence, realized with a barrier of baskets and embankments, and completed with sandbags. Each weapon had main and a secondary emplacements, which were to be occupied according to need. The secondary positions permitted only a limited manoeuvre by internal lines. The Firing Centre oriented its weapons towards the most probable source of the threat, but in practice could react in every direction, since the perimeter barrier provided a protection which covered front, flanks and rear.

The emplacements had differ-



sive wall, adequately covered, with wide loopholes that permitted a good traverse.

The emplacement for a 60mm mortar was generally in the middle of the Firing Centre and did not need any particular protection, being inside the defensive wall. On the ground, it was organized by marking with pickets the direction of particular targets (predisposed), in case they had to

times required, helps us to find the most appropriate solution which, in any case, must be filtered through the Commander's sensitiveness. In view of the experience acquired in the Theatre, we can add that the works that were once a specific responsibility of the infantryman, today are entrusted to small but well equipped engineer units (the standard solution in the U.S.



ent characteristics, but were based on the same principles of construction.

For example, the emplacements for the "Milan" weapon systems were realized by placing platforms at variable height, from 100 to 120 cm, so as to permit to observe with a thermic camera and also to have a comfortable standing posture when firing. Obviously the back part of the emplacement was kept free of objects and materials.

The emplacements for 12.7 Brownings, MG 42/59s and "Minimis" were very similar to each other: a kind of turret which broke the continuity of the defen-

be pounded in conditions of scarce visibility. The direction and angle of elevation for hitting the target were written on every pole.

CONCLUSIONS

In the field of fortifications, as in many others, there are no strict and universally accepted rules defining in detail what to do and how. Still, there is a working system which takes into account the fundamental aspects of all operational problems and, depending on the threat, the means and materials available and the ground, as well as the

Army) or even let out on contract to qualified local labour.

In conclusion, all that revolves around this sector, in the last years has become again a matter of interest and development, affecting command decisions that can significantly influence the outcome of a campaign.

□

**Colonel,
Chief,*

*Public Information Office,
Army General Staff*

A substantial process of renewal has transformed one of the most prestigious institutes of military education and training into the "Army Simulation and Validation Centre"

THE WAR COLLEGE EV

by Giovanni Di Federico *

OPFOR

Since January 1 the School has been in charge of the training and validation of Command Posts and Units

By making use of the most advanced Command-and-Control and simulation systems, the Army Simulation and Validation Centre aims at organizing and implementing an innovatory type of Command Post Exercises, in order to verify the CPs' capability of conducting modern operations.

OLVES WITH THE TIMES

REPARTO

SIMULAZIONE

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Many identify the War College with the General Staff Courses. On the contrary, the prestigious Institute, even if it continues to give some types of courses, has undertaken new and more specific tasks in the modern sectors of Simulation and Validation of the Units. As of January 1 of this year, with the adoption of new organization charts, the Institute has become the "War College - Initial Education/Training Unit of the Army Simulation and Validation Centre".

The project goes back to 1999, when the Army General Staff started a study aimed at finding a simulation tool that could be employed to teach and train the personnel and also used for the training and validation of Units.

The study, conducted by a

Project Team, singled out the instruments considered more suitable and selected the War College as the Body to be entrusted with the management and development of the simulation activities, in particular with regard to "Constructive Simulation" (training of Command Posts) and "Live Simulation" (training of Units). The College was also charged with the activities connected with validation.

The task entrusted to the Army Simulation and Validation Centre is to organize and implement Command Post Exercises supported by automated Command-and-Control and "Constructive Simulation" systems; verify and validate the CPs' capability of conducting "War" and "CRO" (Crisis Response) operations and test the simulation and Command-and-

Control computer systems; coordinate and realize the modernization programmes of the Capo Teulada and Monte Romano ranges, in order to transform them into CTCs and subsequently manage their activity; develop the "Lessons Learned" cycle in both the training and operational field; hold refresher and qualification courses for officers considered for command of Major Units/Regiments, for high-responsibility top-level posts or destined to Brigade/Regiment Headquarters.

The organizational structure envisages, besides the classic staff and support bodies, the following three Divisions: Simulation, Courses and Lessons Learned, Ranges and CTC Centres.

We think it right to leave out the tasks related to Courses and Lessons Learned, as well as those



concerning Ranges and CTs, since they are not completely activated as yet. We shall focus our attention on Simulation and Validation, therefore on the Simulation Division.

Simulation permits to train personnel and units reducing the costs and environmental impact typical of traditional exercises, avoids the wear and tear of vehicles, weapon systems and materials, increasing and diversifying, at the same time, the training activities.

Simulation is normally divided in Operational Simulation (a logical-mathematical process that permits, in practice, to compare LAP and PAN during the decision-making process), and Training Simulation (representation of operational conditions permitting to train, respond or behave coherently in an assumed model-situation). A training situation is divided in "Virtual", oriented towards training individuals or crews on weapon systems, vehicles, etc. (a classic example is the flight simulator), "Live", which concerns the training of units on the ground, also with opposing parties (MILES is an example) and "Constructive" used to train staffs in the exercise of the Command and Control function.

The Army Simulation and Validation Centre is particularly interested in the "Constructive" and "Live" Training Simulation, respectively through the Simulation Division and the Ranges/CTC Division.

THE SIMULATION DIVISION

The division's task is to plan and organize Command Post Exercises (CPX) and Computer-Assisted Exercises (CAX) in WAR and CRO scenarios, in favour of Brigade- and Regiment- level Headquarters, through the use of Command-and-Control computer systems and specialized personnel, in order to train CPs in the correct and effective use of the doctrinal and procedural instruments, permitting the CP and its higher HQ to verify what training level has been reached (Training function). The Division certifies the technical-procedural level of the HQ involved in the exercise and provides the Higher Authorities with the necessary evaluation elements for the possible employment of the HQ in operations (Validation function).

The Division is organized as



follows: Coordination, Research and Study Office, with the essential task of coordinating the activities within the Division itself and in connection with the other Divisions of the Centre – with particular reference to the Lessons-Learned and Ranges sectors – developing studies, research and experiments in the computer sectors of Command-and-Control and Simulation; Plans Office, responsible for planning and carrying out computer-assisted and CP exercises, for working out the relevant documents and for the activity of

Facing page.

The Minor Unit HQ of the Regiment Simulation Centre.

Right.

The management room of the simulation systems.

Below

A Regimental Command Post.

Observation and Control (O/C) and Validation; Exercise Office: it predisposes, keeps in working order and manages all the Command-and-Control and Simulation systems during the CPX/CAX activities; organizes and conducts courses on SIACCON.

The Division must have at its disposal very sophisticated computer systems in the Command and Control and Simulation sectors, as



well as personnel highly specialized in the computer field, together with specialists on the various Functional Areas.

As regards Command-and-Control, the present availability is 90 SIACCON 1A Windows workstations, while for simulation the Division can count on two Constructive Simulation Systems (SISCO), one for training Regiment CPs and one, soon available, for Brigade CPs. These systems include 97 workstations (25 for Regiments and 72 for Brigades), about 30 workstations "in support"



(network operation, data loading, remote control), radio-communication system, LAN (Local Area Network) and WAN (Wide Area Network).

The Centre contains the structures needed to accommodate the new computer systems and conduct Regiment and Brigade CPX/CAX activities. The old and – for many of us – mythical "Trizio", "Zuretti" and "Bechi" schoolrooms and the small section-classrooms, which bring back so many old (more or less pleasant) memories to the mind of many officers, are now unrecognisable.

As regards personnel or, to put it better, the necessary professionalism, the present situation is not yet at the desired level. In time, at any rate, the Division will have at its disposal two types of Cadres: the specialists in Functional Areas (manoeuvre, information, fire, logistic support, command-and-control) who will speak English and, above all, will know the stan-

dardized doctrine and procedures used by NATO and the specialists in the field of computers and, in particular, of simulation.

The Division is a highly specialised "Range", equipped with sophisticated systems and managed by expert personnel who are at the disposal of the units for their operational requirements. CPXs and CAXs therefore are not a requirement of the Centre, and the Units which come to exercise are not a kind of "contribution" given to the Centre so that it can carry out these activities. Rather, the exercises are an opportunity for those who feel the need to train and test their operational capabilities.

SISCO

The Constructive Simulation System (SISCO), employed by the Simulation Division is German-made (with SIRA/GESI software). It permits to represent, through an

GLOSSARY

AAR – After Action Review;
C4 – Command, Control, Communications, Computers;
CAS – Close Air Support;
CAX – Computer Assisted Exercise;
CPX – Command Post Exercise;
CRO – Crisis Response Operations;
CTC – Combat Training Centres;
EPC – Combat Post Exercise;
EXCON – Bodies appointed to control the exercise;
GU – Major Unit;
HICON – Control Bodies from the Higher HQ;
L.L. – Lessons Learned;
LAP – Own Lines of action;
LOWCOM – Low Commanders;
O/C – Observers/Controllers;
OPFOR – Opposing Forces;
OPR – Officer of Primary Responsibility;
PAN – Possible enemy actions;
PC – Command Post;
SIACCON – Automated Command-and-Control System;
SISCO – “Constructive” Simulation System.

initial loading activity, the natural environment in all its components. In particular, by using specific digitised maps, it is possible to have a real representation of the area concerned, as regards orography, hydrography (with information about width and depth of the watercourses and fording possibilities), vegetation, roads (with information about width and gradients), field of vision, class of bridges, possibility of crossing on foot or on vehicles, weather conditions (which may influence other factors, such as visibility and practicability) inhabited areas; weapon systems (friend or foe) with the possibility of knowing their characteristics (range, dimensions, weight, usable types of ammunition, consumptions); ammunition, with indications for each type about calibre, effects, weight and dimension. Furthermore, one can get information on vehicles (friend and foe)



including aircraft and, for each of them: speed, disposable load (men and materials), wear rate, protection level, consumption, bulk, weight, ability to move on various types of ground or in different weather conditions, amphibious capabilities, supplies available, with description of type and initial location; units (friend and foe) down to the individual person, both on the ground and on vehicles, with information on working capability, speed, survivability; initial location of all vehicles, weapon systems, stocks and units.

During the exercises, SISCO also permits to manage: movements and activities of units, vehicles and weapon systems, such as patrols, helicopter landings, works on the battlefield, artillery and mortar fire, fire observation, CAS, logistic transport, position of minefields, reconnaissance (also by air), taking into account ground and weather conditions (for example, if a vehicle receives the order to move on a type of ground that cannot be travelled over, or to cross a bridge of a lower class, the vehicle does not move); logistic activities (if the consumptions are not made good the vehicle stops and the weapon system does



not fire; if the wounded are not rescued within a certain time limit they are considered dead); clashes between units (friends-foes) on the basis of force ratio, weapon systems, position on the ground, protection, field of vision and fire, weapons' range, effect of the munitions employed; in other words, a real debriefing, with the possibility of recording and reproducing the whole manoeuvre, or part of it, including radio communications, trends of consumptions and losses as well as variations in force ratio.

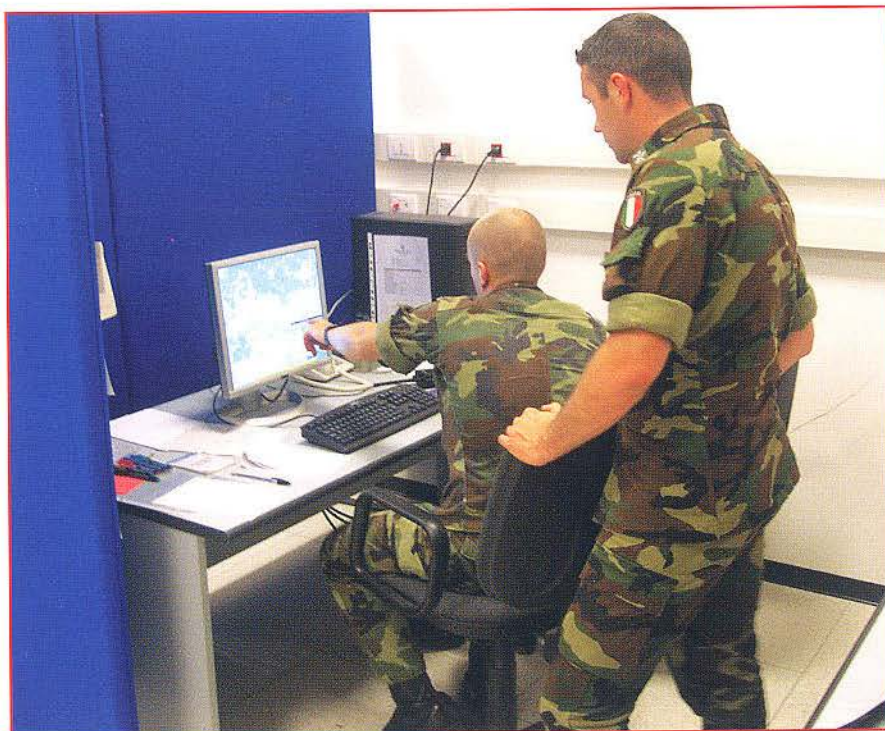
In short, SISCO represents the battlefield and is an untiring and autonomous producer of events and

Facing page.
The OPFORs' simulation team.

Right.
Platoon leaders during an exercise.

Below.
The corridor of access to the rooms of the Regimental Simulation Centre.

incidents. It permits to simulate the development of an operation in situations and environments very close to reality, where the smallest error of evaluation by the Commanders, any delay in issuing orders, any wrong calculation of times or any superficiality in studying the ground can have very serious consequences for the outcome of the manoeuvre.



THE EXERCISES

HICON and the CP on training interact through SIACCON. Every communication is made through this instrument, exactly as in real operations. The Brigade CPs interact with subordinate units (Regiments) through SIACCON; the Regiments, instead, employ their radios (in this case, the subordinate units are companies). Finally, the communications between companies and platoons are made by radio.

Before describing the organization of CPX/CAX, one should remember that their goal is no to

much to train in the conduct of the manoeuvre, but in the correct and efficient use of the NATO standard procedures.

The organization envisages a structure consisting of bodies for control of the exercise (EXCON), support (technical team, AAR team and "Real Life") and Surveillance and Control activity.

EXCON is run by a "Project Officer" and is the core of the exercise. It includes the "Blue Supports" i.e. the HQ immediately higher than the one conducting the exercise (artillery, engineers, logistics), as well as the enemy (OPFOR).

The support structure permits to intervene in the computer's systems through the Technical Support Team, to prepare the final meeting (AAR) and provide the logistic administrative support to the unit engaged in the exercise (Real Life). Furthermore, the OPR Officer can monitor the CP through the O/C Team, in view of the AAR and the Validation activity.

As we mentioned before, the main purpose of the CPX/CAX Exercises is to train the Headquarters. Therefore, in a first analysis, the subordinate units should not be concerned. But if we

restricted ourselves to the participation of the CPs alone, we would not fully exploit the capabilities of the systems and would still be conducting the old EPCs, where many – too many – things were "supposed", the references to reality were scarce and the possibility of verifying the training level reached was practically nil.

Therefore, the CP of the unit engaged does not participate in the exercise by itself, but with elements of the unit which help it to develop the manoeuvre on land and obtain the necessary feedback, i.e. the experience gained from the actual employment (LOWCOM).

Therefore, the Commanders at company and platoon level will be necessary and, in case of Brigade-level exercises, also the Regiment HQs, albeit in the shape of response cells.

The elements to be considered are essentially three: EXCON, representing the higher HQ and the enemy, the CP engaged in the exercise and the LOWCOMs (lower-level Commanders). The instruments are: SIACCON, SISCO and radio/telephone sets.

Within EXCON, all communications are made by phone.



Left.
Members of the simulation team of the Opposition Forces.

Below.
The Chief of the Simulation Division assessing data with members of his Staff.

Bottom.
The situation on the ground, as seen by a Platoon Leader on his terminal.

Who interacts with SISCO?

If we consider the system as a battlefield, the answer is: every pawn moving on the field, i.e. LOWCOMS (platoon leaders in particular) and Blue Supports on one side, and the enemy (OPFOR) on the other. This, when based on the criteria described above, gives the results of the manoeuvre which, through the communication of platoon leaders and OPFOR, go up the chain again and arrive at the CP and HICON.

This architecture clearly shows that, even if CPX and CAX Exercises are aimed at training CPs, which are the primary objectives of training (Primary Audience), indirectly they also exercise LOWCOMs and, above all, EXCON (Secondary Audience). This underlines the convenience of the presence in EXCON, and in particular in HICON, of personnel from the HQ immediately above the unit involved in the exercise. This is particularly true if one considers that the number of specialists in the functional areas of the Simulation Division is rather limited, and that the higher HQ is, together with the Commander of the unit, directly responsible for the training level of his forces, and therefore should be the first to want to know the level of the capabilities achieved by them.

During the exercise, a special "Observers and Controllers Team" continuously monitors the activity of the cells of the CP engaged in the



exercise, in order to gather elements that could be useful for detecting possible inadequate sectors. The information is then passed on to the unit Commander, both daily, to enable him to take the corrective measures, and at the end of the exercise.

Therefore, the activity of observation and control is not aimed at validation, but only at providing the Commanders with a support which enables them to know the training reality of their Command.

The Validation activity is generally carried out by the same Team of Observers and Controllers with the procedure described above, but their goals are different because

they want to decide whether the CP that carried out the exercise is capable of planning, organising and conducting an operation.

The Validation activity is made on the basis of special check lists, devised by the Simulation Centre,



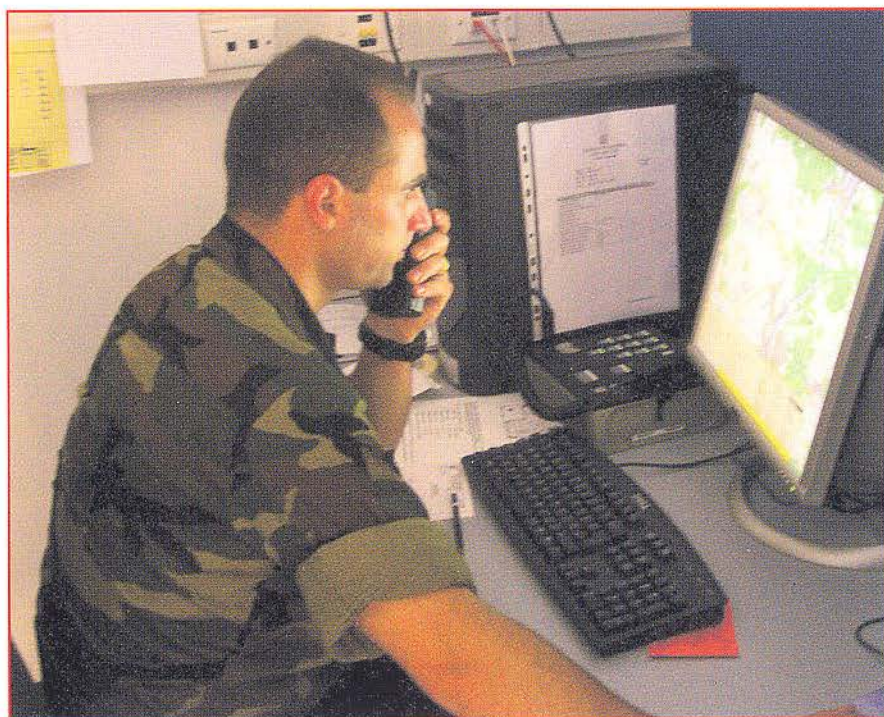
Right.

A platoon leader transmits to his Company Commander the situation displayed by the simulator.

Below.

SIACCON-training classroom.

which cover four areas: deployment capability; C4 architecture; decision-making and planning process; capability of conducting and sustaining an operation.



correct the wanting sectors, unless an already validate unit is ready to replace the non-validated one.

The evolutionary process of the War College, connected with its reconfiguration as Army Simulation and Validation Centre, emphasises its tasks, organization, capabilities and activities.

The intention is to make this reality known, in order to persuade the units to use this new instrument for improving their capabilities in different scenarios, very similar to the real battlefield, which would be very difficult, if not impossible, to represent in the traditional ranges and training areas.

In fact, the activities carried out by the Centre, CPX and CAX, are

for the Headquarters an unparalleled way of training, favouring, at the same time, the mix of personnel, the HQ functionality, the capability of planning and reacting in situations of operational stress, as well as that of managing all the components (including the most specialist ones), the knowledge of doctrine, of the NATO procedures and of the English language, as well as the skill to use SIACCON.

The future of the Centre depends on the Commanders who still feel that their duty is to train their men as effectively as possible.

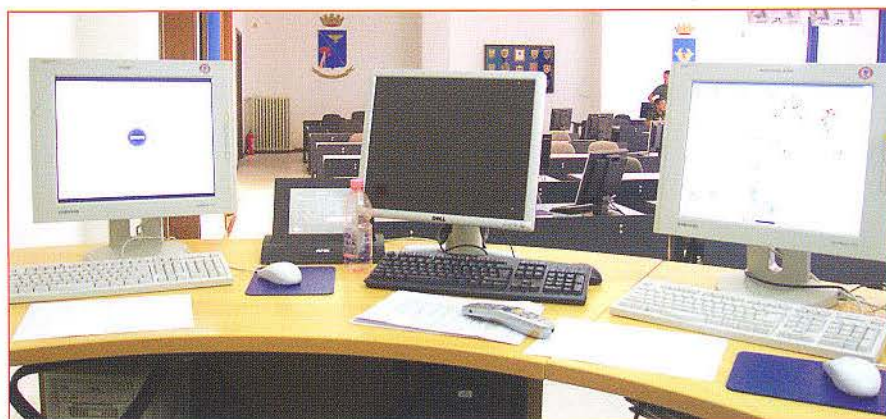
□

**Brigadier General,
Chief, Simulation Division,
War College*

CONCLUSIONS

Before closing, it is necessary to analyse thoroughly the concept of Validation, which means to certify the efficiency level of a Headquarters, providing the Higher Authorities with evaluation elements for its possible employment in operations.

A Commander's decision to validate a unit must be considered very carefully, since he must know what to do in case of a negative result. The Validation cannot be made immediately before an operation for which the unit has been tasked, because, in case of unsuitability, there would not be enough time to



The long journey of the European Union

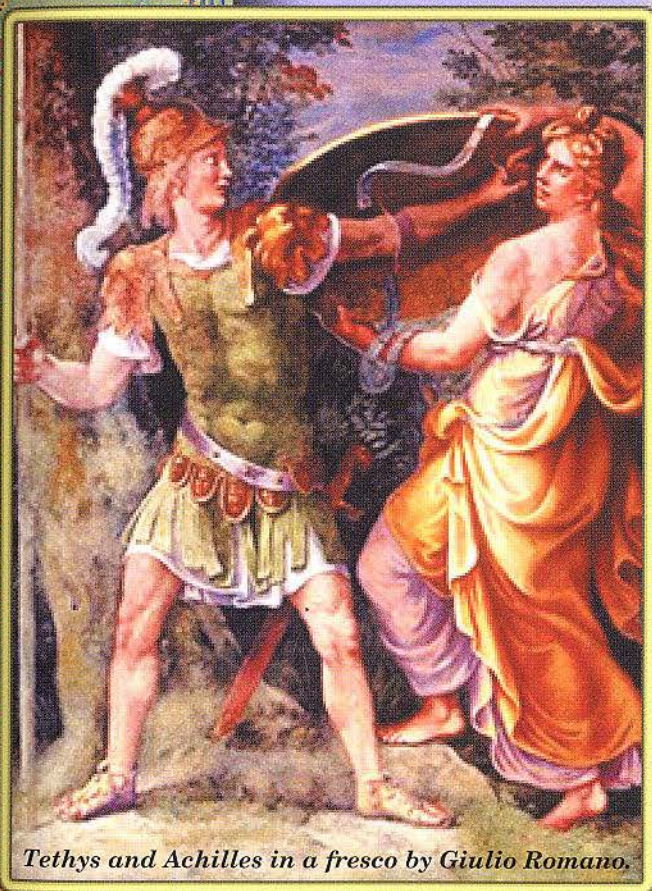
THE CONTINENTAL UNION BET

*From the first thinkers
to the Founding
Fathers,
from the enlargement
to 25 States to
the European
Constitution
and up to these days*



BETWEEN MITH, IDEA AND REALITY

by Carmine Fiore *



Tethys and Achilles in a fresco by Giulio Romano.

The idea of European unity is the conclusion of a complex story that has lasted for centuries or rather millennia. Today Europe is certainly a splendid and fascinating reality but in order to call it completed it will be necessary to achieve some important functions of its political life, such as the common Foreign and Security Policy. There are still some questions to be solved, nevertheless this aggregation, which along the events of mankind has generated values, rules, institutions and civilization, has covered a remarkable route.

Brussels, June 18, 2004, 10:30 p.m. Twenty-five Heads of State and Government stand up and applaud: they have just approved the Constitution of the European Union! It is a historical moment that crowns a long journey.

On the first of May 2004 the European Union had grown by taking in ten more Countries of its eastern and Mediterranean side (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia,

Hungary, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus). The dramatic developments of other international events did not permit to adequately emphasize the historical significance of the occasion.

One can only wish that this new important event will not be passed over in silence, because we are witnessing a crucial passage in our history.

In fact, if we go back to the entire space of the twentieth century we see a two-faced situation, where the first half of the century is marked by violent conflicts. The European nations, in 1914-1918, sacrifice an entire generation of young people and, after a little more than twenty years, do not hesitate to clash again on the battlefield, yielding to the blind instinct of a fierce and exasperated nationalism.

The size of the material and moral tragedy of that long conflict emerges in all its drama as soon as the smoke of the last explosions dissolves. The glooming prospects synthesized by the explosion of the two atomic bombs and by the "Iron Curtain", dropped to divide Europe in two fields, open the hearts to the darkest forecasts.



The ruins of the Phoenician temple of Byblos, in Lebanon. Byblos, listed by archaeologists among the most ancient cities in the world, was the most important Phoenician centre.

Nevertheless, precisely from this black picture of the situation, the best moral and cultural resources of the Old Continent materialize. A Continent which for many centuries has been a beacon of civilization for the entire world. That is the start of a successive chapter of the European history of the twentieth century, from the second post-war period to this day. A historical chapter that has a special appeal because we are faced by an economic-institutional matter which is handled with peaceful methods, as has never occurred in the long web of human events, and which can be proposed as an organizational model for the solution of similar problems in other parts of the world.

THE XX CENTURY, A TWO-COLOUR PERIOD FOR EUROPEAN HISTORY

Even if the project of European unification was concretely shaped only after two devastating world wars, today's idea of Europe does not come up from nothing. It is actually the very emblematic goal of a long and contradictory story which this survey proposes to examine. We say this because the possible hypotheses about which the Europe we want to build depend also on the quantity and quality

of our knowledge of the past.

Let us go over the entire history, in order to know the evolutionary moments, and the involutions, and also to find out the further future possibilities of development.

The perspective of the analysis will be necessarily ample and synthetic as regards the past and, as we go along, more thorough and analytical of the recent events.

To speak of the European idea we ought to overstep the dimension of fantasy and enter the recesses of mythology. Europa is Tethys' (the Earth) and Ocean's daughter. The legend narrates that Zeus, in love with the beautiful girl, changes himself into a strikingly handsome white bull with human eyes. He approaches her on the shores of Phoenicia and convinces her to mount on his back, he abducts her, crosses the Mediterranean and reaches Crete, where he makes himself known and possesses her. The union gives birth to Minos, the founder of Cretan civilization, the first and most ancient in Europe.

As always, myths contain folk tales together with concrete references.

The idea of Europe is actually closely connected with the area where, historically, the most ancient western civilization, the Greek one, is born and takes shape precisely in the geographic area where two civilizations (the Greek-European and the Asian civilization, even older) arrive at a violent confrontation.

The idea starts to assert itself in the IV Century B.C., in Alexander the Great's period, when, because of the direct and terrible clashes that the Greeks must endure against the Persian Kings for their very survival, the confrontation between two worlds, Europe and Asia, emerges and spreads in the conscience of the Greeks. Europe is understood as the motherland of civil customs and liberty, Asia as a continent of tyrannical regimes. The sites that gave the

name to the most significant events of this contention (Thermopylae, Marathon, Salamis) are considered battles of free men against despots.

This conflict has seen many bloody episodes in the long centuries of history. We mention in this regard: in the period of the Roman Empire; the recurring wars against the Parthians; the long parenthesis of the Crusades, when the clash of civilizations becomes radicalised with a strong religious accentuation; the centuries-old clash with the Turkish-Ottoman empire; the recent Middle-East conflicts.

An observation which is a leap forward in time: still today, in that area, we can see the meeting/clashing focal points of two civilizations, heirs to the Greek and Asian ones, i.e. the Western and Arab civilizations. Two civilizations which up to now, after 3000 years and in a historical phase where the world is characterized by the phenomena of globalization and interdependence, have not yet been able to find an adequate *modus vivendi*.

EUROPE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD, THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE XVI CENTURY

The idea of Europe, as indicated in our introduction, was born in Greece but it is the Roman Empire which, on the one hand, has spread the Greek civilization in the world known at the time and, on the other, has built, along the centuries, a common cultural and civilian basis, solid and long lasting. Rome has given essential foundations and references to the European continent, with common language, law system, public organization and lifestyle. When the Empire declines, its functions are inherited by the Christian Church, which finds the ground and the environment suitable for its propagation.



Minos' palace in Knossos, central city of the Minoan civilization, which takes its name from the legendary King of Crete.

In the ten centuries of the Middle Ages (from the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 A.D. to the discovery of America in 1492) some new elements enrich the idea of Europe.

In the one side the Arab-Saracen invasions, coming from the Mediterranean, assailed the main Roman beacons of civilization and power which were the great Italian and Spanish cities. This caused a withdrawal of those power centres towards the interior and the emergence of a new "directional stream", represented by the Gallic-German world, the most complete expression of which is the Carolingian empire.

On the other side there were the first projects aimed at promoting a coordination of the action of the European states, envisaging new institutions for a common government of the entire continent. In substance, this was the first explicit recognition of Europe as a common "motherland", with all the meanings that this word implies. Precisely for this reason, the most different peoples which, commanded by Charles Martel opposed the Arabs at the battle of Poitiers in 732, were called with the all-inclusive name of *Europeenses*. In the year 800, together with the imperial rank, the title of *Rex patriae Europae* was conferred to Charlemagne, for having restored the European political unity, broken by the bar-



Greece in the V Century B.C.

barian invasions.

A further and important characterization of Europe, in the medieval period, was the predominance of the concept of religious uniqueness. The Emperor took up the task of protecting, promoting and extending the Western Christianity and the Crusades themselves were explained in this perspective. The fight against the Muslims in order to hold back their expansion and free the Holy Sepulchre compelled the Christian nations to set aside their disputes and make common cause against Arabs and Turks. Because of this necessity, significant projects flourished. For the first time there were talks of federation, association, confederation: terms that are still used today.

The prevalence of the religious element over the political one will be a constant, fundamental factor in the whole Middle Ages, with both positive and negative consequences.

In fact, if on the one side this element served to consolidate the peoples on the western part, on the other, after the schism of the Orthodox Church, it contributed to separate the Continent's western part from the eastern one: the Slavic world, which somehow had been absorbed and amalgamated by the Roman Empire, was once more discriminated and pushed back beyond the imperial *limes*.

Especially when, in the second half of the fifteenth century, with the sensational event of the fall of Constantinople and the end of the Eastern Empire, the Islamization of that region of Europe and of the Balkans caused a gradual disappearance of the concept of Europe, which was by then geographically limited to its western part.

Only with the humanistic culture, which opens the way to the Renaissance, the "religious hold" would relax, letting the concept of "Europeans" emerge. Europeans, not only as believers in a common religion but rather as dwellers of a definite geographical place, all imprinted by the same cultural and moral civilization, despite the divisions and clashes among factions and States.

In the sixteenth century the idea of Europe was therefore characterized by another, important meaning: the political one. Niccolò Machiavelli stressed it when he maintained that the idea of Christianity as foundation of the common European civilization was to be overcome, because what counted for defining civilization was the political organization. The author of "The Prince" went even beyond this with his elaboration of the proposal to find forms which could guarantee a political balance among the European States; a theory which has been taken up now and again, and even applied in the following centuries until the present time. A concrete example of such a balance was going to be reached in Europe with the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, at the end of the terrible Thirty Years' War, which had seen as protagonists France on one side and the Hapsburg of Austria and Spain on the other.

EUROPE IN THE XVII AND XVIII CENTURY

In the wake of the Peace of Westphalia, the seventeenth century was the period which saw

the conception, ripening and spreading of important projects for European unity; projects of a permanent connection for a lasting peace in the Continent. In the face of continuous tensions and wars, many enlightened minds, not only thinkers and cultured men but also statesmen and protagonists of the political and military clashes, affirmed the need to define new political structures and institutions, not at state level but at European level. Emblematic and certainly very "forward" was the project of the French King Henry IV for a great peace alliance among the European States through the creation of a European Confederation as the seat for taking common decisions. This body should have had powers not only for the equilibrium among the States, but also for the defence policy against the enemies outside Europe and for trade, with the abolition of customs barriers and the freedom of exchange. What a farsightedness! It is the very project that will be implemented only in the last years of the XX Century, i.e. after more than three hundred years!

The assassination of the King prevented the plan from going beyond this first phase of elaboration.

A peculiar occurrence was that experienced by William Penn, the Englishman, who at the end of the seventeenth century emigrated to America and obtained from the English King the present-day State of Pennsylvania as payment for the enormous debts incurred by the Crown with Penn's father. Penn worked out for "his" State a constitution that set up a direct-democracy republic with universal suffrage.

This experience offers us the cue for anticipating an observation which refers also to the present. It can supply a key for understanding events that concern the United States today.

In substance, the English

colonies which fought for their independence in the second half of the eighteenth century and which, together with the other territories of North America, were to constitute the United States, have known only this "direct democracy" and can somehow be defined as "democratic fundamentalists". The answer to the threats to democracy is almost always total and sometimes "visceral". There is therefore a lot of difference from the Europeans, who have behind them a history of greater depth, thorough the experiences of extremely varied forms of State (empire, monarchy, absolute State, constitutional State, dictatorship, republic!). These Europeans, precisely because of their historical background, when faced by a threat to democracy tend, unlike the Americans, to react in a softer and more multifaceted manner.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century – the Age of Enlightenment – other important projects for European unity were appearing and spreading throughout the Continent. The abbot de Saint Pierre had advanced the fundamental hypothesis (1713) called the *Project for Perpetual Peace* which, safeguarding the sovereignty of the single States, found the instrument for ensuring peace in a Treaty instituting a European Union and a Congress which represented the sovereignties present in Europe. It was actually the construction of a real European Confederation which envisaged: a perpetual alliance among sovereigns; full autonomy and power of the sovereigns inside their respective States; their voluntary submission, as regards international problems, to the superior decisions of a European Senate; a financial contribution for the common necessities; collective intervention against those who broke the agreement, on the basis of the unanimous vote of the European Senate; unanimous vote for important decisions and by



Leonidas, King of Sparta, who went down in history for his heroic death at Thermopylae, while trying to halt the advance of the Persian army into Greece.



In the summer of 1099 the Crusaders occupied Jerusalem, after a siege of some weeks.

majority vote for matters of lesser importance.

Immanuel Kant, the philosopher, took up and widened the abbot's project, because he believed that the political objective of perpetual peace could not be limited only to Europe but should concern the whole world, with the signature of a universal non-rescindable peace-treaty.

Another significant contribution to the idea of Europe came from Voltaire, a philosopher of the Enlightenment, who identified in the *darkness of ignorance and superstition* the main obstacles to a European political solution. Therefore the growth of Europe's cultural and moral unity was fundamental. According to Voltaire, the wise men's work, even if it seemed useless owing to its scarce immediate success, was nevertheless very significant in the long term, because through cultural union it was possible to achieve political unity.

In this regard it is important to underline that every political presentation was oriented towards the pursuit of a balance starting from the situation of the time, centred on the existing States. Only at the end of the eighteenth century, with the French Revolution, the balance's system was upset when the French Republic initially proclaimed the

peoples' right to self-determination as a new foundation of international law and, afterwards, the principle of *revolutionary expansion*, on the basis of which France was the bearer of the ideas of liberty among all peoples.

On the basis of this principle Napoleon revolutionized the balances among the States of eighteenth-century Europe, which was later restored by the Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815.

Thus, the concept of balance which, in the eighteenth century, had characterized all the elaborations of intellectuals and statesmen, at the end of the same century suffered a crushing break.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, another ideological trend took shape, which was going to have significant consequences until the end of WWII.

It was the "nationalism" introduced by Jean Jacques Rousseau which took up the project of Saint Pierre but, though he wished a form of federate government, feared that this could harm the autonomy and identity of the individual Nations; autonomy and identity were an absolute value that had to be safeguarded.

Rousseau crossed swords with Voltaire to the point of contesting Europeanism as a sterile process which would level the identity of the peoples. Rousseau's Europeanism had strong national characteristics which never went further than an organization of the federal type.

Voltaire challenged this idea because he considered dangerous a line of thought based on the centrality of the national spirit which, inevitably, would clash with a continental concept.

The elements of defence and enhancement of the national identity raised by Rousseau were to be widely accepted already at the end of the eighteenth century by poets, thinkers, cultured men and politicians, and would produce the nineteenth century's nationalism and Romanticism.

EUROPE IN THE XIX CENTURY

The nineteenth century opened with the Napoleonic adventure. After many centuries, the European Continent was united. An event that had never occurred after Charlemagne.

Napoleon was successful not only because of his talents as leader but also for the fascination excited by the principles carried by the Revolution: liberty, equality, fraternity. The Napoleonic epos swept away all the preceding orders, especially in Germany and Italy. But it was a temporary experience, marked by France's hegemony, which was not fully accepted by the other European States.

The system thus created did not survive Napoleon's defeat.

With the Congress of Vienna of 1814-15, the preceding situation of balance that had been taking shape in the last centuries was re-established. The result was a European order hinged on the sovereigns' right and not on the conditions and aspirations of the peoples.

The structure devised in Vienna was meant to last a long time but, after only a few years, it was challenged by new tensions and repeated uprisings.

But what "fanned the flames" was the idea of nation, devised by Rousseau, as we said, whose first and most rigorous theorist was the German philosopher Johann Fichte.

It is the great idea which was going to cross the entire European history of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century and to overshadow the pro-European conceptions of the earlier centuries.

The nineteenth century thus became simultaneously the century of national revivals and of European oblivion.

The idea of defence of the national liberty and identity acquired depth also because it

was combined with the cultural movement of Romanticism. They became two indissoluble concepts, two sides of the same coin. The movement of nationalism/romanticism was especially alive in Germany, which in those years was a real European philosophical and cultural workshop (England can be considered the economic workshop and France the politico-institutional one).

It was therefore natural that the ideas claiming one's own national individuality should find their breeding ground precisely in geographical realities, such as Germany and Italy, where the presence of the nation, understood as a cultural identity of language, values, customs and traditions did not go together with an omothetic institutional realization.

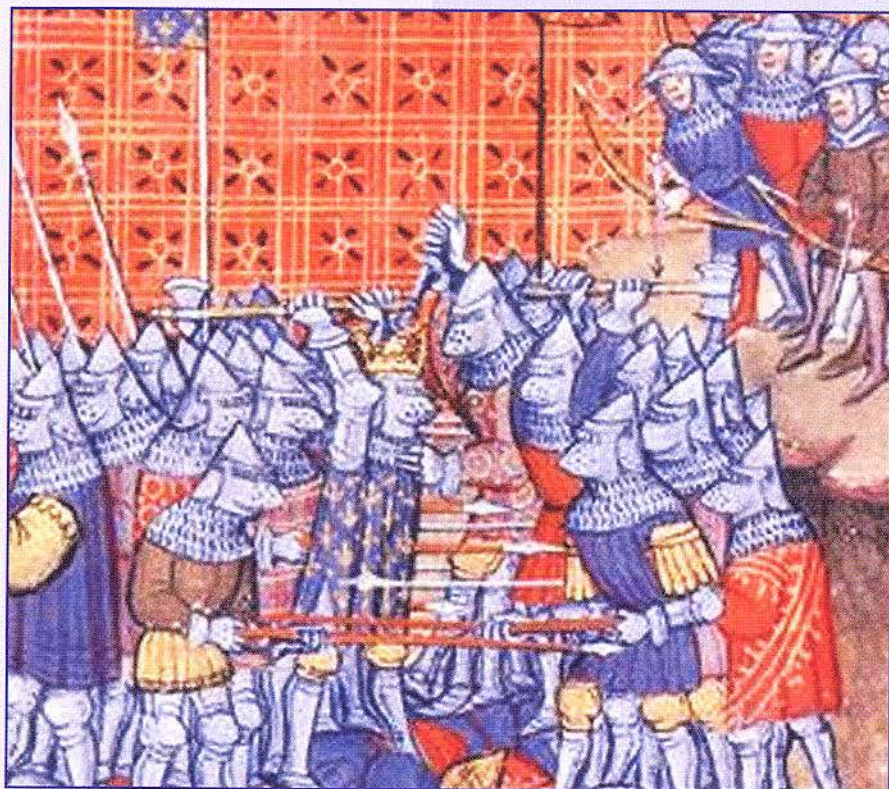
The nationalists disowned the philosophers of the Enlightenment and their faith in the absolute value of reason, and extolled ideals, the sacred, poetry, beauty and spirit. This emphasis on one's own individuality was aimed at stressing his value and was set in contrast with other realities. While Europeanism united, nationalism divided.

Novalis, the German poet, so expressed his thought: *it will come, must come, the time of perpetual peace, with the new Germany as capital of the world.*

Nationalism (and Romanticism, that accompanies it) was therefore painted with deep colours, with positive and negative values. On the one side, in fact, it was translated into ideas that were going to awaken peoples and cause the involvement of the hearts in the struggles for independence and liberty. On the other hand, by emphasising the ideas of mission, pre-eminence and supremacy of a nation over another, it was going to produce the deviations and mistakes which would characterize the entire history of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. As a secondary negative effect, nationalism would



*Christopher Columbus, the
Genoese navigator.*



The battle of Poitiers, in 1356, where the 7000-men English army, led by Edward, the Black Prince, encountered the much more numerous French army, guided by King John II. Despite their numerical inferiority, the English won the battle.

enfeeble the idea of Europe.

The "primacy" concept that we mentioned before echoed in the great thinkers of all Countries.

According to the French historian François Guizot *the characteristics of France's civilization make her particularly apt to lead the march of the European civilization.*

The Italian Vincenzo Gioberti claimed *the moral and civilian primacy of the Italians.*

For Giuseppe Mazzini *Italy is the land destined by God to carry out the great mission of giving a moral unity to Europe.*

Against this chorus in praise of nationalism some dissenting voices were raised, contesting its foundation and pointing out its dangerousness. Wolfgang Goethe, who had witnessed the Prussian wars against Napoleon, saw in nationalism the *humus* most suitable for nurturing hate among peoples.

According to Cesare Balbo, the idea of a nation's primacy was simply the fruit of *unreasonable arrogance*. Mazzini himself conferred an evolution to his initial thought and considered the nation

not as a value in itself but as a means, albeit a very noble means, for the harmony of the entire mankind (in this perspective he puts the "Giovane Europa" (Young Europe) beside the already existing "Giovane Italia").

A further accentuation of these concepts of national superiority had occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, when certain theories upheld the supposed superiority of some races as compared to other ones. This outlook explained the colonial conquests, which were in part motivated by geopolitical and economic interests but also by extreme ideas, such as the superiority of the European civilization and of the white race. Cecil Rhodes, the English explorer and founder of Rhodesia, had no doubts about the *burden of the white man*, whose mission was to dominate and civilize the world.

It is almost natural that, in such a situation, the idea of Europe, the projects and the hypotheses of creating connecting bodies, such as those worked out during the two previous centuries, were decidedly set aside.

Only the feeble voices of poets and literates could be heard. According to Victor Hugo, *a day will come when one will see these two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, placed face to face, holding out hands above the seas...to obtain welfare for all, brotherhood of peoples and the power of God.* For the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, the advent of Europe will put an end to *the comedy of its bunch of tiny states and the multiplicity of its dynastic and democratic unrealistic ambitions.*

On the political plane, the only proposals were formulated by the English who, during the Congress of Vienna, advanced the idea, which had no sequel, of a *Commonwealth of Europe.*

In the remaining part of the century there are no further elab-

orations worth mentioning; this also is a precise sign of how the interest for Europe's unification had by then become secondary. Under the impulse of nationalism and Romanticism, Europe headed for the first World War!

We have been following the course marked by the idea of Europe from its mythological genesis until World War One.

As we said, the perspective of our analysis has been necessarily ample and synthetic.

The events of the twentieth century – because they were decisive for the implementation of this idea – require instead a deeper and more detailed examination.

EUROPE AT THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The twentieth century opened with the first World War, the great European fratricidal conflict. During that war there was a collapse of the sense of belonging to a single civil, geopolitical, economic and social reality. In addition, there was also the perception of a reevaluation of the primary role that Europe had been playing until then, “in solitude”, on the world scene.

A new geopolitical and economic reality emerged: the United States of America, which had been playing a decisive part for the conclusion of the war, and was beginning to become an increasingly important reference for the idea and the development of human progress. The new reality was starting to replace Europe in the “solitary” role that it had always been playing. The United States was beginning to excel in science, technology, economy, work organization and functioning of public services. By then, Europe had ceased to be the only “beacon” of world civilization.

It is the United States itself, represented by President Woodrow Wilson, that works out a plan for constituting a suprana-

tional body, the “League of Nations”, as a seat for the representation of specific interests, settlement of controversies and exercise of active surveillance on the violations of the new system of balances. Unlike the Congress of Vienna, its fundamental value is the principle of nationality: *peoples have the right to national self-determination...all well-defined national aspirations will have to obtain the most complete fulfilment that can be granted.* This was the intention and the dream.

Actually, the Europe that emerged from the peace treaties showed contradictory situations, with a completely unbalanced organization. Many populations were denied their legitimate national aspirations.

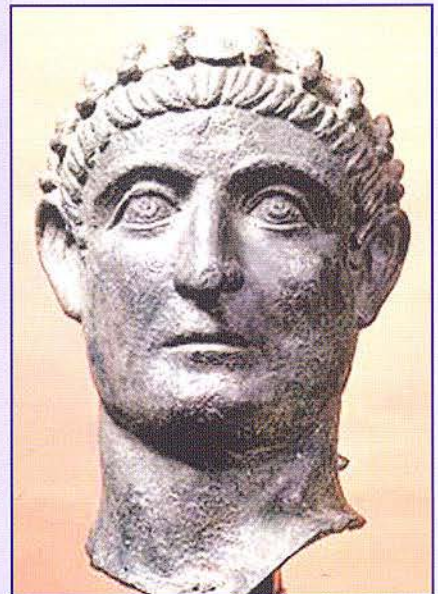
In 1919, the League of Nations was constituted in this scenario of precariousness and new tensions; but the United States, although it had promoted it, did not join and withdrew into its isolationism. The League of Nations was born “lame”, and was destined to have an ever weaker and irrelevant role in international relations.

THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE TWO WARS

The “League of Nations” was an international organization deputed to regulate the relations among Nations, but had no coercive capability.

In Europe, where the conflict had mainly taken place and where there had been the greatest number of losses, efforts were made to go even further by theorizing the construction, not of an “international forum of debate”, as the League of Nations was, but of a supranational structure that would absorb some portions of the sovereignty of the single Countries.

Thus the idea of a federate Europe was taking shape. It was not a completely new idea because



The Roman Emperor Constantine the Great. In 330 A.D. he transferred the Capital from Rome to Byzantium which, therefore, was named Constantinople.



Niccolò Machiavelli played a primary role in Italian politics between the XV and XVI Century.

it had already had a first (although short-lived) realization, in the ninth century, with Charlemagne.

Nevertheless, as emerges from the preceding analysis, after that experience the idea of a federate Europe had remained an utopia of intellectuals and individual personalities, but had never given shape to organized political movements. Only after WWI the idea of a united Europe became the programme of militant movements and leading *elites*.

The first of these movements was generated by the initiative of the Austrian Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, who wished a *federation founded on the principle of union and not of unity* and warned Europe about the new centres of power that were arising in the world (United States, Japan, Soviet Union). For defence, a European bloc around the French-German axis should have been formed (i.e. precisely the Countries which had broken the European balance several times).

Kalergi's project obtained a great success: on September 5, 1929, the French Prime Minister, Aristide Briand (Nobel prize for peace) presented it, with touching appeals, to the League of Nations. The matter seemed concluded. It was not so! As always, the Assembly, unwilling to solve the problem, entrusted the project to a Committee of study, and that was the end of it.

Despite this basic incapability and inertia, some steps were taken on the road to peace: in 1922 the Conference on disarmament in Washington; in 1925 the Pact of Locarno involving Italy, France, Germany and Great Britain as a guarantee of the frontier between France, Belgium and Germany; in 1928 the Briand-Kellogg Pact, to ban war as a means for solving international conflicts (about 60 Countries joined it).

The serious economic crisis of 1929 marked the end of hopes and illusions. In the face of the contingent difficult economic problems, the laboriously sketched agreements collapsed and national particularisms prevailed again, with the adoption of autonomous and inevitably conflicting solutions. Also America tried to solve its problems by doubling customs barriers, confirming its political and cultural isolationism which was going to last until the tragic Sunday of Pearl Harbour. On the tariff plane, the major European Countries behaved in the same way. The world trade was cut by half.

Free trade, which had been considered the best guarantee for peace, fell to pieces. Instead of fostering union, as was hoped by the supporters of Europeanism, the economic crisis brought division. A new model of economic nationalism was born, which ignited again and fed the political one. This was significantly facilitated also by the presence of dictatorial regimes such as Germany's Nazism, Italy's Fascism and

Spain's Francoism.

Coudenhove-Kalergi's movement dissolved, together with the Pan-European project.

With the downfall of international trade, also the system of collective security collapsed. In 1931, Japan started its invasion of China and in 1933 withdrew from the League of Nations. In 1935 Italy attacked Ethiopia. Germany's rearmament was followed by the annexation of the Rhineland. Then there was the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Austria was annexed to Germany in 1938 and Czechoslovakia in 1939. The Second World War began on the 1st day of September 1939.

THE IDEA OF EUROPE DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

An idealizing interpretation of the Resistance says that the idea of European union was born precisely in the concentration camps. The common experience of grief and sacrifice makes vibrant the aspiration to an order of democracy and peace. Nevertheless that experience did not give birth to an organized movement. The Communists themselves, the most numerous and organized protagonists of the Resistance, refused the idea of European unity in the name of Marxist nationalism. Also the experiment of the League of Nations, which had been incapable of avoiding the war, nourished scepticism towards any form of supranational integration.

The idea of European integration asserted itself more among the defeated Countries rather than among the winners. The defeated saw in it the possibility of a reintegration within the international community. However, the idea remained marginal and expressed itself mostly through the refusal of nationalism, fomenter of conflicts.

On the other hand, the pro-European impulses that animated



François Marie Arouet Voltaire, writer and philosopher, was a particularly important figure of the French Enlightenment.

the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg during the whole period of the war were unusual, and led to the customs union of Benelux immediately after the liberation and before the end of the war. This realization led the way to more ambitious programmes of European unity.

The Italian movement of Resistance was the most convinced supporter of European unity. The interest for Europeanism had already emerged during the Fascist period, in opposition to the nationalist policy and cultural isolation of Mussolini's regime. In 1935, Carlo Rosselli, fervent advocate of European federalism, advanced two important proposals: a constituent assembly and an increase in awareness of the masses. Both these indications were received by the European Federalist Movement (MFE), which was founded in Italy in 1943 and was to remain the most important federalist organization of the immediate post-war period.

In the *Manifest of Ventotene*, written by Calorni, Rossi and, mainly, Spinelli, a federate Europe was seen not only as the end of the State-Nation, but as the condition for creating a new democracy, a new social pact and a new political culture.

Precisely this totalising vision of the European federation, if from a certain point of view constituted a cause of attraction, at the same time it represented its limit. That is why the Italian federalism remained substantially isolated in the European federal scene, which was characterized by more moder-



A great strategist, Napoleon Bonaparte conquered Egypt and a great part of Europe, thus spreading the principles of the French Revolution.

ate and gradualist positions.

Already between the end of 1944 and 1945, the Europeanism of the Resistance underwent a decline, at first, and then a cultural and political defeat. The last upsurge had been the declaration of the European participants in the Resistance of July 1944, which advocated a federal Union for solving the problems of enduring peace.

But after some time the enthusiasms cooled down. The traditional state structures soon got the upper hand. The last months of 1945 recorded also the crisis of the European Federal Movement (MFE).

However, the current of "functionalism", which was destined to

open the road to a new strategy towards Europe and was inspired by the Rumanian economist David Mitrany, was born just during those months.

EUROPE IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR PERIOD. THE COLD WAR

In May of 1945, at the end of the second World War, the American and British armies were occupying the western part of Germany and the Soviets held the eastern side of the Country.

Berlin, the capital, which was in the eastern part, was divided into four sectors of occupation (United States, Great Britain, France and Soviet Union).

During the years of the conflict, the needs to coordinate the military efforts against the common enemy had induced to pass over in silence the deep disagreements that divided, on the military and economic plane, the Americans and the British from the Soviet Union.

The first (United States and Great Britain), widely inspired by a conception of liberalism, and the other (Soviet Union), strongly oriented towards a proletarian internationalism, which was to be achieved not only by political means.

The end of the conflict was bringing to the surface all these contradictions. Already in 1946, British Premier Winston Churchill was denouncing that *an iron curtain had fallen from Stettin to the Adriatic to divide Europe in two camps*.

The greatest problem that the war had left unsolved was the future of occupied Germany; and it was clear that also Europe's future largely depended on it. A possible drifting of Germany into the Communist area would have meant the loss of Europe.

In July of 1946, the British and American Governments announ-

ced the intention of unifying the respective zones of occupation; it was the first step towards the creation of a western German economy separate from the eastern one. On January 1, 1947, despite the Soviet protests, the English zone was adjoined to the American one.

It was the beginning of the "policy of containment" worked out by President Truman in order to *sustain the free peoples that oppose the oppression attempts from armed minorities or external pressures*. It was the beginning of the "Cold War", which was going to last until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

Next to this policy of containment, the Americans were developing also a vigorous action of economic support to Europe with the famous "Marshall Plan" (after the name of the Secretary of State). The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were the two pillars (one political, the other economic) on which, in less than two years, the Americans constructed the Western Bloc.

The third pillar was the Atlantic Treaty.

The Americans were aware that the European governments and public opinions (especially in France), which in the last seventy years had suffered German aggressions no less than three times, were fearful and strongly against a German economic and political recovery, only two years after a war that had produced so much grief. The Western qualms were overcome thanks to the guarantees offered by the United States; guarantees that consisted in maintaining a large American presence in Europe and supporting the reconstruction of the European economy. In short, from 1942 to 1947, there was a complete overturning of the American foreign policy, which went from isolationism to interventionism. A further guarantee was the fact that Germany's recovery should have occurred within the frame-



The Congress of Vienna in a watercolour by Jean-Baptiste Isabey.

work of a European unification, of which the Americans became convinced guarantors and supporters.

The Cold War therefore relaunched the cause of European unity, also thanks to the identification of Europeanism with Atlantism, (i.e. a Europe that was not antithetical to the United States).

The ideological and emotional spur towards a united Europe was revived. In this direction went Winston Churchill's urgings to constitute the "United States of Europe" taking advantage of the shield and protection of the atomic bomb, as long as the West had the monopoly of those weapons. Churchill suggested, as *a first practical step*, the creation of a Council of Europe.

Other European movements were born, among which the Parliamentary European Union of Count Kalergy, who had returned from the United States, where he had taken refuge during the war. In Italy, Altiero Spinelli's action at the head of the MFE was gaining vigour again.

THE CONGRESS OF THE HAGUE AND THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE. FEDERALISTS, UNIONISTS AND FUNCTIONALISTS

The first great moment of syn-



The Piedmontese writer, philosopher and priest Vincenzo Gioberti theorized on the constitution of a Confederation of Italian states guided by the magisterial teachings of the Pope.

thesis of all these movements arrived with the Congress of Europe which, sponsored by Churchill, took place at The Hague in May 1948. It was attended by the most important statesmen of Western Europe, together with many enthusiastic propagandists of the federalist idea. The great expectations were not completely mirrored in the final resolution, which turned out to be a compromise between the federalists, who wanted an Assembly elected directly by the citizens, with constituent powers, and the unionists, according to whom the Assembly (whose members should have been designated by national Parliaments) should have only the task of suggesting the practical measures to be taken for the gradual implementation of the political union.

On the political plane, France, openly federalist, opposed Britain, which subordinated the European policy to its preferential relations with the United States.

Although with these inevitable basic inconsistencies, the Congress of The Hague, on May 5, 1949, generated the European Assembly, which was named "Council of Europe". Its ten members were: Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Holland and Sweden. Obviously, Germany was excluded.

The Council was tasked with discussing questions of common interest, concluding agreements in the economic, social, cultural and scientific sectors. The sector of national defence was not included.

The Council of Europe consisted of an advisory Assembly and a Committee of Ministers which were to work out the measures suitable for realizing the objectives of the Council.

The Committee of Ministers was not compelled to devise the measures pointed out by the Assembly, and this constituted a first sign of the marginal role

assigned to the Council of Europe: a forum where one could discuss, but unable to decide.

A main subject of discussion and disagreement, which was to permeate the entire history of Europe's realizations, emerged immediately: sovereignty. In fact, according to the federalists, the State should have given up its sovereignty and be progressively downgraded to regional structure. Also the sectors of defence, foreign policy, monetary and customs policies were to be managed at supranational level while the unionists (or "confederalists"), on the contrary, were oriented towards maintaining the State in its sovereignty, with the possibility of disagreeing on common actions it did not share (one accord decisions).

Precisely in order to overcome this stalemate, a third way was considered, that of functionalism, according to which integration

was possible only if accomplished gradually, by sectors or functions.

There was a conviction that this gradual process would at one point create the conditions for the full transfer of the political powers to a supranational authority.

In substance, while the federalists considered the supranational authority as an initial and constituent moment of the integration process, the functionalists indicated the supranational authority as the final moment of the process.

The difference was not in method but in substance because, for the federalists, the motor of the process of integration were the people through the electoral choice of the supranational Assembly; for the functionalists, on the contrary, the prime mover was constituted by the governments, which could freely decide to join or not the sectors or the functions to be integrated.

In the light of the successive experiences, one can say that the functionalist method was going to

govern all the major accomplishments of European unification.

AMERICA AND THE EUROPEAN UNION. THE SOVIET RESPONSE

The Marshall Plan, which was being developed during this ideological debate, succeeded in starting the economic recovery, even if it missed the secondary objective: the integration of the European economies. This latter goal was going to be achieved only through the creation of the Common Market.

A further step towards European integration was the institution of the organization of Euro-American defence, the Atlantic Treaty. On April 4, 1949 twelve States signed it: United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Greece and Turkey. Germany was excluded.

The Treaty became the tangible instrument that linked Europe to the United States and assumed, above all, a political connotation.

This caused the reaction of the Soviet Union and triggered a mental process according to which every step towards European integration was perceived by the Soviets as an increase of the threat. Hence, the Soviet policy that tended to foster divisions within Europe.

The immediate Soviet reaction was, in the same year 1949, the signing of Comecon, an instrument through which Moscow intended to integrate the economies of the satellites.

GERMANY'S "REHABILITATION"

While the activities for European integration were under way, in the Western world there was also the problem of Germany's political and economic

integration. In June 1948 a German autonomous administration was set up and elections were held. The new mark was introduced. The Soviet reacted with the Berlin blockade (June 1948-May 1949) which was solved thanks to an airlift by which the Allies supplied the western sectors of the capital.

A new German Constitution was approved (Germany was called West Germany), the new Parliament elected, and a new Government formed. Germany reacquired the dignity of a State, albeit with particular obligations.

There was now the problem of German rearmament (forbidden by the conditions of the Peace Treaty).

This created a fundamental problem for France, which planned to base its security on a condition of German inferiority. France wanted the internationalisation of the Rhineland (the Ruhr) and a protectorate on the Saar. Its aim was to take away from Germany the considerable iron and steel resources of those regions. These claims were based also on accords with the United States and Great Britain which had been made at the end of the war. The International Authority of the Ruhr (United States, Great Britain and Benelux) was constituted, precisely on the basis of such accords, in December 1948, for allocating the German production of coal and steel.

This situation of hostility could not last indefinitely, and a new outlook towards Germany was developing within the French ruling class and public opinion. It was acknowledged that a "Historical Accord" between the two Countries was necessary; a direct agreement (according to de Gaulle), or one worked out within the European Union.

The cover of a number of "Giovine Italia", a periodical that advocated the ideals of equality, liberty and humanity, which were at the root of the movement founded by Giuseppe Mazzini.



THE EUROPEAN COAL-AND-STEEL COMMUNITY (APRIL 18, 1951)

In those years a great "Father of Europe" emerged: Jean Monnet, a man of enormous personal prestige, who had a great influence also on the Americans and the British. His first idea, accepted by the French Government, was the creation of the "Coal and Steel International Authority". In Monnet's opinion, the economic recovery of France would remain blocked if the problem of the German industrial production was not rapidly solved.

The German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer (another "Father of Europe"), moved on the same wavelength and in 1950, with the intention of promoting Germany's reintegration within the international system under equal conditions, anticipated a complete union of France and Germany and the fusion of the respective economies. At this point (May 1950), Monnet made the proposal of an Authority with supranational powers which was to manage, control and market the coal and steel production of France, Germany and the European Countries that intended to participate.

The plan was accepted by Schuman, the French Prime Minister, who made it his own and presented it as *the first step towards a European federation* (actually it was the first realization of the functionalist method).

Adenauer gave his immediate assent because this placed Germany on the same level of dignity of a winning power.

The project of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was joined by the Benelux Countries and Italy. Great Britain refused, because it could not accept the principle of a supranational authority.

The Treaty was signed on April 18, 1951. The bodies of the

Community were: the Assembly, consisting of 78 members, who were appointed by the national Parliaments and tasked with controlling the Authority's action (this Assembly was welcomed as the first core of the future European Parliament); the High Authority, consisting of nine members (two for France, Germany and Italy, and one each for the Benelux Countries), which took decisions by simple majority; the Council of Ministers, a connecting body between national Governments and High Authority; the Court of Justice (seven judges and two General Attorneys); the Advisory Committee (fifty-seven members representing unions, employers and consumers).

The procedures for the ratification of the Treaty by the national Parliaments were quite rapid. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the greater difficulties emerged in France, precisely the Country that had taken the initiative to institute the ECSC.

This anticipated the opposition to the surrender of national sovereignty, which was to be dramatically expressed, two years later, on the occasion of the ratification of the institutive treaty of the European Defence Community.

THE SHORT "SPRING" OF THE EUROPEAN DEFENCE COMMUNITY (1950-1954)

With the political elections, the approval of a new Constitution and formation of the Government, West Germany reacquired the rank of a free Country, albeit conditioned by the heavy bonds of the Peace Treaty. These institutional accomplishments led the new State, born following the rise of the Iron Curtain (West Germany), towards the goal of a full and complete national dignity. In this regard, a first recognition occurred with the creation of the European Coal and Steel



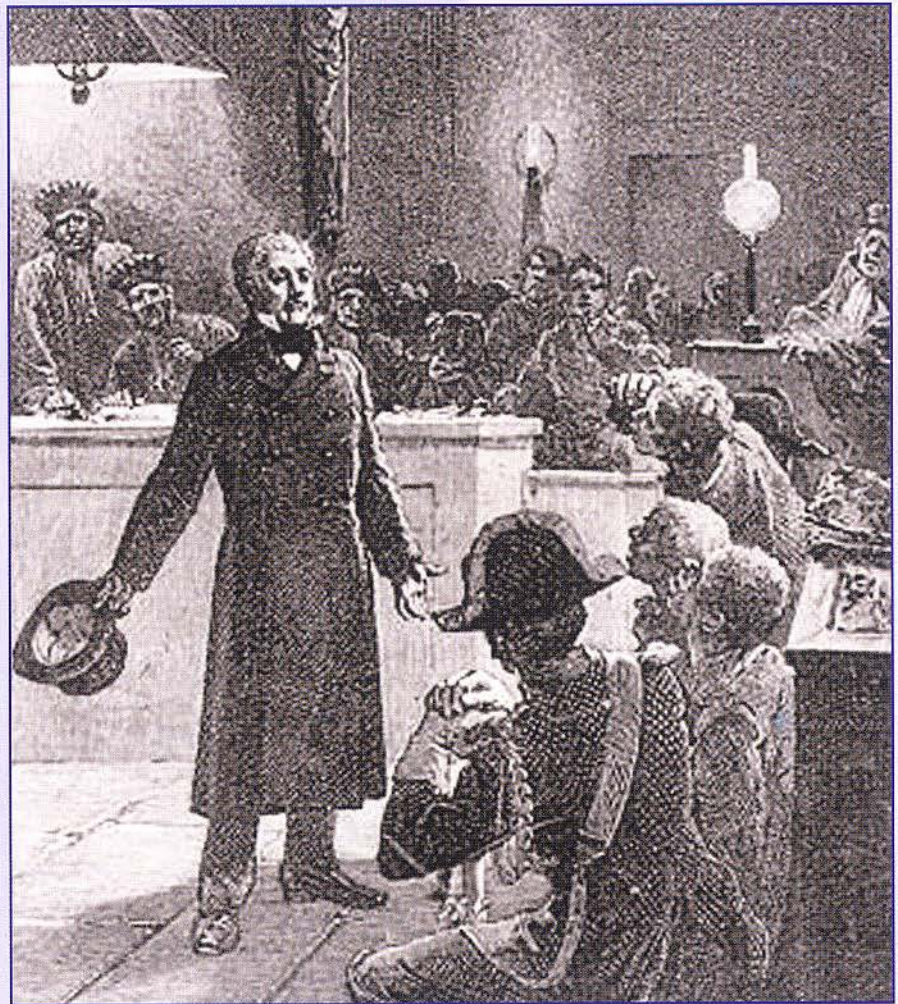
British financier Cecil Rhodes used the immense wealth constituted by his diamond mines to extend British domination.

Community (ECSC), the first international moment in which the new Germany joined the winners of the Second World War.

Moreover, the advent of the "Cold War" posed the problem of finding the way to involve West Germany in the defensive organization that was being built in order to oppose the Soviet threat, which appeared more and more impending. Obviously it was impossible to return to that Country its full sovereignty in the sector of national defence, because of the fear that this action could cause in Countries such as France and Benelux, which had been devastated by the power of the German armies just a few years before. On the other hand, the main operational theatre for the defence from a possible Soviet aggression was constituted precisely by the wide German plains, which appeared as an inviting "slide" to the feared advance of the Soviet armies. One could not think of conducting a defensive war in that Country without involving also the German human and professional resources. Therefore it was necessary to find a way through which West Germany's rearmament could occur within a framework of absolute safeguard, in order to avoid the rebirth of that "German military nationalism", which was acknowledged as one of the main causes of Hitler's triumph and behaviour.

As regards the way of finding these modalities of safeguard, there were two opposed stand-points: the American one, which was inclined towards a more "diluted" system of guarantees and, in any case, not to the detriment of the well-defined U.S. military leadership in Europe (i.e. everything was to be done within NATO's framework) and the French one, which aimed at a "stiffer" and more precautionary system.

The two perspectives had in common the necessity that, at



least at first, the German units to be constituted should be of a relatively low organizational level (Division at most), and "diluted" into international force units placed under Allied command.

Besides these forces, Germany was not allowed to constitute other units for its national needs. Moreover, the German rearmament had to be included within the framework of a more and more advanced European integration.

Many hypotheses were formulated, but the event that brought things to a head occurred on June 25, 1950, at the outbreak of the Korean war, which was felt as the announcement of a Soviet offensive in the Old Continent.

The American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, put forward a first proposal in September 1950, which envisaged the cre-

An illustration portraying the protagonist of Victor Hugo's novel "Les misérables".



On June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, Archduke Francis Ferdinand was murdered by a Serbian nationalist.

ation of an integrated force, under American command, formed by various national contingents, including German units (with at least 10 German Divisions in the Atlantic deployment).

To the "Acheson Plan" France opposed the "Pleven Plan" (after the Prime Minister's name) which envisaged the establishment of a "European Army", formed by six Divisions, with an international Staff, under the orders of the Commander in Chief of the Allied forces. Everything was to be under the control of a European Minister of Defence and a political Authority to be appointed. In practice the structure reflected that of the ECSC.

The French plan was opposed by the Americans, the British and the Germans themselves.

A certain rapprochement occurred in the same year (1950), when General Eisenhower was appointed NATO Commander and established his Headquarters in Paris. General Eisenhower had been Commander of the Allied Armed Forces, had led the landing in Normandy and was therefore considered the "liberator of Europe".

In February 1951, a Conference for the organization of a European Army opened in Paris on a French

initiative. France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg were represented. This was a classic "functionalist approach" towards European integration. After an impasse of a few months, due also to the opposition of the United States, a decisive spur came from Jean Monnet (the creator of the ECSC) who, after a number of meetings with General Eisenhower, convinced the Americans that a head-on collision over the European army was useless.

Also Alcide De Gasperi (the Italian Prime Minister) gave a significant contribution to the subsequent activities. He participated personally in the discussions, asserting himself in a guiding role, especially in view of widening the Conference's goals, in order to transform the European Defence Community into a real politico-economic Community. Initially, the British had been against the initiative; nevertheless, in September 1951, when the Conservatives returned to power (with Churchill as Prime Minister and Eden at the Foreign Office), they took a more benevolent position towards the EDC.

The institutes envisaged for the EDC were developed during the discussions that followed: a board of Commissioners (6 members for six years); a parliamentary Assembly (like that of the ECSC); a Council of Ministers (six members); a Court of Justice (the same of the ECSC).

Europe's slowness induced the Americans to give a kind of ultimatum (*either you find an accord on the European army or we go on, directly rearming twelve German Divisions*).

The protocols instituting the EDC were signed on May 27, 1952.

On the operational plane, national Divisions were envisaged, which should have been integrated within international Corps belonging to the Atlantic Alliance, under orders of a single

supreme Command.

Additional protocols were provided for, governing the relations of the six EDC members with the British and the Americans.

Germany and the Benelux Countries sent in their ratification within acceptable times. In Italy, instead, internal political problems prevented De Gasperi from promptly ratifying a Treaty for which he had spent so much personal energy. In June 1953 De Gasperi's government fell and he retired from the political scene. The following governments, still struggling with internal political problems, decided to wait for France's decision.

The destiny of the EDC was therefore decided in France. Also here, at the beginning, the concern of not being able to have a large majority prevented the Government from presenting the document immediately. Also in France there were government crises, and complications arose from the war in Indochina, where France was badly involved in that period. Gaullists and Communists were against the EDC. The Americans, having overcome the initial doubts, insisted for the approval, threatening a unilateral initiative for the rearmament of Germany. This threat annoyed French sensitivity and pride even more.

In June 1954 France succeeded in resolving the war with an accord for the division of Indochina. There were further American pressures that made the situation precipitate. On August 30, 1954 the French National Assembly rejected the Treaty.

The causes of this unhappy outcome could be the following: the changed international atmosphere which, after Stalin's death, made the problem of security felt as less immanent; the revival of national sentiments and conservative instincts (which could be seen in de Gaulle) vis-à-vis continental aspirations; the reactions of the



Woodrow Wilson was President of the United States from 1913 to 1921.

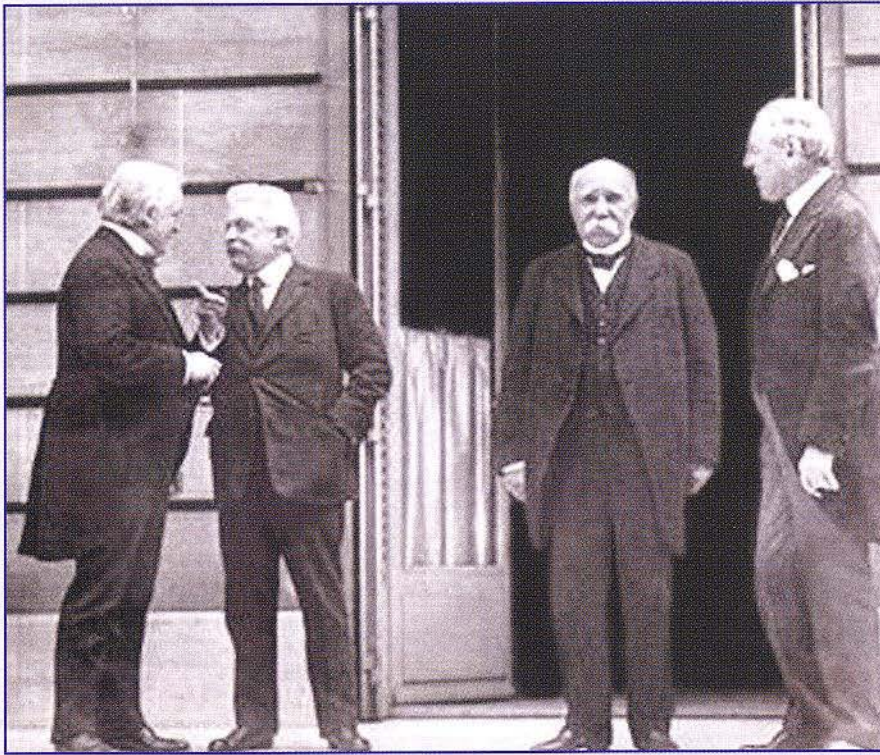
economic right, worried by the opening of the markets; the activity of neutralist political and opinion groups; the opposition of some military circles that were against the loss of sovereignty involving the national armies.

But at the root there was a wrong misleading analysis by public opinion: the need for security and protection had been mistaken for an assumed "revolutionary" will to change the rules of the old centralist State. The events proved that the national States were still strong and not yet ready to give up their prerogatives

THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION (WEU), A SHORT-LIVED ILLUSION

With France's rejection of the EDC, the illusions of those who had aimed at a federalist turn were thwarted, and the supporters of a functionalist approach breathed again.

There was now the need to find remedies: the French Prime



After the defeat of the Central Empires, the representatives of the victorious powers met at the Paris Conference on January 18, 1919.

Minister, Mendès-France, was the first who realized this, because he feared that his Country would be isolated and knew that the problem, left unsolved by the French refusal (of Germany's rearmament), could not be evaded for a long time. The United States once more made clear its position, i.e. that American security required a strengthened Western Europe. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to proceed as quickly as possible with the German rearmament and Germany's inclusion within NATO; moreover, it was necessary to reverse the tendencies for divisions within Europe by finding elements of cohesion, resisting the growing neutralist inclinations.

Great Britain, also with the intention of coming into play again inside the European diplomacy (from which it had been excluded during the long preparatory months of the EDC), proposed a nine-member Conference, with the six Europeans of the EDC, the United States, Canada and Great Britain. Thus, by recognizing the German sovereignty, the way was paved for the entry of

this Country into NATO. The proposal was accepted, and at the meeting of Paris of October 1954 the accord was drawn up: the Western European Union was born. Its bodies were: the unitary military structure; the Council of Foreign Ministers, who represented the Governments (with unanimous vote); the Agency for Arms Control (with relative majority).

Germany undertook to constitute an Army of 12 Divisions, an Air Force and a Navy.

This also marked Great Britain's return on the continental scene, also as a kind of guarantee vis-à-vis French public opinion. The ratification procedures of the WEU went on normally, and the Treaty became effective on May 5, 1955.

Nevertheless it should be acknowledged that the WEU has never shown signs of great vitality, also because when it was a matter of implementing the Treaty, the British seemed to have used up all their activism.

THE BIRTH OF THE COMMON MARKET AND EURATOM. THE TREATIES OF ROME (25 MARCH 1957)

However, the French, and Monnet in particular, continued to entertain the idea of relaunching a six-member Europe. Monnet thought at first about an accord for the peaceful employment of nuclear power, also as a solution for the serious energy crisis that in Europe was becoming more and more acute, owing to its rapidly expanding economy. Monnet realized that if the proposal came from France it could raise perplexities among the other Countries, which had been disappointed by the EDC experience. Therefore he turned to Belgian statesman Paul-Henry Spaak (another "Europe's Father") who took up the idea, widened it some more, and committed himself to imple-

menting it. On behalf of Benelux, Spaak submitted a memorandum in May 1955, with which he asked the relaunching of Europe through the progressive fusion of the single national economies, which was to be obtained through the creation of a great Common Market and the parallel stipulation of an accord on the peaceful employment of nuclear power.

The memorandum was discussed in the charming scenario of Taormina the following June. Two trends came forward: the French one, in favour of a gradual "sectorial" integration of the economies of the six Countries (transports, nuclear power, post and telecommunications) and the German/Benelux one, oriented towards a "horizontal" (i.e. global) integration of the economies. Italy was in favour of the latter tendency.

An appropriate committee was constituted which worked out a Report, presented at another conference which took place in another enchanting Italian city, Venice, in May 1956. Despite France's resistance, Italy made every effort to reach a definitive agreement. As an acknowledgement of Italy's action, it was decided that the Treaties instituting the European Common Market and EURATOM would be signed in Rome. This took place at the Campidoglio (Capitol Hill) on March 25, 1957.

The European Common Market (EEC) intended to promote a harmonious development of the economies of the member States and, to this end, four objectives were defined: a customs union with the progressive elimination of the "internal" duties, and the institution of a single tariff "external" to the territory of the "Six"; free circulation of citizens, services and capitals; institution of common policies in the agricultural, transport and other economic sectors; creation of instruments for improving the underdeveloped regions and exploiting the unemployed labour forces.



All the objectives were to be achieved in three phases of four years each.

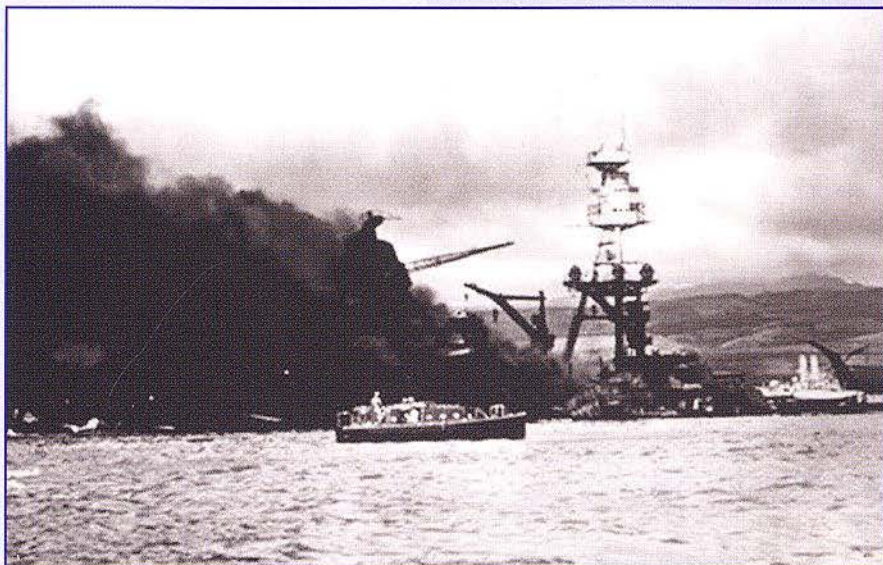
The Treaty became effective on January 1, 1958 and by the end of 1969 customs duties were to be completely abolished. During this temporary period (12 years), the decision-making system would be ruled by unanimous consent; subsequently, the majority system would be introduced. The three main Countries (France, Germany and Italy) had four votes, Belgium and Holland two votes and Luxembourg only one vote. The vote distribution was such as to ensure that the Benelux Countries plus a major Country could reach a majority. However, this by-majority voting system was put off *sine die*.

The second Treaty signed in Rome, that of EURATOM, proposed to coordinate the scientific, technical and commercial activities of the sector of nuclear power for peaceful use. The times of implementation of this Treaty were shorter (one year).

On the whole, after the Treaties of Rome, in Europe there were three distinct Communities (EEC,

With the first of a series of Treaties, signed in Locarno on October 16, 1925, France, Belgium and Germany sanctioned the inviolability of their borders and pledged to forgo any revision of their boundaries.

In the morning of December 7, 1941, three hundred and fifty Japanese airplanes took off from six aircraft carriers and attacked by surprise the U.S. fleet at anchor at Pearl Harbour.



EURATOM and ECSC). Therefore, in order to control their activity, the following decision-making and executive bodies were envisaged: one Council of Ministers (with separate functions for each Community); three executive Commissions (a nine-member one for EEC, and five-member Commissions for EURATOM and the ECSC High Authority, which were later unified). A common Assembly, consisting of a hundred and forty-two MPs, elected by the national Parliaments (only after 22 years they would be elected by universal suffrage), with functions of control as regards the Commissions' decisions (decisions with 2/3 majority); a single Court

Council of Ministers was the actual deliberative centre, and was, at the same time, a deliberative and executive body. The third pillar of the EEC, i.e. the parliamentary Assembly, had rather limited powers and controlled only the work of the Commission and not that of the Council of Ministers.

On the Treaties of Rome, the federalists' criticism was very hard because, in their opinion, the entire sovereignty remained in the hands of the member States. However, such criticism proved to be excessively pessimistic. The European Economic Community, in fact, although it went through difficult moments that cast doubt on its survival, managed to overcome them, precisely thanks to the mechanisms of cooperation and integration provided for by the Treaties of Rome.

The Soviet Union was openly hostile to the EEC, because it considered the new institution an additional divisive element of Europe. The official relations between COMECON and EEC were established only in the eighties with the advent of Gorbachev.

THE SUEZ CRISIS (SUMMER 1956)

While these activities were taking place, the crisis of the Suez Canal exploded in the summer of 1956. Egyptian President Nasser, with a one-sided provision, nationalized the Suez Canal, which up to then had been governed by an international status. The Canal, built with Western capitals in the preceding century and managed by an international company, was of the utmost importance for sea traffic between the Mediterranean and the Middle and Far East.

The United States did not move to punish the Egyptian "raïs". It was France and Great Britain that started an ill-fated military expedition in October '56, rejected by the unfavourable vote

of Justice for the three Communities.

Some consultative bodies were also created, such as the socio-economic Committee (unions, entrepreneurs), the European Investment Bank (EIB), the European Social Fund, the monetary Committee and the EURATOM Procurement Agency.

The key bodies of these organizations were the Council of Ministers and the Executive Commission. The novelty was that the latter, charged with implementing the Treaties, was formally independent of the Governments. However, the

expressed at the UN where, for the first time, the United States and the Soviet Union voted together a resolution for an immediate ceasefire.

This event showed dramatically the decline of European influence on the international scenario. Especially for the French *grandeur* this was a very serious blow.

In particular, France's resentment against the United States augmented, together with its determination to acquire an atomic weapon. Initially, there was an attempt to involve also Germany and Italy in this project, but with the coming to power of General de Gaulle, France decided to go it alone.

In the same period Nikita Krutchev was taking the lead of the Soviet Union. In the XX Congress of the Communist Party he had denounced the crimes committed by Stalin. A new era seemed to be starting between the two blocs and a period of "peaceful coexistence" appeared to begin. Inside the Communist world, this triggered the search for the so-called "national ways" to Socialism, with the first ferments of freedom. Some time later, because of the Soviet tanks' brutal invasion of Hungary, many illusions rapidly vanished. In Italy, the Socialist Party broke up with the Communists; both parties, until then, had been in the opposition. In fact, while the Socialists voted for the EEC and EURATOM, the Communists continued to declare themselves against them.

GENERAL DE GAULLE AND HIS POLICY (1958-1959)

In the period that goes from 1958 to 1969, the European Community was concerned with two particular issues: General de Gaulle's strong personality and the entry of Great Britain.



The two questions were very much intertwined and the Anglo-French confrontation was also connected with the American policy. The period ended, on one side, with the succession of Pompidou and, on the other, with Great Britain joining the EEC. The result was that this conditioned, and sometimes even paralysed, the institutions of the Community. In any case, this was also a period of extraordinary success for Europe, which at the end of the sixties became the greatest commercial power of the planet, beating even the United States.

De Gaulle returned to power in 1958, following the uprising of a part of the French army and the revolt of the settlers of Algeria, who protested against the French policy oriented towards the withdrawal from the territory. De Gaulle believed in an economic integration with the European

Altiero Spinelli spent 16 years in jail and in forced residence on the islands of Ponza and Ventotene, where in 1941 he wrote the founding Manifesto of the European Federalist Movement.



The Marshall Plan was wanted by American Secretary of State George Catlett Marshall and called European Recovery Program. It provided economic aid to the European Countries destroyed by the Second World War.

partners, but within a political framework where the national States would assume more weight and responsibility. *(there can be no other Europe than that of the States, everything else is myth, discourses, superstructures).*

Albeit contrary to the bureaucracy of Brussels, he accepted an acceleration of the various steps envisaged by the Treaties of the EEC, in order to achieve the conditions of the community agricultural policy, of which France was going to be the main recipient. His policy was therefore a project of a confederate Europe, to be accomplished through accords and permanent contacts among governments.

A constant factor of his political action was the creation of a French-German axis. Nevertheless, in secrecy, he tried to reach an accord with the United States and Great Britain, in order to constitute a "French-Anglo-American directory" at the head of the Atlantic Alliance. London and Washington declined.

The Anglo-American refusal drove de Gaulle to work out a political plan in which Europe was a "third force" between the United States and the Soviet Union. This was going to be one of

the fundamental guidelines of his policy and the French leadership was to be strengthened in view of this perspective. Therefore Great Britain turned from partner to competitor (this was the reason of his resistance against the entry of Great Britain into the EEC, as we shall see later) and the United States was no more the supporter of the past, but rather an interlocutor to confront. A necessary precondition for this policy was that France equipped itself with a nuclear military capability (*force de frappe*), owing to which the General's first decision was to speed up the plans for the French atomic bomb, which exploded in 1960 in the Algerian Sahara.

Meanwhile, Great Britain was starting its approach towards Europe, without really rejecting the concept expressed by the sentence *Great Britain is inside, but not truly in Europe*. But by then the British bargaining power was clearly crumbling. The standoffish superiority towards Europe, manifested in the immediate post-war period, when it was possible to exploit the strong ties with its colonial empire (the Commonwealth) was now only an illusion. With the disastrous outcome of the Suez crisis, Great Britain had to admit that it had ceased to be a world power, becoming a regional power.

In the United States the arrival of the new President, John Kennedy, led to the relaunching of the American initiative in Europe (after a period of relative inactivity) with a programme of liberalization for a more intense development of the trade relations between Europe and the United States and a closer integration of the military capability within NATO.

On the commercial plane, the U.S. was disturbed by the success of the Common Market which was attracting to Europe a growing amount of American investments.

On the military plane, moreover, the new strategy of "flexible

response" entailed an increase in conventional weapons and an even more centralized control of the resources of the Alliance (which was clearly under American leadership); a control that should have been extended (according to the U.S.) also to the French nuclear weapons.

Of course de Gaulle was against this new strategic doctrine, precisely because it entailed control on the French *force de frappe*; therefore he declared from the very beginning that France's nuclear forces would always be independent and under absolute national control.

On August 9, 1961, the English Prime Minister presented the formal British candidature for entry into the EEC. It was an amazing turn. The negotiations were long and laborious, also because the "external tariff" would make it very difficult for Great Britain to keep its preferential relations with the Commonwealth.

De Gaulle (at long last rid of the Algerian problem, after having granted full independence to the territory) managed to convince the EEC partners to constitute a Commission for giving an institutional form to the will of political union existing among the EEC Countries.

The Commission was headed by French diplomat Christian Fouchet and, in November 1961, produced the first plan, called "Fouchet 1", which envisaged: a Council of Ministers, consisting of Heads of State and Government or Foreign Ministers (meetings every four months – unanimous decisions – revision clause for going to a majority vote); a parliamentary Assembly with the authority to propose recommendations and interrogations also to the Council of Ministers; an executive Commission, with high officials appointed by the governments to prepare the Council's resolutions and control their implementation.

In the Preamble of the Plan it was assured that the existing institutions of the Community would be respected and was excluded that the defence policy could be oriented in a manner different from NATO's. The inspiring principle was that of cooperation among sovereign States (therefore closer to a federal approach).

The "Fouchet 2" was worked out two months later and, in comparison with the preceding one, marked a definite step backwards, because it omitted the references to the structures envisaged by the Treaties of Rome and the Atlantic Alliance. Besides, the Assembly had reduced powers and, last but not least, the prospect of a majority voting system was dropped.

In February 1945 the leaders of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union met at Yalta, in Crimea, to decide the military strategies to be adopted in the decisive phase of the war.



Actually it was a little more than a "Consultative Pact". The other Countries did not accept it and, after some more attempts at finding a compromise, in April 1962 the document was definitively dumped. This happened also because the minor Countries declared that the discussions about the Plan were pointless until the problem of Great Britain's entry was solved.

The failure of the "Fouchet 2" Plan hurt General de Gaulle's

feelings, who perceived the *longa manus* of Great Britain. A further element of irritation was the policy started by the new US President, Kennedy, who placed at NATO's disposal a number of theatre nuclear weapons (Polaris missiles embarked on ships),

end, a few days later, the General and Chancellor Adenauer signed a Treaty of collaboration between the two Countries. However, this pact was approved by the German Parliament with the addition of a pro-NATO preamble which confirmed the German bent for Atlanticism. In practice, the Pact lost its characteristics. De Gaulle's reaction was: *Germany is again the American foreign legion in Europe*. Thus waned the General's policy for a Carolingian Europe.

A stalemate ensued, because the opposing political designs had both failed: the French one, for a "third-force" Europe, equipped with its own nuclear capability (*force de frappe*), and the American one, for an Atlantic partnership with a marked American leadership, with a nuclear capability held only by the United States.

Going back to our history of the idea of Europe, after the first anti-British veto expressed by de Gaulle (January 63), the atmosphere inside the institutions of the Community cooled down and the operation of the community machine became more difficult. It reacquired a certain dynamism when the direction of the executive Commission was taken by the German jurist and politician Walter Hallstein.

In December '64, Hallstein prepared a dossier concerning the financing of the common agricultural policy, but had also precise political goals. In practice, the subsidies to agriculture should not have come from the flat-rate contributions of the member Countries, but from a "common fund", constituted by the proceeds from customs duties and agriculture drawings. The new plan was to become effective in 1967, the year when, according to the EEC Treaties, the complete liberalization of trade was to be completed. The political part consisted in the fact that, in this way, the Commission had its own resources, and the power of verifi-



Partial view of the port of Yalta, the Ukrainian city which hosted the well-known Conference in 1945.

within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance and, therefore, under American control (*fingers on the trigger in the hands of the generals of the Pentagon*). In anticipation of this possibility, a first agreement between the United States and Great Britain for the deployment of Polaris missiles on British ships was ratified.

De Gaulle reacted with a sensational pronouncement, on January 14, 1963: he announced France's veto to the entry of Great Britain in the EEC, because the Country followed a policy too much linked to its interests as an insular power. The French veto to Great Britain was, indirectly, also a veto to the United States and its programmes of military integration, which tended to deprive the European Countries of an autonomous defence capability, especially in the nuclear sector.

De Gaulle, instead, considered French-German relations the keystone of European security. To this

cation and control of the European Parliament increased. This meant the creation of the supranational structures about which France had always expressed its dissent.

The proposal was approved within the Commission with seven votes for and two against (the French ones). Despite this, on June 30, 1965, the Commission presented the proposal to the Council of Ministers. Here, the French did not limit themselves to affirm their refusal, but left the meetings and declared that they would suspend their participation in the activities of all the bodies of the Community. That was the beginning of the crisis of the "empty chair", the most astonishing and serious crisis in the history of the Community.

It was undoubtedly a miscalculation, knowing the General's particular sensitivity in the agricultural field. Instead of making a step forward, the Community made a step backward.

In addition, one should consider that, precisely in that period, de Gaulle, in his battle against the assumed subordination of Europe to the American economic, political and military power, had started an opening towards the Soviet Union with the motto *A single Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals*; recognized the People's Republic of China; started an attack against the dollar's supremacy proposing the return to gold as a means of regulation in international transactions; left the NATO military organization.

A rapprochement between the Community and France occurred in 1966 and was an accomplishment of the Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns, also with the capable contribution of the Italian Minister Emilio Colombo.

In substance, the French requests were accepted and the Commission's prerogatives reduced. Besides, the application of the majority voting system was postponed to later times. As we

said, the French were decidedly against voting by-majority and one had to wait twenty years, when the Single Act was passed, before seeing the system by qualified majority extended to a series of important matters. On the other hand, vis-à-vis the risk of a complete wreckage of the Community, it was to everybody's advantage that the losses should be limited.

In 1966 the British Government repeated its request to join Europe. Italy supported this request and, with its Minister Fanfani, carried out an intense diplomatic action in order to convince the European partners. The tenth anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, in May 1967, seemed to open the possibility of British entry. But France reaffirmed its opposition and the only result of the meeting was the decision to fuse, as from July 1, 1967, the three Community institutions: EEC, EURATOM and the High Authority of the ECSC.

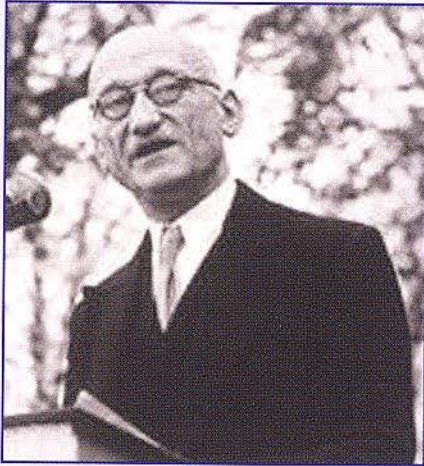
In 1968 there was the beginning of the phenomena of "global protest", started precisely in France. It was also the end of the tragic "Prague Spring", with the Soviet tanks dashing the hopes for a "Socialism with a human face".

Meanwhile, the pressures for the entry of Great Britain in the Community continued. Faced by the insistence of the other partners, in February 1969, with a classic French about-face, de Gaulle secretly met the English ambassador, to whom he proposed an Anglo-French executive board, as precondition for Great Britain's entry in the EEC. The proposal, that should have been kept secret, was passed on to the press. This aroused the reaction of the General who, in April of the same year, had to suffer another disillusion due to the loss of the referendum that he himself had wanted in order to redraft France's institutional structure.

Very disappointed, General de Gaulle haughtily left the French,



Konrad Adenauer was the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, also thanks to his past as opponent of the Nazi regime.



French statesman Robert Schuman was Finance Minister and several times Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

In 1950 he presented a project aimed at placing the main European mineral resources under control of an international body. This gave rise to the European Coal and Steel Community.

European and world political scene, this time once and for all.

Thus ended a period marked by great economic successes and significant failures as regards political integration.

Anyway, the Franco-German agreement had proved to be the keystone of the structure of the Community. As a matter of fact, in July 1968, eighteen months earlier than the fixed date, all customs duties within the EEC disappeared and the external tariffs were unified.

After seven years, the production and the economic parameters of EEC were: industrial production +52%, national product +38%, intercommunity trade +166%, export towards Countries outside the Community +51%.

There were still big differences between Countries and between Regions, but the overall figures were very encouraging.

THE FIRST ENLARGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY (1969-1972)

De Gaulle's successor was Georges Pompidou, who had been the General's Prime Minister for six years. But by now the great period of French influence was on the wane. In fact, in Germany, the victory of the Social Democrat Willy Brandt opened the season of "Ostpolitik", which was to witness the transformation of the "political dwarf" into a great regional power. France; with de Gaulle, had previously tried to qualify as the only European interlocutor of the Soviet Union. Now, with its Ostpolitik, Germany had an investiture that France was claiming for itself.

France tried to regain its European leadership through a new relationship with Great Britain that could offset the German dynamism.

At the Conference of the Heads of State and Government of December 1969 in The Hague,

Pompidou advocated the relaunching of the process of integration, recommending three objectives: completion of the agricultural policy; in-depth studies for the evolution of the Community in other sectors; enlargement (accepting the applications of the candidate Countries).

Nonetheless, in The Hague, Germany began to take the leadership of the European policy, and this was going to be substantiated during the following decade. But, by now, for Brandt's Germany, the European issue had been overshadowed by the importance of its Ostpolitik, due to its repercussions, both national (reunification with East Germany) and international.

In April 1970, the Ministers of the Community succeeded in reaching an agreement for the creation of "one's own resources", a matter which, as one may remember, had constituted the *casus belli* that had compelled France to leave the institutes of the Community (period of the "empty chair").

The European common fund was made up by the external customs tariffs and by 1% of the VAT proceeds of the member Countries. In time, the VAT revenue became the main budget item of the Community and, in 1986, was increased to 1,2%.

The negotiations with Great Britain and other candidate Countries (Ireland, Denmark, Norway) envisaged a transitory period, to allow them to harmonize their agricultural production with the Community's. The specific problems with Great Britain derived from the fact that the pound was the dollar's reserve currency in international transactions, a role that was not accepted by the members of the Community, which were already oriented towards the adoption of a common currency, although not in the immediate future.

The accords for the entry of the

new member Countries (Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, Norway) were signed in January 1972. But, following the negative result of a national referendum, Norway did not join the Community.

Therefore, 1972 was the year of the first enlargement of the Community, from six to nine members.

Thus the E.U. became the first world commercial power, the biggest producer of steel and cars, and exceeded the United States and the U.S.S.R. as regards population. But the GDP was 60% of the American one.

In those years the life of the Community was deeply marked by two important events: the monetary storm created, in the summer of 1971, by the American decision to drop the dollar-gold ratio; the energy crisis of 1973, a retaliation by the Arab Countries of the Middle East against Israel's victory in the second war against the neighbouring Arab Countries.

The measure adopted by the U.S. was the consequence of a significant modification introduced by President Nixon (November 1968) who wanted to give up the policy of intervention that had followed WWII, and start a policy more founded on diplomatic action ("The era of negotiation") towards the Soviet Union.

This also entailed a political revision with regard to Europe. As a matter of fact, as long as the needs of military defence (against a potential Soviet aggression) had prevailed, the United States had favoured the efforts of European integration, precisely because it was believed functional to collective defence. But when the defence needs disappeared, the United States realized that the European Community was more than just a threat on the economic plane. Actually, the balances between Europe and the United States were deeply changed. In the last twenty years the American percentage of the world

export had dropped, while the European one had almost doubled. The American gold reserve was down from 49 to 16% and the European one had increased from 6 to 39%.

Europe had grown, and the United States ceased to feel charged, in an almost exclusive manner, with a politico-military "order" from which the European allies derived great advantages for their economies. Therefore the United States felt that it could enjoy a greater freedom of action in its internal and international policy, especially in the economic sector.

Confirming this trend in a striking way, on August 15, 1971, President Nixon, without consulting or warning the European Countries, announced the abolition of the convertibility of the dollar into gold and, in practice, gave the go-ahead to the devaluation of the dollar.

It was a message addressed to Europe, which had become by then a tough commercial competitor.

The incapacity of the "Six" to face the dollar crisis in an adequate manner was quite evident.

The European partners were divided on which way to follow and the fundamental dilemma was how to define the priority between economic and monetary integration.

It was the prefiguration of the idea of a common currency, which was not envisioned by the Treaties of Rome.

In March 1972, a first accord was reached on a coordinate floating of the currencies (*the snake in the tunnel*), with the possibility of fluctuating within a range of 2,5%, up or down.

Immediately after, the British Government, which was struggling with serious economic problems, asked for a derogation, and soon after the Italian government followed suit.

In October of 1972 the Paris Conference indicated four guide-



lines: institution of a European fund for monetary cooperation; a plan of action concerning social policy, for proceeding to the second stage of the monetary economic union; establishment of a fund for regional development; with the objective of achieving, within 1980, the economic and monetary Union.

In January 1973 a new storm hit the European currencies, a storm that dispelled the dream of a monetary unification. A wave of speculation battered especially the dollar: the backlash on the

Kippur war against Israel. After the war, the producing Countries associated with OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) decided to use crude as a pressure weapon against the Countries accused of supporting Israel. They decreed an embargo, which was followed by a huge price increase. In three months, from October to December 1973, prices quadrupled and during the subsequent seven years underwent a tenfold increase.

After WWII oil had played a fundamental role in the Western economies' growth, favouring the transition from coal to oil as main energy source. At the outbreak of the energy crisis, the dependence of the European Countries on Arab oil was a maximum of 99% for Denmark and a minimum of 50% for Germany and Britain (Italy's was 83%). Therefore the shock was enormous.

The leaders of the European Community met in Copenhagen, in order to agree on a common response but, once again, there were no results. Thus, each Country went its own way.

Also at Atlantic level (US-Canada-Europe) it was impossible to find a common policy.

On the other hand, the collaboration between Europe and the US was re-established as concerned the relations with the Soviet Union and the Communist world. After a long period of negotiations, in fact, the institutive agreements of CSCE (Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe) were signed in Helsinki. The treaty involved thirty-five Countries from both blocs, binding them to the maintenance of peace, inviolability of borders, cooperation in the economic and cultural sectors and respect for human rights.

Meanwhile, two changes in the political leadership had occurred: in Germany, Helmut Schmidt had succeeded Brandt; in France, after Pompidou's sudden death,



Dwight Eisenhower and Nixon, together with their wives, celebrate Eisenhower's election as President of the United States in 1952.

weak European currencies (particularly on the Italian lira) was terrible.

Italy and Great Britain were compelled to leave the "monetary snake" in order to stop the flight of capitals and redress the balance of payments.

It was the first warning for Italy to straighten its accounts: but the warning was not perceived. It was going to be heard only on the eve of the introduction of the euro.

A DIFFICULT PERIOD (1973-1979)

Another bad blow to Europe's economy was the oil embargo imposed by the Arab Countries in 1973, at the time of the Yom

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a moderate, had been elected President.

The anti-American criticism faded, and the threads of the preferential dialogue between Germany and France were knotted again. The first results were seen at the European summit held in Paris in 1974.

In order to get out of Europe's organizational paralysis, it was decided to institutionalise the European Councils, which would be held at least three times a year. Thus they confirmed more incisively their propulsive role, and the Commission kept mainly executive functions, as well as those connected with promotion and development.

Giscard's moderate attitude became clear when he accepted the suggestion that the elections for the Assembly should be held by universal suffrage. This possibility, envisaged by the Treaty of Rome, had always been rejected by the Gaullist leaders.

The summit can be rightly considered one of the milestones of European history, because it stressed the willingness of the main protagonists of the continent's life to react to the numerous crises under way, strengthening the institutional structures of the Community, pursuing a confederal project, which was certainly preferable to the federal utopia.

In any case, the economic crises strongly marked the Community's life, so much so that, from the institutional viewpoint, 1975 and 1976 were almost two years of paralysis.

At the end of 1976, there seemed to be an opening in the "great European depression". The lack of consultation among the central banks and a non-existent action of common defence had endangered the "monetary snake" introduced in 1972. One after the other, the pound, the lira and the French franc had dropped out (and then returned). Vis-à-vis the weakness of these

currencies, there was the German mark's solidity. The widespread feeling was that the action of coordination should be extended from the monetary system to that of economy in general. After several summits, it was decided to launch a new monetary system much more "armoured" than the "snake". The ensuing EMS (European Monetary System) consisted of three complementary elements: the ECU (European Currency Unit); the exchange mechanism; financial solidarity.

The ECU, as reference monetary unit, was the central element of the EMS. It consisted of a "basket", to which all the Community currencies contributed according to a percentage – based on the weight of the respective national economies – which would be revised every 5 years. For the Italian lira the percentage was 10.5%.

The exchange mechanism envisaged that each currency could float within a range of 2.25% up or down. If these limits were exceeded, the central bank of the Country concerned was to intervene either by selling or buying money.

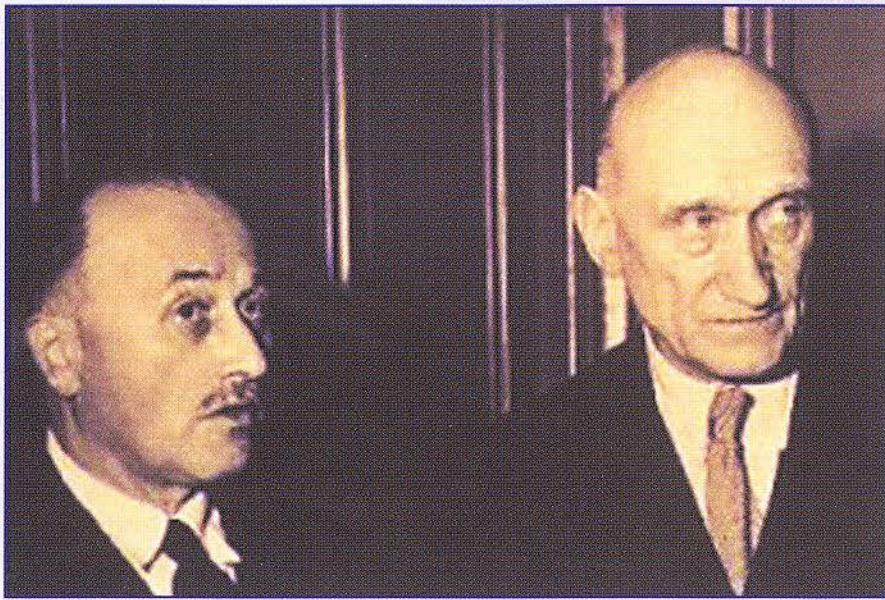
The financial solidarity consisted in a mechanism through which the central banks of the member Countries granted credit allowances, according to predefined quotas, to the Country that should have difficulty in balancing its situation.

A NEW STRONG LEADER: MARGARET THATCHER (1979 – 1984)

In the history of Europe, the early eighties are the years of "Europessimism". That period was a phase of transition between the long crisis of the seventies and the fervour of initiatives which started in the second half of the eighties and lasted until the end of the century.



Alcide De Gasperi



Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, first promoters of the European Union.

For the whole period, the Community was engaged in the negotiations on the financial contribution of Great Britain. *I want my money back!* This was the first remark made by the British Conservative Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, traditionally adverse to Europe.

Her attitude was intransigent in every circumstance, to the point of blocking the whole machinery of the Community, since without an agreement on the British contribution it was impossible to establish the agricultural prices.

The immediate problems were solved through temporary and inconclusive compromises.

An important step in the life of the Community were the first elections at universal suffrage for the Strasbourg Parliament, held from 7 to 10 June 1979. The elected deputies were 410: 81 each for the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain; 25 for Holland; 24 for Belgium; 16 for Denmark; 15 for Ireland and 6 for Luxembourg.

The deputies for the Countries that joined later were 24 for Greece, 24 for Portugal and 60 for Spain.

After the national political elections, two great leaders emerged

on the European scene: François Mitterrand in France and Helmut Kohl in Germany. Their contribution was decisive for the relaunching of Europe.

In order to end the substantial stalemate in the integration, the European Council, at the Stuttgart summit of June 1983, made a "Solemn Declaration on the European Union" which implied a greater commitment for more political cooperation (albeit it had no coercive value).

In February 1984 the Assembly approved a proposal for a new Treaty, prepared by Italian deputy Altiero Spinelli. It envisaged the transformation of the Community into a Union (of federal inspiration); the redistribution of powers within the existing institutions (the European Council continued to be the motive power, while Parliament and Commission would acquire qualities and power similar to the national Parliaments and Governments; the institution of a Union Council (separate from the European Council) conceived as a second Chamber; the introduction (for the first time) of the concept of "subsidiarity". In practice, the Union would only be competent in certain sectors, while other branches fell within the province of the various States but, if they had problems, the Union could intervene; the introduction of a new ratification procedure, by which the European Parliament, acting as a Constituent Assembly, defined the "great reforms" and the national Parliaments approved them.

This new plan was considered "too bold" and was set aside. It was the umpteenth unsuccessful attempt made by the federalists to have their ideals prevail over the practical reasons of the functionalists.

As we mentioned several time before, on the Community's fortunes weighed the great amounts of money necessary for the

Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which absorbed almost the whole budget of the Community. In 1988 an agreement was reached for reducing the agricultural costs. Thus the budget share for CAP went down from 80% to 60% (in 1990).

The consequent availability of financial resources permitted to start some programmes in other sectors, including those in the field of research (Eureka), culture (Erasmus), technology (centre for the peaceful employment of nuclear energy, Ariospace (production and commercialisation of the Ariane vehicles for launching satellites from the Kourou space station).

The eighties also witnessed the entrance of Greece (1981), followed by Spain and Portugal in 1986.

THE "SINGLE ACT" PHASE (1985 - 1991)

The second half of the eighties marked one of the most active periods of the European Community. A decisive contribution to this relaunching was given by Jacques Delors, who was appointed Chairman of the Executive Commission on January 1, 1985.

Delors succeeded in securing the support of the two major leaders of the moment, the French President François Mitterrand and the German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He had on his side also the favourable economic situation and the unexpected change in the East-West relations, which was going to lead to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

The new analyses and proposals were assembled in a White Paper titled "Programme Ninety", which announced the working programme for the oncoming decade.

The completion of the Common Market was an urgent issue and,

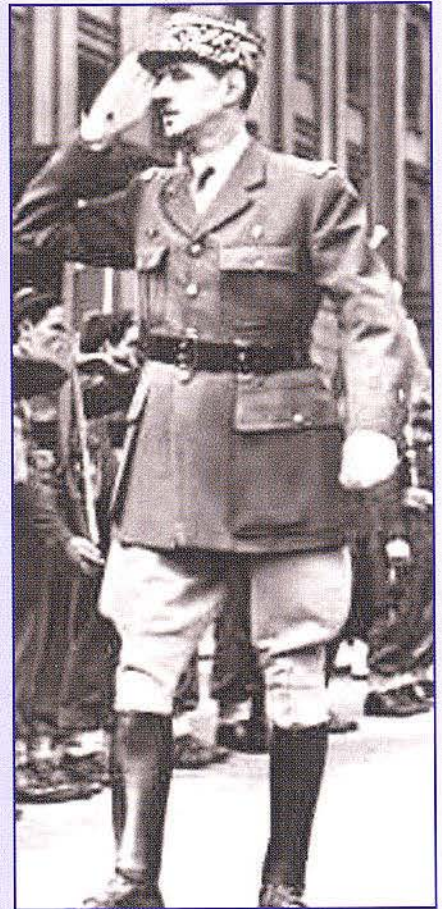
in the same context, so was the completion of the free circulation of capitals and goods. At the end of the sixties, in fact the customs barriers had been abolished but, owing to the economic crises, the liberalization process had come to a standstill and, after more than ten years, there were still "formal" barriers (police and customs controls), "technical" barriers consisting in a series of norms dissimilar from Country to Country (different standards about health, security and environment, government aid to keep alive non-competitive enterprises, public contracts assigned only to national firms, quality controls).

These were all very concrete obstacles to the free circulation of people, goods and services.

The White Paper's measures were actually meant to remove those obstacles, and they also envisaged the liberalization of the "financial products" (insurance companies and banks).

During the session of the European Council held in Milan in June 1985 it was proposed to convene an Intergovernmental Conference tasked with drafting a treaty on cooperation in the sectors of security and foreign policy. On this occasion, for the first time, a taboo was overcome: that of the "unanimity vote" which had always conditioned the Councils' work. In fact, the proposal was approved by a seven to three majority. As can be imagined, Britain voted against, followed by Denmark and Greece. The Council of Milan ended also with the approval of Delors' White Paper, which acquired a technological dimension with the addition of the "Eureka" project.

At the subsequent Intergovernmental Conference, held in Luxembourg, a compromise was worked out, in order to avoid a break with Britain. On Delors' initiative, the "Single Act" was approved and signed in February 1986, and became effective on



Charles de Gaulle, French statesman and general, was the soul of the resistance against Nazi Germany.

July 1, 1987 after its ratification by the national Parliaments.

The Act was divided in two different "Titles": one included the institutional changes to the Treaty of Rome and the measures that should be applied in order to achieve the completion of the

environment protection, scientific research and technology.

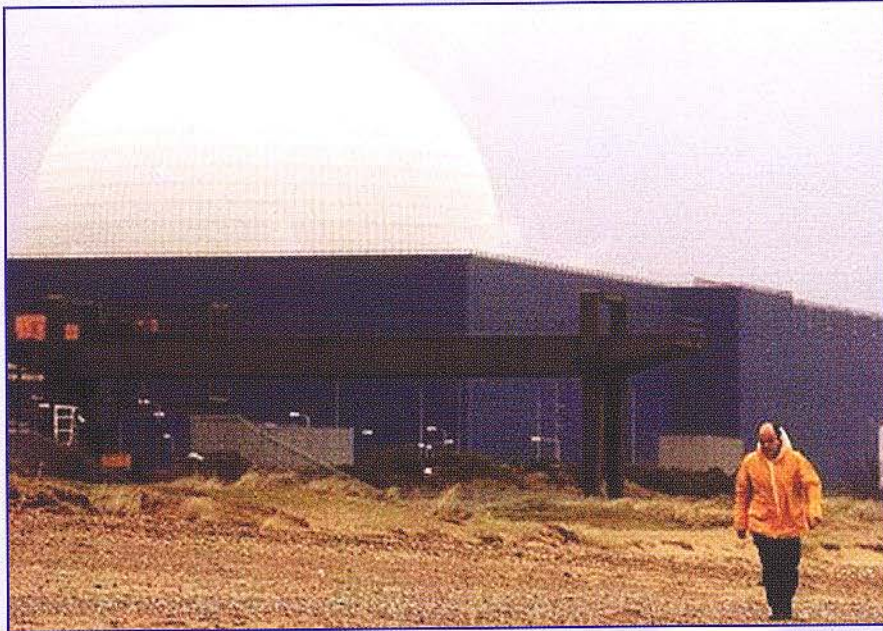
The document also provided for constitutional changes, among which we can mention: the transition from unanimity to qualified majority for the decisions of the European Council in the sectors of internal market, social policy, economic/social cooperation and research; the attribution to the European Parliament of a power of "conforming opinion" on questions concerning participation and association agreements; the introduction of a procedure of cooperation among Commission, Parliament and Council; the institutionalisation of the European Council; the introduction of a trial court alongside the Court of Justice.

The Preamble to the Act also pointed out the "objective of the economic and monetary union".

An innovative chapter dealt with the harmonization of the Partners' foreign policies, giving a juridical form to the praxis of cooperation in those matters through provisions which envisaged four yearly meetings of the Foreign Ministers. In view of this, a permanent Secretariat was established in Brussels. It was a step forward, even though, once more, the European Political Cooperation remained anchored to its intergovernmental character.

Another novelty of the Single Act concerned the sector of security, with the need of a close cooperation, provided it was not in contrast with NATO or WEU. The pronouncement was not followed by any practical measure: it was just a seed destined to sprout in the future.

In order to be able to achieve the objectives fixed by the Single Act, Delors succeeded in securing the approval of a series of provisions concerning: the reform of the agricultural policy, through a further reduction of the expenses in order to cut surpluses; the reform of the Community's



The nuclear plant of Sizewell, England. The first reactor for large-scale production of nuclear energy was put in action in Great Britain in 1956.

Single Market by the end of 1992; the other established the provisions on the political cooperation necessary for defining a common foreign policy (which was codified for the first time).

The Act consisted of a set of directions which amended and completed the three institutive Treaties of the European Community. The most important objective was the implementation, by the end of 1992, of an internal market, i.e. a space with no internal borders, within which the free circulation of goods, persons, services and capitals would be assured.

The Single Act, besides the creation of the internal market, envisaged to achieve a closer economic cohesion among the European regions and reduce regional disparities through a reform of the structural funds, improve the social policy, strengthen the monetary cooperation, introduce new norms on



financing and budgeting system, in order to increase its resources (besides the three traditional sources – agricultural drawings, customs duties, VAT) – a new resource was added, consisting in a share of the GDP; the increase in “structural funds”, in order to narrow the gap between the North and the South of the Community by supporting the less developed regions.

During this very active period, a new Committee was established for studying and suggesting the steps leading to a common currency. Thus, a mechanism was set in motion which would lead to the Maastricht agreements and to the long march towards a common money. The report of the Committee, chaired by Delors, specified that the attainment of the Economic and Monetary union depended on three necessary conditions: complete convertibility of the European currencies (already achieved); full liberalization of the movement of capitals (to be realized in 1990); elimination of the margins of floating of the various currencies and the institution of fixed exchange rates,

which was a prerequisite for the success of the initiative.

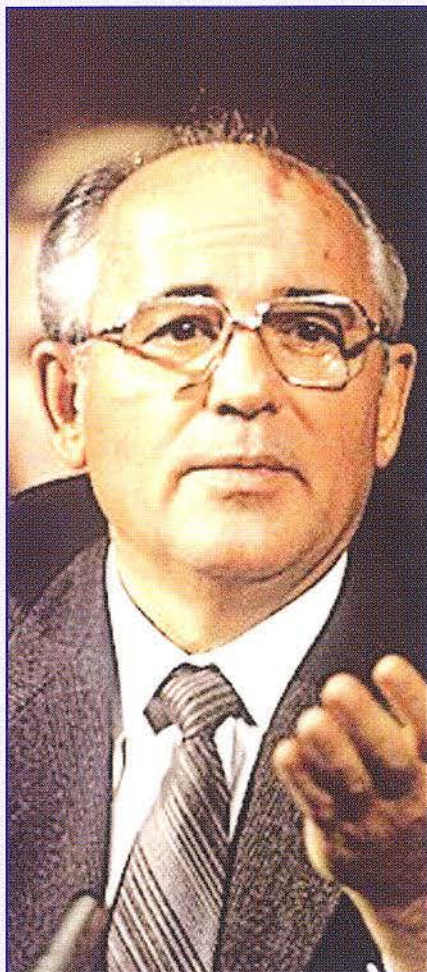
It was also suggested to set up a European reserve fund, anticipating the creation of the future European Central Bank.

The Delors package did not necessarily envisage a common currency, although it was considered desirable. The decision to aim at a common currency was finally taken at the European Council held in Rome in October 1990.

In that period (9-10 November 1989) the Berlin Wall collapsed, together with the Soviet power in Eastern Europe, and the unexpected question of Germany's reunification came to the forefront.

Chancellor Kohl understood that reunification could be achieved right away, overcoming both the opposition of the Soviet Union and the restraints of the members of the European Community, worried about the possibility that the reunification could become a factor of isolation for Germany, which by then had become the “locomotive” of the Community. Both obstacles were overcome and on October 3 (after less than a year) the two

On March 25, 1957, in Rome, the representatives of France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg signed the Treaty on the institution of the European Economic Community.



Michail Gorbachev asserted that freedom of expression and political transparency are indispensable prerequisites for a State's life.

Germany were unified and the European Commission saluted the return into the "European family" of the five *Länder* that had constituted East Germany.

In the second half of 1990 Margaret Thatcher, the "iron lady" who, with her combative presence, had conditioned the life of the Community, disappeared from the European scene.

1990 was also the year of the First Gulf War, in which the European Countries acted in a scattered manner, giving a modest contribution. In the same period the conflict in the former Yugoslavia entered an explosive phase and, also in this case, Europe's capability of intervening on a common basis was very unsatisfactory.

In the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's position was wavering. He was the politician who had made an opening to the West, making the German reunification possible.

While it was impossible to see common viewpoints on foreign policy, a certain convergence was noted in the Defence sector, with the proposal of establishing a European force centred on the WEU, which had been born in 1954, after the failure of ECD, and had remained practically inactive. There was, nevertheless, a difference of opinions between a French-German bloc, oriented towards a completely independent force, and an Italian-British coalition which preferred a force acting in cooperation with the Atlantic policy and NATO. At the end, the French-German line prevailed, and WEU became the military arm of the European Union.

Despite these difficulties, the Community's progress outlined in Delors' White Paper went on regularly and, at the end of 1992, almost all the directives (about 300) were received by all members.

The free circulation of capitals, goods and services was guaran-

teed, and only the question of the circulation of persons remained to be solved. This was achieved with the Schengen Agreement, signed in 1990 by France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Italy. It envisaged the abolition of personal controls at the borders as from January 1, 1993, as well as a common policy on matters concerning visas and right of asylum. For Italy the provision came into force only on January 1, 1998, owing to technicalities.

MAASTRICHT AND THE NEW EUROPE (1992)

The agreement on the treaty which founded the European Union was reached on December 11, 1991 at Maastricht, a Dutch city at the border with Germany and Belgium, an old Roman stronghold in defence of the Meuse. A new page was opening in the relations among the peoples of the Continent.

The Treaty was signed two months later, on February 7, 1992. It consisted of 252 articles, 17 protocols and 31 declarations.

It was an imposing construction based on three pillars: European Community, as a result of the three former institutions (EEC, ECSC, and EURATOM), Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Justice and Home Affairs (JHA).

The whole structure could be likened to a Greek temple with three pillars held together by a "ceiling" constituted by the Preamble (principles and goals of the Treaty) a "pediment" (common directives) and a "base" (institutional framework and final provisions).

The most important novelty of the Treaty was the proclamation of the European Union (EU) as a summation of the three preexisting Communities (EEC, ECSC,

EURATOM), completed with the CFSP and JHA issues.

The main core of the Treaty was the Economic and Monetary Union, which pointed out the road that led to the achievement of a common currency, which was attained in three phases: liberalization of capitals; creation of the European Monetary Union (EMU) and determination of the final exchange rates among the currencies of the Community.

In order to enter the third phase of this course, each member Country had to tidy up its economy and arrive at the common currency date having complied with the following five parameters: observance of the "monetary snake" floating limits for at least two years, within a variable band going from plus 2.25% to minus 2.25% (without devaluing the money); inflation not higher than plus 1.5% compared to the average of the three States with the lowest inflation; budget deficit lower than 3% of the GDP; long-term interest rates not higher than plus 2% of that of the three Countries with the lowest inflation (Euribor).

While the monetary criteria (i.e. the first three) had to be respected fully, less rigour was envisaged for the financial ones (the other two).

The Union's responsibilities were made to include new sectors, and the recourse to the qualified-majority vote became more frequent compared to the rule of unanimity.

The Union's responsibilities included: the policy on research and technological development; the environment; industry; foreign trade; the development of the trans-European communication networks; education and vocational training; consumer defence; health and internal social policy.

Some responsibilities were exclusively for the Union, while others were "concurrent". For the latter, it was introduced the prin-

ciple of "subsidiarity" (the Community can intervene to make up for the weakness of a lower body. The initiatives will be taken on a case-by-case basis at regional, national or Community level, in order to make them as effective as possible).

The Single Act of 1987 had formalized, for the first time, the wish of the European partners to appear on the institutional scene with a unitary image.

At Maastricht a step forward was made, with the institutionalisation of the CFSP pillar, albeit with results decidedly poorer than expected. The fundamental purpose was to reach "common positions" capable of producing "common actions".

In this sense the five objectives of CFSP were: defence of the common values and fundamental interests; strengthening of the security of the Union and its members; maintenance of peace and reinforcement of international security according to the principles of the UN and the Final Act of Helsinki (ECSC); promotion of international cooperation; strengthening of the constitutional state, respect of human rights and fundamental liberties.

From these objectives, the Council was supposed to draw general guidance and principles.

The "common actions" had to be decided unanimously by the Council of Ministers (also a qualified-majority vote could be expressed, but this procedure had to be decided by unanimous vote)

WEU formally became the military arm of the Union.

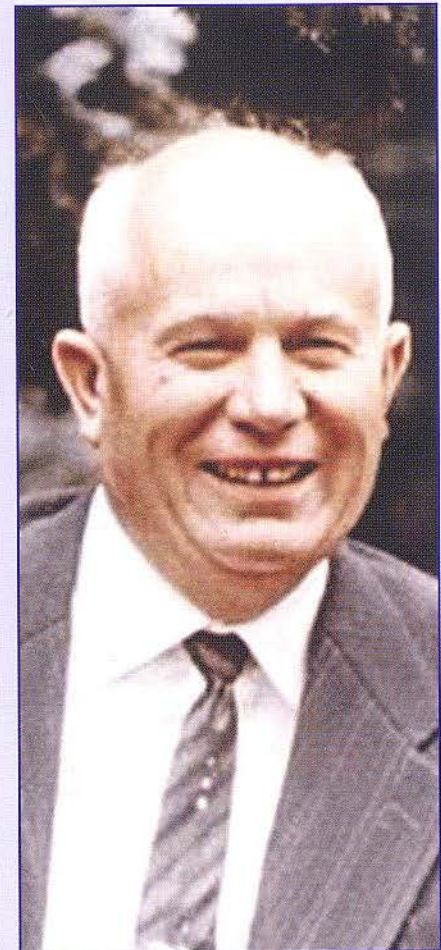
The Treaty's third pillar, which concerned Justice and Home Affairs fixed the terms for cooperation in the following sectors: judiciary (civil and penal); customs; police operations against organized crime, drug trafficking and terrorism.

Another important decision was the introduction of the "European citizenship" (*whoever has the citizenship of a member State is a*



Gamal Abdel Nasser, member of the nationalist movement that overthrew the Egyptian monarchy, assumed the Country's leadership in 1964.

Appointed Chief of the USSR Government in 1958, Nikita Krutshev was the mastermind of the process of "destalinization".





Elected U.S. President in 1961, John Fitzgerald Kennedy undertook to fight economic recession and defend civil rights. He was assassinated in Dallas on November 22, 1963.

citizen of the Union) which was added to the national one. As a result, every citizen residing in a Country different from that of his origin had the right to vote in the local elections and enjoyed the diplomatic protection guaranteed by the diplomatic and consular bodies of a Country of the Union.

Let us try to understand the working system of the Community. The Union's institutional organization, as defined by the Treaty of Maastricht, was characterized by the lack of the principle of the "separation of powers" which is typical of all modern constitutions.

The various powers were exercised by all its bodies, through a system of "co-decisions" which is rather difficult to construe. In fact, the legislative power was shared between Council and Parliament (the latter is more a controlling and advisory body, with little capability of initiative), and the executive power was held by Commission and Council.

What was missing was a head, with powers of coordination and permanent leadership (such as a President or Prime Minister).

The present system is based on the following institutional bodies: the European Council (created in 1974, formed by the Heads of State and Government, who meet twice a year). It is the highest decision-making organ, and fixes the general lines of the Union's policy; the Council of Ministers whose composition varies according to the subjects under discussion. It acts within the limits and on the subjects established by the Council. It is assisted by a Committee of Permanent Representatives, with mission leaders at Ambassador level; the Commission (a real government, whose field of action is fixed by the Treaties and the Council's decisions); the Parliament (since 1979 elected by universal suffrage, formed by 626 members (87 from Italy). It has a limited legislative power but it performs an

important function of control; the Court of Justice (it guarantees the compliance with the Community's laws and consists of 15 members, appointed for six years and assisted by nine General Attorneys. It can inflict fines on the defaulting nations and give the authentic interpretation of the laws of the Community. It is assisted by a Court of primary jurisdiction which judges the appeals submitted by private citizens and firms; the European Audit Court (15 members, elected for six years); the Economic and Social Committee (a technical branch consisting of 222 members representing various economic categories); the ECSC Consultative Committee (a technical body with 108 members); the Regions Committee (it is the most recent body, has 222 members and is the connection between the Union and the local and regional authorities); the European Bank of Investments (created in 1958 with the Treaty of Rome), the European Monetary Institute (born in 1994 and due to become the European Central Bank-ECB).

The four principal bodies are: the Commission, the Parliament, the Council of the European Union (or Council of Ministers) and the European Council.

THE COMMISSION

It has an almost exclusive right of proposal, on both legislative and financial matters, but its suggestions must be submitted to Parliament and Council for approval.

One of the Commission's most important prerogatives is the preparation of the Budget, which has to be subsequently approved by Parliament.

Each year the Commission submits a work programme to the Parliament.

It acts collectively, unlike the

ministries of a national government. It consists of 20 members (two each for Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain, and one for the other Nations), who have a very limited freedom of action in their sectors.

The ruling concept is that the Commission must operate as a group.

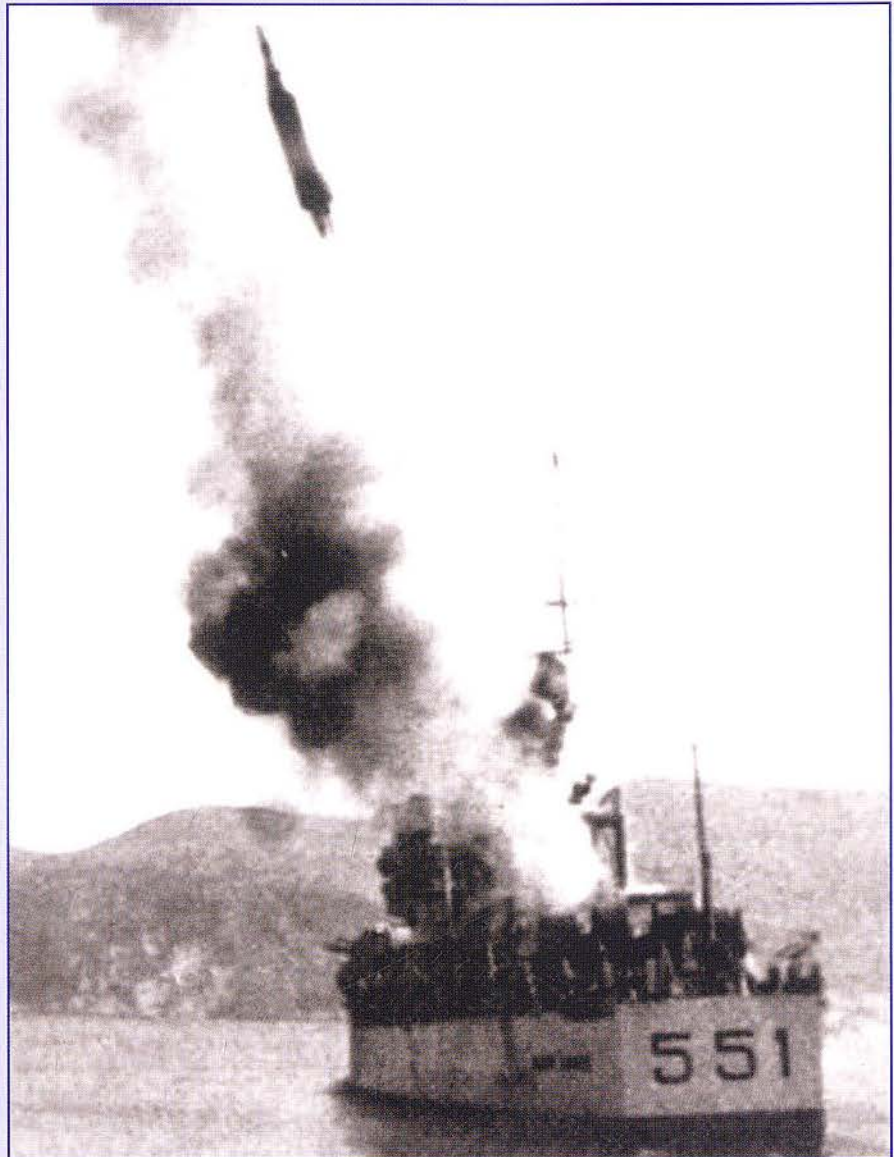
The President of the Commission, unlike a Prime Minister, is a *primus inter pares* and, in addition, carries out ceremonial functions.

The members of the Commission are appointed by the national Parliaments, but the body as a whole must be approved by the Parliament (with what is almost a vote of confidence). It is responsible for the implementation of the provisions envisaged by the Treaties and the realization of its own proposals, after their approval by Parliament and Council. Finally, the Commission has the power of controlling the respect and the correct application of the laws of the Community, with a power of intervention, incitement and censure.

THE LEGISLATION OF THE COMMUNITY

The legislation of the Community derives from the relation between Parliament and Council, and prevails over the national laws through the following juridical acts: the Regulations are the main expression of the Community's legislation, have a general character and apply directly to every State of the Community. The non-observance of the Regulations may lead to penalties inflicted by the Court of Justice; the Decisions have the same juridical value of the Regulations, but are directed towards the individual Nations; the Directives are compulsory as concerns the objectives, but leave full discretion to the States on the

methods through which to adopt them (but not the times); the Recommendations and Opinions are guiding indications with no binding character.

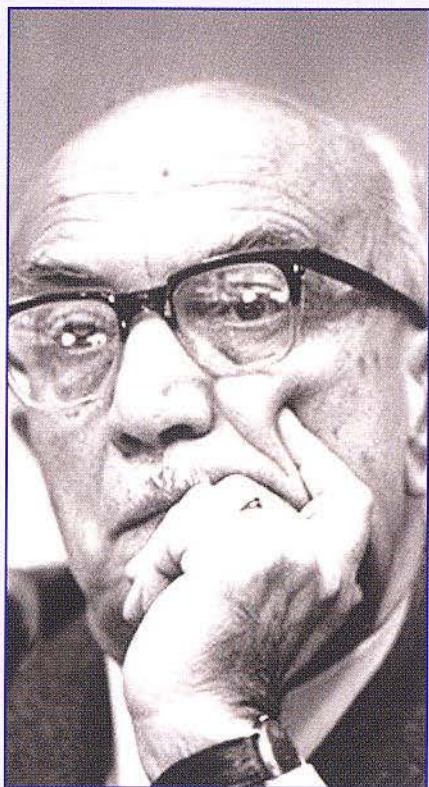


Launch of a "Polaris" missile.

THE PARLIAMENT

Unlike the national assemblies, the European Parliament does not have legislative functions and does not represent the people's sovereignty. It has a number of functions that have increased in the last years.

Its primary function is a consultative one, since it must express its opinion on every proposal of



In his long political career in the ranks of the Christian Democratic Party, Amintore Fanfani was Party Secretary, Member of Parliament, Minister and Prime Minister.

the Commission before it is sent to the Council for a decisive evaluation. However the Council's judgement is not binding.

The Parliament performs also a function of control vis-à-vis the Commission, through questions and interpellations. With a majority of two thirds of its members it can force the Commission to resign.

It can establish Boards of Inquiry and examines the citizens' petitions.

The Parliament's decision-making powers are important as regards budget matters, although most expenses are bound by the Treaties. The Parliament, in any case, can modify some items of the budget or even reject the whole proposal submitted by the Commission.

The Single Act of 1987 gave to the Parliament a certain legislative role through the procedures of: Cooperation (a double reading of the legislative proposals is envisaged and the Assembly can either reject or amend them, barring a successive unanimous vote of the Council; Co-decision (in some cases, such as the free circulation of persons, environment and health, when there is no agreement between Parliament and Council, a "Conciliation Committee" is constituted); Opinion of compliance (in some sectors, such as agreements on the association of other Countries, applications by new members, electoral laws, citizens' residence rights, the Parliament must express its opinion either in favour or against).

In substance, within the European Parliament there is not a "majority democracy", i.e. the expression of the dialectics between majority and opposition parties, but rather a "negotiation democracy" aimed at participation. Therefore there is no European "party power" or "party discipline", but a majority is formed on the single provisions on a case-by-case basis.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Despite the modifications introduced by the last Treaties, the Council of Ministers remains the real decision-making body of the European Union. This is also proved by the increasing frequency of its meetings – more than 250 a year – which practically make it a quasi-permanent organism. It is assisted by a Committee of Permanent Representatives and controls about 200 working groups.

The voting system is extremely important for the decision-making mechanism. With the Single Act of 1987, it was accepted that the decisions could be adopted more and more frequently by majority vote, and the Union's Treaties defined the type of majority for each item. The systems adopted are basically three: unanimity, simple majority (one State-one vote) and qualified majority (each State has a "pondered" vote: 10 to France, Germany, Britain and Italy; 8 to Spain; 5 to Portugal, Greece, Belgium and the Netherlands; 4 to Austria and Sweden; 3 to Denmark, Ireland and Finland; 2 to Luxembourg). Altogether there are 90 votes but, for a decision to be approved, the number of favourable votes must be higher than the "bloc minority". According to the compromise reached in 1994 at Joannina, in Greece, the "bloc minority" is 27, but when the votes expressed are between 23 and 27 an attempt at conciliation must be made.

The questions of fundamental importance, for which the unanimity is required, are those considered essential for the national sovereignty, such as foreign policy, home security and justice.

THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

It is formed by the Heads of

State and Government, and was constituted with the Single Act of 1987, in order to institutionalize the Summit Conferences of the Heads of State and Government. It meets every time the Council of Ministers is unable to decide, or when the Union is in a crisis situation. Thus the Council represents the Union's political and strategic leadership.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTIONAL BODIES

The European institutional system just outlined is the outcome of compromises reached over time. A fragmentation of functions and powers can be noted. It would be necessary to have a more precise definition of roles. The whole is made even more muddled by the fact that the European Parliament has three seats: Strasbourg, where the monthly plenary sessions take place; Brussels, working place of the parliamentary Commissions; Luxembourg, home of the Secretariat and of the administrative offices.

AFTER MAASTRICHT: THE NEW ENLARGEMENT AND THE EURO (1992-1999).

The Treaty of Maastricht had designed a European Parliament still subordinate to the Council, which was the real motor of the Community.

To further complicate the prospects of a complete implementation of the Treaty's provisions, in 1992 there was a monetary storm, caused by the extreme weakness of the dollar and the high interest rates offered by Germany to finance the huge costs of its reunification. The consequence was a devaluation of the Italian lira (- 7%) and the pound sterling. Both were compelled to leave the SME and started float-

ing, defended only by their own reserves. Globally the lira's devaluation was 30-35% and a strong financial recovery became necessary. The budget deficit, which in 1992 had been 10-11%, in 1997 dropped to 3% and the inflation was reduced to 2.6%. Thus the lira could enter again into the European Monetary System.

From 1992 to 1995, one of the main topics of the Community was its own enlargement. The "European Economic Space" was created in 1992 in preparation of this. It was an agreement among the twelve Countries of the Union and the seven members of EFTA (Austria, Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Sweden. Switzerland was also a member, but left the Organization after the negative result of a referendum). Thus the free circulation of persons, goods and services and capitals was extended also to those seven States.

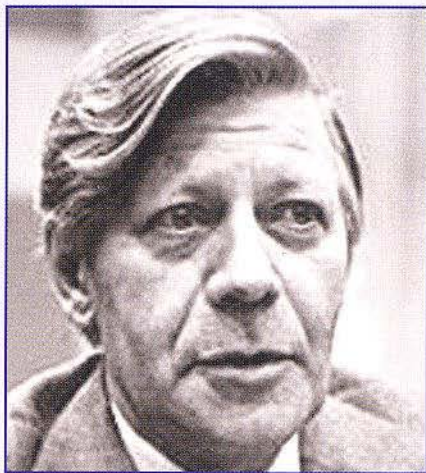
Another step forward in the liberalization of trade was the conclusion of the accords of the "Uruguay Round" for cutting customs rates and removing other problems which were hampering the intercontinental trade. The discussions ended in December 1993 with a customs reduction of about 35%.



In 1968 the Soviet tanks entered Prague.

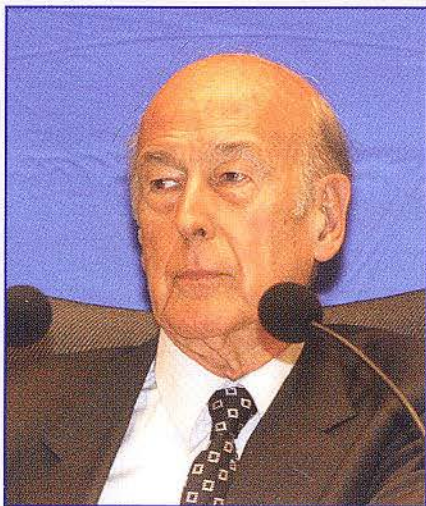
Georges Pompidou was President of the French Republic from 1969 to 1974.





Helmut Schmidt was Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1974 to 1982.

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was President of the French Republic from 1974 to 1982. Afterwards, he did his utmost to strengthen the economic and political bonds with the other European Nations.



In 1994, also the negotiations for the entry of Sweden, Norway, Austria and Finland were completed. Nevertheless, a popular referendum held in Norway vetoed the entrance of the Country in the Community. Therefore the Twelve became fifteen.

Meanwhile other Countries were asking to join the European Community and, among those, many were former satellites of the USSR. This prospect opened a long debate on the advisability of continuing an enlargement which would include States which were not used to a market economy and to the democratic method, and whose organization needed to be revised *in toto*. Besides, they were poor Countries which would certainly weigh heavily on the Community's budget and, in particular, take away resources from the southern Countries like Spain, Portugal and Greece. These Countries, therefore, could not be admitted immediately, because they needed a period of technical assistance. The PHARE programme was launched for this purpose and was aimed at realizing a free-trade zone in Eastern Europe, in preparation for those Countries' entry into the Union.

The prospect of enlargement, with the inclusion of less wealthy

Countries, started a cultural debate on the future European order. Several possibilities were considered: a "different speed" Europe, where a common objective could be reached with different rhythms and at different times, depending on the preparation of the various Countries; a Europe *à la carte*, which would give each Country the freedom to join the integration programme it prefers; this, in practice, would be an extension of the "opting out" clause; a "variable-geometry" Europe, with a common platform for all States and other collateral programmes, in which everyone would be free to participate (this would create a "hard core" in the Union, obviously made up by the

strongest Countries); a Europe made in concentric circles, which would be a middle way between "*à la carte*" and "*variable geometry*". In all cases one could envision "First League" and "Second League" States.

While on the economic plane the prospects marked by Maastricht were basically proceeding on schedule, the pillar of foreign policy, on the contrary, was not taking off. As we have seen, the Single Act of 1987 had established a special Secretariat, and with Maastricht things had gone even further by defining the objective in this sector and institutionalizing and ad-hoc pillar.

On the military plane, several steps forward were made, with the constitution of the Eurocorp, a French-German unit with 50,000 men (two armoured Divisions – one French and one German – and a mixed Brigade); Euroforce, a quadrinational unit (France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, with Headquarters in Florence); Euromarforce, with naval units from the same Countries of Euroforce.

At the same time, it was also agreed to set up a European military industry with enough "critical mass" to establish a "European Pole" of armaments, in a position to compete with the American giants. Agreements were signed between "Aerospaziale" and "Dasa", and between "Matra" and "GermaniaC". Programmes were also launched for developing and producing European weapon systems, such as the combat fighter, the Franco-German heavy tank and the NH-90 helicopter.

However, the dream of unitary foreign policy was shattered by the crisis in Yugoslavia, on which different views emerged, because of different national interests. As a matter of fact, Germany immediately and unilaterally recognized Slovenia and Croatia, thus encouraging the conflict between Croatia and Serbia; France confirmed its traditional alliance with Serbia.

Owing to this situation, it was impossible to reach an agreement on the employment of the WEU as interposition force. As a result, a crisis occurring at Europe's threshold was solved only thanks to the intervention of the United States, which led to the Dayton agreement and the employment of NATO.

Only on the occasion of the Albanian crisis (and thanks to a commendable Italian initiative) Europe succeeded in finding a relative cohesion, considering that the Euroforce members (France, Spain and Portugal) and other minor Countries intervened in the conflict under Italian guidance (but Britain and Germany did not join).

To sum all up, the net results of the first years of CFSP were quite disheartening, with two parallel and often diverging diplomatic channels (Community and Nations).

As we said, things were going regularly in the economic field. In 1995, in Madrid, the name "Euro" was selected for the new currency, and was decided to adopt it as from January 1, 1999 and start its distribution on January 1, 2002. There were to be six months of "double circulation" (the Euro and the old national money). On June 1, 1999 the Euro took off and the ECB started to work under the direction of Wim Duisenberg.

Between the end of 1998 and the first months of 1999 the Community was overwhelmed by the Kosovo crisis where, once more, it was clear that it was unable to undertake any commitment at Community level. The events are well known: the conflict between Serbia and the autonomous region of Kosovo threatened to spread out to the surrounding areas, in particular to Macedonia and Albania. Once more the Americans intervened, but this time the diplomatic route proved useless. The air bombings of Kosovo started on March 24: the threshold of armed conflict

was crossed (according to a well-known European expert *one can suspect that without NATO, or rather without President Clinton and the U.S., Europe would have never gone beyond that threshold*).

The Serbian resistance and the reluctance of the West to launch a ground attack led to a stalemate. At this point, a mediation by the Russian government was decisive: Serbia withdrew its troops from Kosovo. They were replaced by NATO land units, which established five operational sectors (U.S., Britain, France, Germany and Italy). Also the Russians participated with some units.

EUROPEAN DEFENCE

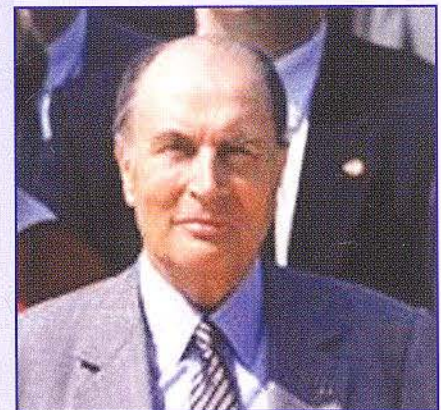
In December 1999, during the European Council held in Helsinki, some progress was made in the direction of common defence. With reference to the agreements reached at Petersberg in 1992, the WEU members pledged to put their armed forces under the authority of the Union for carrying out missions not covered by the common defence envisaged by NATO. These tasks, which therefore do not belong to the concept of collective defence, have been called "Petersberg missions" and consist of humanitarian, rescue, peacekeeping, crisis management by combat forces and peace enforcing.

At the Helsinki summit, the Council of Europe fixed the following primary objective for the 15 members of the European Union: *cooperating spontaneously and in conditions of reciprocity, within the year 2000 the Member States will be in a position to deploy within 60 days, and then sustain, Forces capable of carrying out all the Petersberg tasks, including the most demanding ones, in operations up to Corps' level, with a maximum of 15 Brigades (50,000-60,000 men). These forces should be self-sufficient and equipped with the necessary Command-and-*



Margaret Thatcher, former British Prime Minister, was nicknamed "The Iron Lady".

François Mitterrand was elected President of the French Republic in 1981 and 1988.



Control, Intelligence and Logistic structures, any other service of combat support and – if required – air and naval components. They must be able to sustain this deployment of Forces for at least one year. This will require an additional pool of deployable units and support structures with a reduced training, able to replace in due course the forces initially deployed.

In order to accomplish all this, the green light was also given to the constitution of a chain of command consisting of: Policy and Security Committee (PSC), with

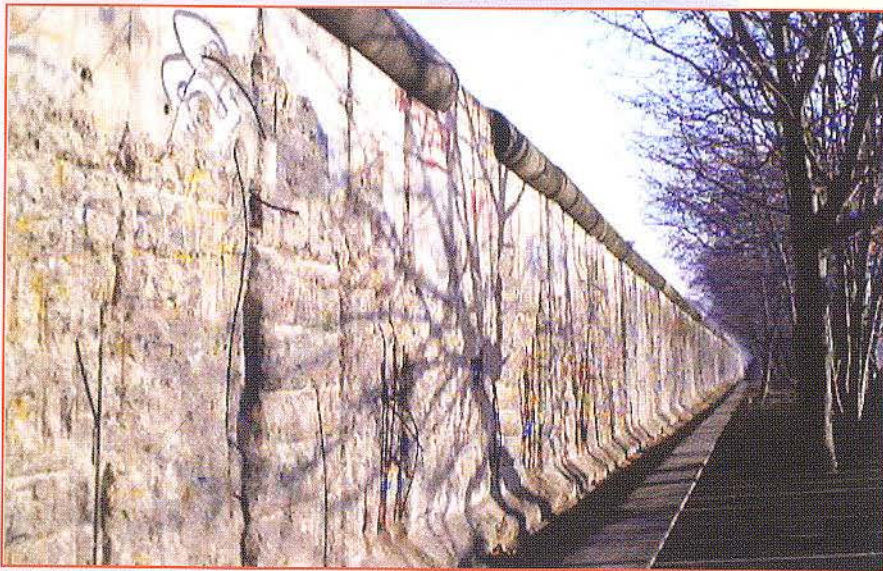
ty was made at the Feira Council (June 2000), with the creation, among other things, of a “European Force for Security and Intelligence”. It consists of 5000 police officers, tasked with conducting “preventive and repressive” global actions in support of peace missions. The Force will be supervised by the Political and Security Committee, while the actual operational control will be entrusted to the High Representative for CFSP/CFSD.

A great effort towards unity was made in order to realize a European Agency for Armaments. There were some industrial mergers that were made to stand the competition with the American giants. In particular: British Aerospace + GermaniA Marconi (both English) = Bae Systems; Dasa (German) + Casa (Spanish) + Matra (French) + Aerospatiale (French) = EADS (European Aeronautic Defence Space). Alenia, (a component of Italy’s Finmeccanica) participates in all these new associations.

THE FOURTH ENLARGEMENT

The treaties for the entry of ten more Countries were signed in Athens, in April 2003. They were: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia. As we mentioned at the beginning of this article, those Countries joined the Union on May 1, 2004. Bulgaria and Rumania will have to wait for two more years. Turkey is also a candidate but with no fixed entry date. It was the fourth enlargement in the Union’s history.

The structural changes in the European institutional bodies, deriving from the enlargement, were determined during the Council held in Nice in December 2000. We list the main ones. Commission: as from 2005, each State will have one representative only (therefore Germany, Britain,



The Berlin Wall. It was pulled down in 1989.

Ambassador-level officials; Military Committee (MC), formed by the Chiefs of Staff of Defence who elect a Chairman with the functions of European CoS; a Military Staff (MS) made up of 115-120 persons.

The Headquarters of this structure is in Brussels and is tasked with warning, evaluation, operational planning and selection of the forces to be assigned to the various missions.

The Union’s Rapid Reaction Force could avail itself of the NATO structures, but could also operate autonomously (the new force must be “separable” but not “separate” from NATO). The Alliance gave its approval with the so-called “three Ds” formula: no decoupling, no duplication, no discrimination.

Further headway towards securi-

France, Italy and Spain will lose one member). Parliament: the number of the Eurodeputies will raise from 626 to 732, with a redistribution of seats (Italy goes from 87 down to 72). Re-weighting of votes: this was the most difficult accord. The principle adopted was that their number had to correspond to the demographic weight (Germany, France, Britain and Italy have 29 votes). In case of qualified-majority votes, two conditions will have to be verified: the decision must be supported by the majority of the member Countries and each member can ask to check whether the "weight" of the supporting States is equal to at least 62% of the Union's population (Italy = 11,97%). Extension of the majority vote: about thirty provisions (instead of seventy-five) are now included in the qualified-majority procedure; (for the most important and delicate questions, the right of veto is still in force). Reinforced cooperation: a group of at least eight Countries can launch a "reinforced cooperation" (defence matters are excluded).

THE PROBLEMS AND FUTURE OF EUROPE

With the enlargement to the East, the debate on the Union's future was brought to the forefront again. It was the same old dilemma: federation or confederation?

In December 2000 the Nice Conference approved the "Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union", which assures its citizens the respect of dignity, liberty, equality and solidarity. It looked like a first step and a strong impulse towards a European Constitution, as well as a response to the challenges of "globalization". As a matter of fact, in many quarters it was felt that *the national States have lost the critical mass that enables them to effectively participate in today's world-wide globalization.*

In this sense, the Nice Council adopted also a "Declaration on the Future of the European Union", in view of an intergovernmental conference to be held in 2003-2004. The Council expressed its hope for an institutional reform based on four points: clearer delimitation of the responsibilities of the Union and the member States, taking into account the principle of subsidiarity; adoption of the "Charter of Fundamental Rights"; simplification of the Treaties, in order to make them more understandable by public opinion; role of the national Parliaments in the European institutional architecture.

The implementation of the declaration was entrusted to a Convention (a kind of Constituent Assembly) guided by French statesman Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. It was formed by 105 members: 15 representatives of the Heads of State and Government; 30 members of the national Parliaments (two each); 16 member of the European Parliament; 2 Commission representatives; 13 representatives and 26 parliamentarians of the candidate Countries, plus 15 observers representing various categories.

A presidium of 12 members was constituted within the Convention, tasked with preparing the texts to be discussed.

After 15 months of work, the Convention produced a draft, which was the result of a laborious compromise.

Nevertheless, even with these limits, the work of the Giscard Convention (especially appreciated by the Italians) was not approved by the intergovernmental Conference held in December 2003.

This was also due to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, which had broken out after the 9/11 attack on the Twin Towers. Vis-à-vis these events, Europe was once more divided: France and Germany were strongly opposed, while Britain, Spain and Italy (and some minor Countries of Eastern Europe) sup-



Paul-Henri Spaak.



José Manuel Durao Barroso, new president of the European Commission, succeeded Romano Prodi.

Since January 1, 2000, the Countries of the European Monetary Union have been using the Euro.



ported the U.S. Once more, the foreign and defence policy wrecked the aspirations of the Community. The mocking expression "Europe of merchants" seemed to be confirmed again.

Nevertheless, in its difficult moments Europe has had, as always, a burst of pride and on June 18, 2004 the new Constitution was approved.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The Constitutional Treaty consists of a Preamble and four sections: the first one deals with the provisions that define the Union, its objectives, responsibilities and Institutions; the second includes the Charter of Fundamental Rights, approved in Nice in 2000; the third part concerns the EU policies and operations; the fourth section contains the "final clauses".

The whole picture goes beyond the three-pillar subdivision envisaged in Maastricht and Amsterdam, to the advantage of a more unitary structure.

Among the main points of the new Constitution we can note: the Chairman of the European Council stays in office for two and a half years, with a renewable mandate; a Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union will be appointed and, through his proposals, he will contribute to the elaboration of the common foreign policy and to its implementation as representative of the Council. He will act similarly for matters concerning the common security and defence policy. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is also one of the vice-presidents of the Commission, which will be formed by 25 members, one for each Country of the Union. This Organization will be maintained until 2014, when the number of Commissioners will be equal to two thirds of the member States; the Parliament will have more power, extending its full participation in the legislative process to about 80 matters, almost twice the present

ones; the validity of a majority vote will be subject to the following conditions: a favourable vote by at least 55% of the States and 65% of the population; the majority group should to be formed by at least 15 Countries; the "block minority" should be made of at least 4 members of the EU; if a Country believes that a deliberation endangers its fundamental interests, it can compel the Council to continue the discussion; in some key sectors, such as taxation, the Council of Ministers can only decide unanimously.

We can see that these steps, albeit far from the initial expectations, somehow represent a vast improvement for the Community and it is encouraging to see that this result has been achieved at the first twenty-five-member European summit. But we cannot hide that the longed-for Constitution is also full of faults and intricate insufficiencies imposed by the States. The knotty problems of foreign policy and common defence do not seem to be fully solved, since these sectors, despite the introduction of the Foreign Minister, are still among the most "entangled". Actually, these are precisely the sectors where the image of a State, or Union of States, emerges with a recognizable and credible identity, together with the capability of arousing emotions and – if necessary – mobilizations among their peoples.

CONCLUSIONS

We have travelled along the long road of the European Union, from its mythological recesses to the early elaborations of ideas and to the reality of today. It has been a path of long, tiring, hard-fought and active ideological preparation which continued along many centuries, until the last fifty years, when it was impetuously and sometimes contradictorily realized.

Today we can assuredly say that we have moved from ideas to facts.

A beautiful fascinating reality, certainly superior to all expectations. But we must also serenely recognise that this reality is not yet entirely accomplished, since the unification has not "absorbed" some important sections of the political life, such as the common Foreign and Security Policy.

In view of this situation, it is natural to ask: is this the last reachable goal or is it still possible to make a further effort in order to successfully conclude this long journey?

There is no doubt that the journey must be completed, because many demanding tasks are awaiting the European Union on the international scene.

The new Parliament, enlarged with the presence of ten more Countries, will have to amalgamate 25 States and integrate in the institutions – and above all in the mentalities – a multicoloured mosaic of peoples and traditions.

Now, more than ever, the final ratification of the Constitution is an absolute priority. Albeit with its well-known limits, the new Charter is the appropriate frame within which all the European States, old and new, can find, all together, a greater Motherland.

Europe, six States which later became nine, twelve and fifteen, was a technocracy; now, with its 25 members, it must also acquire a clear political culture, in particular with a common foreign policy, overcoming the contradictions between a supranational Parliament and the national governments.

To reach this end, the new twenty-five-member Europe must solve two problems: to implement immediately and completely the just launched constitutional organization, in order to guarantee the full operation of the political life of the Community in all sectors; reach a new equilibrium with the American ally.

These problem seem to be separate, but actually they are closely interconnected.

If, either today or in the near



The European Parliament in Strasbourg is the representative body of the European Union.

future, Europe could be able to find – structurally, not occasionally – a unity of intents and actions in tackling the problems of the common Foreign and Security Policy, the world would become bipolar again and a new period of peace could open up, without scenarios of terror.

The U.S.-U.S.S.R. bipolarism of the second half of the 20th Century was a confrontation between two deeply different political, cultural and economic models. The new and hoped-for bipolarism United States-Europe, on the contrary, would be cooperative and synergic from every viewpoint.

Then, the "visceral" democratic sensitivity of America would pair up with the more reflective and sophisticated European one. The result would be a perfect team, capable of spreading the fundamental values of liberty, equality and brotherhood.

Only at that moment, Europe will be able to complete its long, demanding but wonderful journey, confirming to be the organization that, throughout history, has successfully exported its values, rules, institutions and civilizations.

□

**Lieutenant General (ret.)*

A parallelism between official history and the testimony of the defeated reexamines the controversial battle of the Pacific from a geographical and a strategic point of view

THE DARK SIDE OF MIDWAY

*On the Fourth of June 1942, the Japanese dream of creating a
"Great Eastern Asia" was shattered*

In a few minutes, the ambitions of the Rising Sun gave way to defeat. It was as if many mistakes, near and far, had gathered into the focus of an implacable lens, suddenly changing a war that the United States had not wanted. But the war had revived the American national spirit and had "awoken a sleeping giant", according to the sad prediction made by Admiral Yamamoto after Pearl Harbour.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BATTLE

Among the great battles of history an important place has to be given to the war event which took place in a very short time in the North West area of the Midway islands on the morning of June 4, 1942. For once, this consideration is not due to the enormous number of casualties (just think of the pilots of the bombers shot down or the crews of the sinking ships, who could only strive to take hold of some piece of floating wreckage, waiting for an unlikely and miraculous rescue, while the sharks were inexorably trying to cut forever the thread by which their lives were hanging) but to the fact that on that occasion the defeated (the Japanese) indeed did their very best to ignore the principles of the art of war.

It is well known how things went, because the American literature has examined them in depth to glorify the pilots and the seamen who paid with their lives for their heroism. On the contrary, what is less known is the Japanese point of view, which is to be found in a book written by two veteran pilots who were lucky enough to come out unscathed from the hell that broke out on the decks of the Japanese aircraft carriers.

It often happens to come across legendary accounts of battles, where at the end the winners emphasizes their heroism; but it is usually the account of a victor who did not even allow the vanquished the freedom to express their point of view. Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* is such an example. It is less common to find an impartial account by the side that was – to use a pitiful euphemism – less lucky. But even according to the American officers' evidence, the book written by the two Japanese pilots, M. Fuchida and M. Okimiya (Midway, *The Battle*

There were two places to be absolutely avoided on that morning of the 4th of June 1942.

One was aboard one of the four Japanese aircraft carriers attacked by dive bombers. The other was on one of the American torpedo bombers, easy prey to the Japanese "Zeros".

David Hanson, "Carnage and Culture"

by Paolo Feniello *



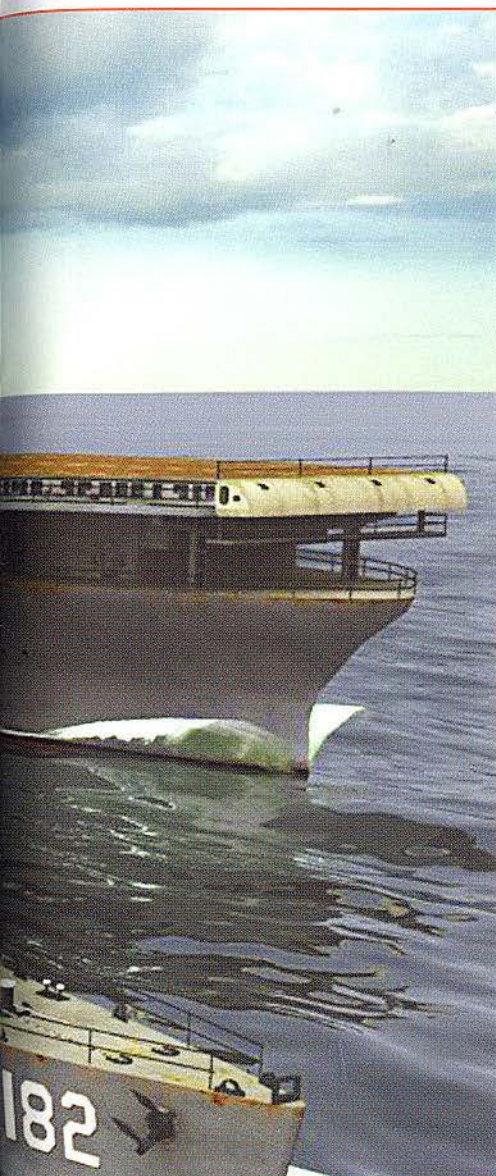
That Doomed Japan), is an impartial account of how the operation developed and also of the mistakes made by the Japanese High Command. And never was a book title more appropriate with reference to the verb used (*doomed*), since the defeat suffered by the Land of the Rising Sun off the coast of the Midway islands (dots of land rising out of the depths of the

Pacific Ocean) stood out as a reproof to the Japanese military policy.

The battle of Midway belongs to a new typology of military operations. The battleships and the cruisers did not have a chance – considering the distance between the two naval formations – to direct their attack against similar fleets. The American and Japanese aircraft

carriers, equipped with different types of aircraft (reserve fighters, bombers, torpedo aircraft) kept at a distance of 300 miles from each other. The attack was assigned to the aircraft, while battleships, cruisers and destroyers were the security framework for the aircraft carriers.

The theatre of the operations was very wide as compared with the ultimate goal that Japan



wanted to achieve: the creation of a defensive perimeter, also called "Great Eastern Asia", within which all resources, such as the raw materials necessary to the development of the imperial idea, could be derived (Korea, Manchuria, Thailand, Solomon Islands, Gilbert Islands, Aleutian Islands). As concerns the problem at hand, the area of interest is circumscribed by the Aleutian Islands, the Japanese Archipelago, the West Indies and the West Coast of the United States of America.

THE PRODROMES

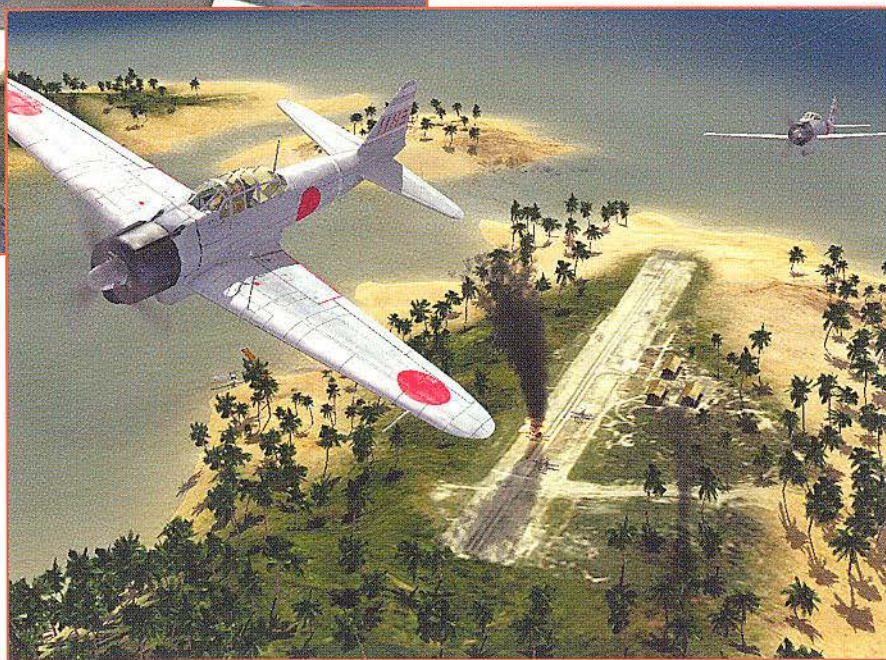
As regards the remote causes we should go a little back in time. After shaking off feudalism through a constitutional monarchy, Japan adopted an expansionistic policy towards the Asian Continent, and went on with the occupation of Manchuria (1931) and the attack on China (1937) in order to set up a "Great Eastern Asia". Japan perceived that the lack of internal natural resources did not go well with the spirit of conquest inspired in the people by the chivalrous code. In short, the Land of the Rising Sun

felt that the Japanese Archipelago was too "tight" in relation to the aims of conquest inspired by the philosophy of the time; moreover it considered that the control of the Pacific belonged naturally to the Country which was best equipped, both spiritually and technologically, than any other in that area. After the Tripartite Agreement with Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy (1940), the United States decided to impose sanctions against Japan. At Court the military group prevailed, and persuaded the Emperor to open hostilities against the Americans.

The attack on the American base of Pearl Harbour (December 7, 1941) and the battle of the Coral Sea (7th-8th May 1942) marked the beginning of the war.

According to some military experts, Pearl Harbour (1) is the best example and the exaltation of "surprise". But that is not the case, if we consider that a surprise is carried out by one of two opponents which are openly and officially at war. The attack, instead, started (with the take-off of the Japanese aircraft from the carriers in the direction of the American base) a few minutes before the declaration of war was handed over to the United States Government. By launching the attack before the declaration of war, the Japanese air forces were able to devastate the port of Pearl Harbour. This was an open violation of international law and it made the difference, arming the spirits of those who had suffered the setback.

The battle of the Coral Sea, on the contrary, was already a clear warning to Japan: the enemy had shown a prompt reaction, and was not confused and unprepared as expected. During that battle, the Japanese lost a considerable number of highly skilled pilots and this, together with the Midway event, was a problem for the embarked air



force. In total, the Japanese losses were: an aircraft carrier and a destroyer sunk, damages to an aircraft carrier, destruction of 77 aircraft, 1074 casualties.

At the beginning of 1942, the Japanese Supreme Command devised a far-reaching operational plan of attack. The ultimate goal was the conquest of the Hawaiian Archipelago, but the sequence of the phases envisaged as a preliminary action, the conquest of the Midway Islands, North West sentinels of the Archipelago, and then the conquest of New Caledonia and the Fiji Islands (July 1942); the second-last action envisaged was the bombing of Sidney and the allied bases in Australia, before gathering the fleet for the final attack (Hawaii). The implementation of this plan would deprive the allied forces of every support in the area of the Pacific and consequently lead the confused Western allies to seek peace and

recognize the Japanese control of Eastern Asia.

THE CLASH

The Japanese were surprised, on April 18 of that year, when the American bombers dared to attack Tokyo. This event led the Supreme Command to speed up their operations by attacking the American base of Midway, conquering the Western Aleutians and destroying the fleet of American aircraft carriers, while the submarines would watch the movements of the enemy ships bound for Midway.

But things did not turn out as Admiral Yamamoto, Commander of the fleet, had wished. Here is a brief summary of the events: from 10.22 to 10.28 a.m. of the 4th of June 1942 the American bombers, nose-diving from an altitude of 6000 metres, hit three of the four aircraft carriers



(Akagi, Kaga, Soryu) which were supposed to attack Midway, as their tactical formation and their aircraft clearly showed. The air attack surprised the Japanese carriers with their decks full of aircraft, fuel tanks, high-potential bombs, and forced them to





change their formation – causing a further delay in the tactical preparation of the aircraft. The American bombs caused a massacre of pilots and seamen, destroyed the parked aircraft, and triggered chain explosions and fires, due to the presence of

fuel and bombs on the decks. The three carriers were put out of action: this was the answer to the destruction of the battleships surprised at Pearl Harbour.

The fourth aircraft carrier of the Japanese fleet, the Hiryu, being quite far from the main part of the naval formation, managed to elude the first wave of the attack and launched some of its aircraft against the American fleet. One American aircraft carrier was delivered a deadly blow. But at 4 pm of the same day the Hiryu met the same fate. In just one day 2155 men, between seamen and pilots, lost their lives, 332 aircraft were destroyed, 4 aircraft carriers and two cruisers were put out of action.

But it is now time to present the observations made by the two Japanese pilots, who stigmatize the mistakes which lead to defeat and seriously jeopardized the final result of the whole war.

The authors of the book fully agree with the opinion of Professor Samuelson, according to whom the Japanese defeat at Midway was a victory of the American Intelligence. So much so, that the United States, having succeeded in breaking the Japanese communication codes, were fully aware of the plan of attack and of the deployment of the enemy fleet. But they add that the American Intelligence was very efficient, whereas the Japanese Service worked very badly. The Command of the Japanese Navy, although knowing that an attack force was sailing near the Solomon Islands and that enemy ships were moving in the area of the Hawaii, underestimated the danger, considering that the distance between the ships and the area involved in the Midway attack was too great.

The second mistake is attributed to planning. The Japanese



General Staff chose to scatter its forces, instead of concentrating them in view of the objective of the first phase (Midway).

In fact, they decided to divide the fleet into two parts: a lesser one operating on the north to conquest the Western Aleutian Islands, destroy the American installations there and attract enemy forces; and a larger force oriented towards the conquest of Midway. Thus, the principle of force concentration (a theory always observed by Western commanders from the times of Alexander the Great) was sacrificed. But this principle was ignored even by the component headed for Midway. The two sections were at a distance of about 300 miles and this did not allow to intervene in favour of the part which was attacked first.

The third mistake is attributed to the lack of flexibility of the plan, which the two authors of the book regard as too rigid. We should remember that the plan's final goal was the destruction of the American fleet, whereas the Midway attack was only the objective of the first phase and was supposed to attract the American air-sea forces, in order to engage them in battle. In spite of these two possibilities, taken into consideration in the manoeuvre plan, the execution envisaged the tactical configuration of the main part of the Japanese fleet as oriented only towards the conquest of Midway, and not also towards sustaining a possible air-sea battle.

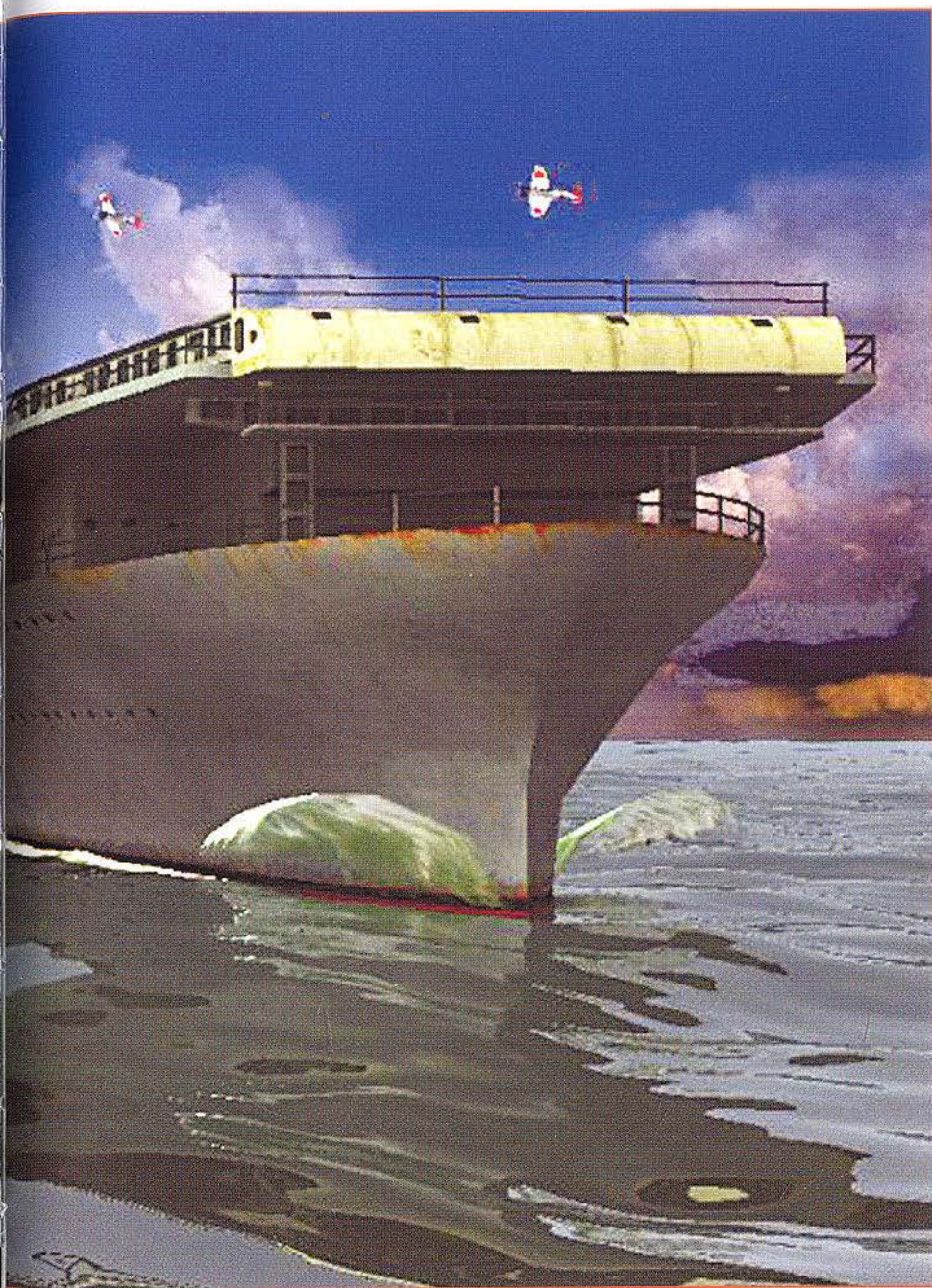
The two pilots' account describes a series of mistakes imputable to the commander of the main part of the fleet. As a matter of fact, he did not bother to reinforce the long-range reconnaissance activity, which would have allowed him to deliver a blow, rather than suffering it from the American fleet; he decided to make a simultaneous use of every aircraft of the four carriers for two attacks. A precau-



tionary measure should have suggested to use only the aircraft of two carriers on a first wave, keeping the other two carriers in reserve, in case the situation evolved; but the worst mistake of the commander of the attacked part of the fleet was that he did not use all the aircraft at his disposal, regardless of their tactical role. Instead they remained parked and engaged in a tactical reconfiguration (rearmament), and were therefore condemned to

destruction.

In the list of grievances of the two authors of the book there is also a reference to the psychological aspect. Since the Manchurian incident (1931), the Japanese had been collecting a series of victories, which persuaded them (especially the young) of their invincibility, causing an arrogant behaviour, which led to underestimate the enemy. This psychological self-confidence led the planners to work out plans based on guessing



what the enemy would probably do, instead of basing them on the enemy potential. Here is an example: the final goal of the operations being the destruction of the American fleet, we need to drive out the enemies from their bases, starting from Midway and going on to Hawaii in order to force them to fight in the open sea; in this case the enemies will be obliged to stay on the defensive. The enemy's defensive attitude and the Japanese surprise

attacks were the foundations of the planning. Impulsiveness, irrationality and reckless behaviour, perfectly in step with the Japanese character, were the parameters on which the entire operation was based, but these qualities, as the two authors say, could not possibly lead to success.

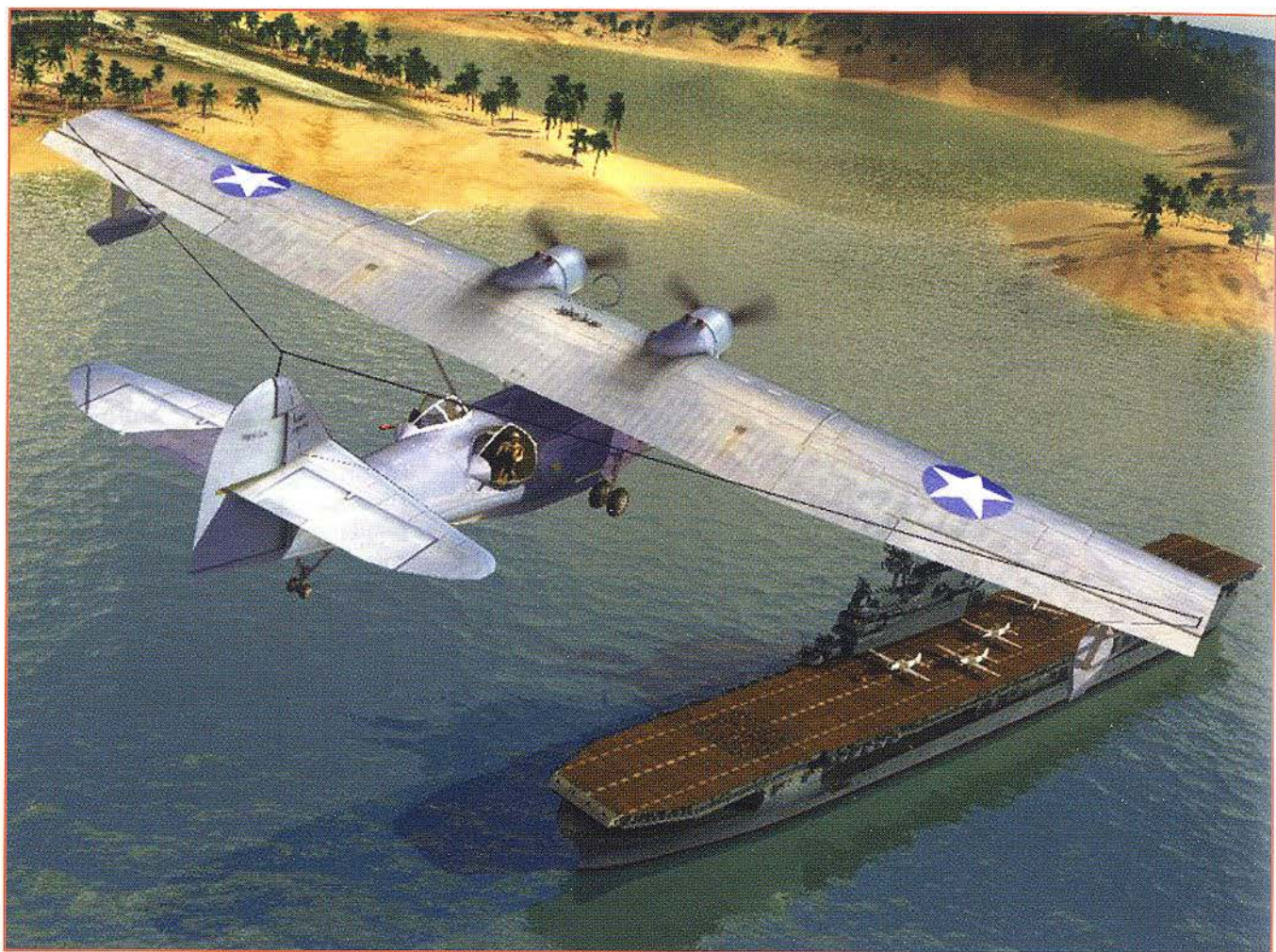
The proportion of the forces which clashed in the waters North West of the Midway atoll deserves an important note. Far from proceeding to an analysis,

which would entail an exasperating list of numerical data, we can say that the overall force ratio was in favour of the Japanese fleet; the Japanese "Zeros" were much better than the American fighters; the Japanese pilots were perfectly trained and able to inflict heavy losses on the enemy, both as bombers and as fighters, not to mention the considerable speed of their reconnaissance aircraft. The American "Devastator" torpedo bombers were incapable of "devastating" anything. Compared to the Japanese planes, they were like old jalopies, both for quality and for armament. Out of 82 torpedo bombers directed against the Japanese aircraft carriers only 13 survived; the other 69 were easy prey to the "Zero" fighters. But it is also true that the Japanese aircraft which managed to leave the decks of the aircraft carriers and countered the attack of the torpedo bombers, left almost undisturbed the American dive bombers. In this sense, the "Devastators", which despite their considerable number did not manage to hit a single Japanese ship, unintentionally acted as decoys. From the psychological point of view, a consideration is right and fair. The American pilots, with particular reference crews of the torpedo bombers, had practically the same courage later shown by the Japanese "kamikaze". They knew they were absolutely inferior in number and could be easy prey to the Japanese fighters, but they did not refuse to carry out the last flight of their career and of their life (2).

CONCLUSIONS

In order to understand the reasons which persuaded Japan to declare war on the United States, we need to go back to the atmosphere of that time.

Japan had got rid of feudalism because it had realized that it



was leading nowhere; it had embraced democracy and instituted a parliamentary form of government; copied Western technology; lived in an area where the other neighbouring countries were politically and economically underdeveloped; breathed the atmosphere of the time, with particular reference to the fact that the more advanced countries – especially those that had won the First World War – had kept or acquired an empire of their own: the United States, Great Britain, France; even very young Italy had managed to become an imperial power. In short, the desire for expansion, together with the fact of being in a geographic area where the neighbouring countries were extremely weak and very similar to defenceless preys, led to the decision to embrace the imperial idea.

One of the evaluation mistakes made by Japan was the misjudgment about the possible length of the war. In a word, Japan fell into the same trap that ensnared Hitler with his “Blitzkrieg” theory. Essentially, not even the Japanese considered the possibility that the war could last long and, in that case, the difference would be made by the industrial potential. In this regard a few statistical data will be sufficient. During the Second World War, Japan managed to launch only 7 new aircraft carriers, whereas the U.S. launched more than 100 of them, of different types. The same proportion applies to battleships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines and tenders. In other words, for each ship of a certain type launched by Japan, the U.S. built and fitted for operations no less than 16 ships. As regards any

type of aircraft the situation was even worse, considering that they were the basic component in the field of weapon systems, and even more so in a war where the fight would take place on the vastness of the Pacific Ocean. During the war Japan did not produce more than a thousand airplanes a month. The U.S. built a B24 bomber every 63 minutes. In 1945 the U.S. production counted 300,000 aircraft and 87,000 warships(3). The U.S. battleships launched during the second half of the war were far superior in speed, armament, operating range and defensive protection to the Japanese counterparts. In conclusion, the Japanese and the Germans could compete – and they trained in this sense – in a very quick 100-metre flat race, but they were not ready for a possible marathon. The Western

allies had not chosen the marathon as their strategy, either. They were forced into it, but what worked in their favour was the great potential that could be fully deployed at the right time. The mistake made by both Germany and Japan was to give too much credit to what Hitler used to say about Great Britain, when he nicknamed it "The shopkeeper's country", entirely committed to business and trade but certainly not inclined to fight a war.

The Japanese, very clever at modernizing their armed forces, by resorting to Western technologies and improving them, used their war instrument according to the principles of their practical philosophy of life. But, buying Western technology, manufactur-

opportunities: repeated attacks on Pearl Harbour could have wiped out the presence of the U.S. forces in Hawaii, and eventually, by a further exploitation of victory, destroyed the U.S. ports on the western coast of the American continent. Besides, no action was devised to destroy the fuel tanks at Pearl Harbour"(4).

Not even a large-scale map could give an exact idea of the dimensions of the theatre of operations, as two dimensions are not enough. In connection with that, the Great Eastern Asia plan appeared to be too ambitious even to some Japanese experts, and this echoes also in the book written by the two pilots. After all, the great distances to which the components of the Japanese fleet were projected had their

With respect to all the above-mentioned reasons, the spirit which moved the Americans was quite different from what drove the Japanese. The former had suffered the treacherous attack of Pearl Harbor and, before anything else, they had to defend the honour of their Country. All the more so, as up to then the U.S. had not decided to enter the war, following the convictions of President Wilson. If the British looked after their business, the Americans toyed with the idea of a pacifist isolationism. But the wound inflicted on their honour at Pearl Harbour roused the country again, and a single idea stirred up the American spirit: to attempt the impossible to punish the Japanese arrogance.

□

*Lieutenant General (ret.)



ing it, improving it and training the population to use it, does not ensure success, when the employment of those technologies is not made according to the spirit that inspired them. "The Japanese inclination to rely on surprise at the expense of reiterated frontal actions caused the loss of unique

negative effect. This aspect could be partly obviated by implementing the principle of force concentration. But being sure of their own invincibility and undervaluing the enemy's capabilities, the operations commander did not consider that the distance factor could become dangerous.

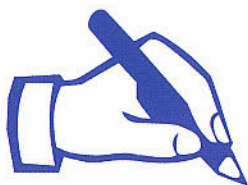
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(1) American losses: 2800 men and 8 battleships.

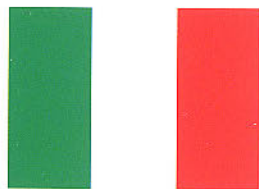
(2) Before taking off, the Commander of the torpedo-bomber squadron embarked on the "Hornet" sent this rather gloomy message to the crews: *My greatest hope is to meet a favourable tactical situation, but if that is not the case and the worst comes to worst, I want all of us to do our best to destroy our enemies. Should only one aircraft be left for the last raid, I want its pilot to assault and strike the target. May God protect us. Good luck, happy landing and the hell with them.* In the book entitled "Carnage and Culture", Victor Davis Hanson wrote a paragraph full of details with a precise analysis of the hopeless American torpedo-bomber mission. The author lists the battles that made the Western civilization rule the world, starting from the deeds of Alexander the Great.

(3) The most updated data about the Eastern industrial potential for Defence needs can be found in the volume by Paul Kennedy, "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers".

(4) Davis Hanson, *Carnage and Culture*.



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Terrorismo in formato mediatico

di Giancarlo Bove, (pag. 2).

L'utilizzo delle informazioni, nelle situazioni di emergenza, può attenuare gli effetti che gli atti terroristici causano sulla pubblica opinione.

Questo aspetto assume oggi grande importanza, poiché la moderna società è sensibile a ogni tipo di comunicazione e, quindi, particolarmente vulnerabile.

La sindrome da ricatto energetico

di Giuseppe Romeo (pag. 16).

Le crisi energetiche hanno carattere di periodicità, in quanto sensibili alle instabilità geopolitiche dei Paesi produttori. La radicalizzazione integralista islamica può complicare gli scenari, mettendo intere aree a rischio di destabilizzazione, con il pericolo di un effetto domino in grado di condizionare, quindi, la politica degli approvvigionamenti.

Scomposizione e ricomposizione del mosaico bosniaco

di Armando Novelli, (pag. 24).

Le forze di pace e l'attenzione

delle organizzazioni internazionali sono ancora necessarie per assicurare lo sviluppo socio-economico. Esse devono assolvere una funzione deterrente e garantire la sicurezza e lo sviluppo di un'area che cerca di risorgere.

Clausewitz e la guerra asimmetrica

di Ferruccio Botti (pag. 37).

Terrorismo, guerra di popolo, tecnologia. Le riflessioni del Maggiore Generale Carl Phillip Gottlieb von Clausewitz reggono all'assalto dei tempi e sono ancora in grado di far riflettere e stupire. La valenza del suo pensiero – racchiuso nel trattato di Strategia Militare "Della Guerra" (Vom Kriege), pubblicato per la prima volta nel 1832 – invita l'Occidente a non ritenere assoluto l'apporto delle tecnologie, ma a dare la giusta preminenza al fattore umano, vero fulcro di ogni azione creativa e d'ingegno, nella vita come nei confronti armati.

La riscoperta della fortificazione campale

di Claudio Berto, (pag. 46).

Lavori che una volta erano di specifica competenza della fanteria sono oggi, sempre più spesso, affidati a piccole ma attrezzate unità del genio, come pure appaltati a manodopera locale qualificata. Vediamone, quindi, una panoramica in base alle esperienze maturate in Afghanistan.

La Scuola di Guerra si evolve con i tempi **di Giovanni Di Federico (pag. 56).**

Il Centro di Simulazione e Validazione dell'Esercito è finalizzato a organizzare e svolgere innovative esercitazioni per Posti Comando verificandone le capacità di condurre le moderne operazioni, avvalersi dei più avanzati sistemi Comando e Controllo e di simulazione. Ma non è tutto. A questi importanti compiti sono da aggiungere lo svolgimento di corsi di aggiornamento e qualificazione per i Quadri.

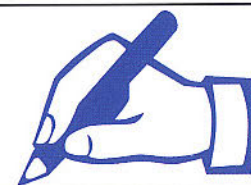
L'Unione Continentale tra mito, idea e realtà

di Carmine Fiore (pag. 64).

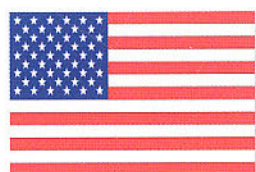
L'idea europeista è il punto di approdo di una complessa storia durata secoli, anzi millenni. Oggi l'Europa è sicuramente una realtà splendida e affascinante, ma per dirsi effettivamente compiuta bisognerà raggiungere alcune importanti funzioni della vita politica, quali la Politica Estera e di Sicurezza Comune (PESC). Vari interrogativi sono ancora da sciogliere, ma tuttavia è notevole il percorso compiuto, finora, da un'aggregazione che, nelle vicende dell'umanità, ha generato valori, regole, istituzioni e civiltà.

Il lato oscuro di Midway **di Paolo Feniello (pag. 112).**

In pochi minuti, le ambizioni del Sol Levante cedettero il



passo alla disfatta. Fu come se tanti errori, vicini e lontani, si concentrassero nel fuoco di un'implacabile lente, mutando di colpo una guerra che gli Stati Uniti non volevano. Ma che aveva riacceso il sentimento nazionale americano e "svegliato un gigante dormiente", secondo la triste previsione dell'Ammiraglio Yamamoto espressa dopo Pearl Harbour.



Terrorism in Media Format *by Giancarlo Bove, (p. 2).*

The use of information in emergency situations can mitigate the effects that terroristic acts have on public opinion. Today, this aspect is becoming of great importance as modern society is sensitive to every kind of communication and, therefore, particularly vulnerable.

The energy Blackmail Syndrome *by Giuseppe Romeo (p. 16).*

Energy crises are recurrent, because they are susceptible to geo-political instabilities of many producer Countries. The Islamic integralist radicalization may complicate scenarios, exposing whole areas to the danger of destabilization and therefore risking a dominoes effect able to influence the supplying policy.

The Breakup and Reassembly of the Bosnian Mosaic *by Armando Novelli, (p. 24).*

Peace forces and the attention of international organizations are still necessary in order to assure social and economic development. They have to both perform a deterrence function and guarantee security and development for an area which is striving to arise again.

Clausewitz and the Asymmetric War *by Ferruccio Botti, (p. 37).*

Terrorism, people's war, technology. The thoughts of Major General Carl Philip Von Clausewitz withstand the assault of time and can still both stimulate thoughts and be of surprise. The value of his philosophy - contained in the treatise of military strategy «Of War» (Von Kriege), first published in 1832 - urges the West not to think of technologies as giving absolute contribution.

The Rediscovery of Field Fortifications

by Claudio Berto, (p. 46).

Jobs that once were of specific competence of the Infantry, today are, more and more often, entrusted to little but well equipped Engineers' units, or let out on contract to local skilled labour. Therefore, let us look at a general view on the basis of the experiences gained in Afghanistan.

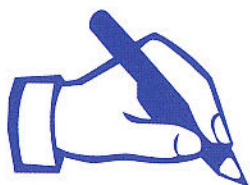
The War College evolves with the Times *by Giovanni Di Federico (p. 56).*

The Simulation and Validation Centre of the Army is oriented to the target of organizing and carrying out innovative exercises for Commanding Posts to check their capacity for directing modern operations and making use of the most advanced Command & Control simulation systems. But this is not all. Besides these important tasks, the Centre also carries out follow-up and qualification courses for the Cadres.

The Continental Union Between Myth, Idea and Reality

by Carmine Fiore (p. 64).

Europeism is the landing place of a complex history which has been going on for centuries, or indeed for thousands of years. Today Europe is certainly a wonderful and fascinating reality, but to be able to say so for sure some

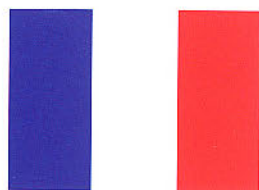


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important functions of political life, such as Foreign and Common Security Policy, will have to be reached. Various issues are still to be solved, yet the journey carried out so far is significant. In fact, it is an aggregation which, in the course of history, has created values, rules, institutions and civilization.

The Dark Side of Midway by Paolo Feniello (p. 112).

In a moment, Japan's ambitions gave way to defeat. It was as if so many errors, made both in the distant and not so distant past, would converge into the focus of an implacable lens, suddenly changing a war that the U.S.A. didn't want, but which relit the American national sentiment and "woke a sleeping giant up", according to the sad forecast by Admiral Yamamoto, expressed after Pearl Harbour.



Terrorisme format médiatique

par Giancarlo Bove, (p. 2).

Dans les situations d'urgence, l'emploi de l'information peut atténuer les effets du terrori-

sme sur l'opinion publique. Cet aspect revêt une importance croissante d'autant que la société moderne est sensible à tout genre de communication et que, par conséquent, elle s'avère particulièrement vulnérable.

Le syndrome du chantage énergétique

**par Giuseppe Romeo,
(p. 16).**

Les crises énergétiques se déclenchent toujours de façon périodique, d'autant qu'elles sont subordonnées à l'instabilité géopolitique des pays producteurs. La radicalisation de l'intégrisme islamique peut compliquer les théâtres, menaçant la stabilité de régions entières, le risque étant de conditionner par conséquent les politiques d'approvisionnement.

Assemblage et désassemblage de la mosaïque bosniaque

par Armando Novelli, (p. 24).

Les forces de paix et les organisations internationales s'avèrent encore nécessaires pour assurer le développement socio-économique. Elles représentent une force de dissuasion dont l'objectif est de garantir la sécurité et le développement d'une région qui s'efforce de se relever.

Clausewitz et la guerre asymétrique

par Ferruccio Botti, (p. 37).

Terrorisme, guerre de peuples, technologie. Les

réflexions du Général Carl Phillip Gottlieb von Clausewitz résistent à l'assaut des siècles et font encore réfléchir tout en nous étonnant. La valeur universelle de sa pensée – renfermée dans son traité de stratégie militaire "De la guerre" paru pour la première fois en 1832 – invite l'Occident à ne pas considérer le concours de la technologie comme une valeur absolue mais plutôt à redonner sa position centrale au facteur humain, véritable pivot de la créativité et de l'intelligence, aussi bien dans la vie que dans les conflits armés.

La redécouverte de la for- tification

par Claudio Berto, (p. 46).

Aujourd'hui, les ouvrages qui autrefois étaient réservés à l'infanterie, sont de plus en plus souvent confiés à de petites unités spéciales du Génie militaire ou adjugés à la main d'œuvre locale spécialisée. Nous offrons ici un panorama de la situation à travers l'expérience acquise en Afghanistan.

L'Ecole de guerre suit l'évolution des temps

**par Giovanni Di Federico,
(p. 56).**

Le Centre de Simulation et Validation de l'Armée se propose d'organiser et de réaliser des exercices innovateurs pour Postes de Commandement, en vérifiant leurs capacités de conduire les opérations modernes, de se servir des systèmes



avancés de Commandement et Contrôle et de simulation. Mais ce n'est pas tout. A cela il faut ajouter les cours d'actualisation et qualification pour Cadres.

avait pourtant ranimé l'esprit nationaliste des américains et "réveillé un géant dormant", d'après la triste prévision que l'Amiral Yamamoto révéla après Pearl Harbour.

Unsicherheit versetzen, mit der Gefahr eines Domino-Effekts, der die Politik der Vorratsbeschaffung entscheidend beeinflussen kann.

L'Union continentale: du mythe à la réalité *par Carmine Fiore, (p. 64).*

L'idée européenne est le débouché d'une longue histoire qui dure depuis des siècles, voire des millénaires. Certes, l'Europe est aujourd'hui une merveilleuse réalité. Elle est cependant incomplète, faute de certaines fonctions importantes de la vie politique, telles que, par exemple, la Politique étrangère et la Politique commune en matière de Sécurité. Nombreuses sont encore les questions à résoudre, mais il ne fait aucun doute que cette Union a fait d'énormes progrès sur la voie de l'humanité, en créant des valeurs, des règles et des institutions et en atteignant des niveaux élevés de civilisation.

Le côté obscur de Midway *par Paolo Feniello, (p. 112).*

En quelques minutes les ambitions du pays du Soleil Levant ont cédé le pas à la défaite. Ce fut comme si toutes les erreurs, du passé et du présent, se concentraient sous le foyer d'une lentille implacable, transformant d'un seul coup une guerre que les USA ne voulaient pas. Une guerre qui

Terrorismus im Medienformat *von Giancarlo Bove, (S. 2).*

Bei terroristischen Taten kann der Eindruck auf die Öffentlichkeit, in Notfällen, durch den Gebrauch der Informationen gemindert werden. Da die moderne Gesellschaft jeder Kommunikationsart gegenüber empfindlich und daher auch besonders verwundbar ist, wird das heute zum Schwerpunkt.

Das Syndrom der Energie-Erpressung *von Giuseppe Romeo, (S. 16).*

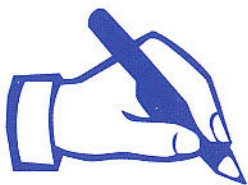
Die periodisch auftretenden Energiekrisen äussern die geopolitischen Unbeständigkeit der Produktionsländern. Die Radikalisierung des islamischen Integralismus kann die Lage erschweren und ganze Gebiete ins Risiko der

Zergliederung und Neubildung des bosnischen Mosaiks *von Armando Novelli, (S. 24).*

Die Friedenskraefte und der Einsatz der internationalen Organisationen sind noch nötig, um die sozial-oekonomischen Entwicklung zu sichern. Sie haben eine abschreckende Funktion, um die Sicherheit und das Wachstum in einem Land zu gewahren, das versucht, wieder aufzustehen.

Von Clausewitz und der asymmetrische Krieg *von Ferruccio Botti, (S. 37).*

Terrorismus, Bruderkrieg, Technologie. Die Betrachtungen vom Hauptgeneral Carl Phillip Gottlieb von Clausewitz halten der Zeit stand und sind noch in der Lage, uns in Erstaunen zu versetzen und uns nachdenken zu lassen. Der Wert seiner Gedanken – gesammelt in dem Werk ueber die Militaerstrategie "Vom Kriege", das erste Mal 1832 erschienen – laedt den Westen ein, den Beitrag der Technologie nicht zu ueberwerten, sondern dem menschlichen Faktor, Mittelpunkt jeder geistigen und schoepferischen Taetigkeit, die richtige Stellung zu geben, in dem



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taeglichen Leben sowie in den bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen.

Die Neuentdeckung der Verschanzung

von Claudio Berto, (S. 46).

Aufgaben, die einst spezifisch der Infanterie zustanden, werden heute oefters kleinen, aber gut ausgestatteten Einheiten des Pionierkorps oder auch oertlichen Fachkraeften anvertraut. Es folgt ein Ueberblick von den verschiedenen Erfahrungen in Afghanistan.

Die Kriegsschule im Laufe der Zeiten

von Giovanni Di Federico, (S. 56).

Das Simulierungszentrum des Heeres hat den Zweck, immer neue Uebeungen fuer die Fuehrungskraefte zu organisieren und zu entwickeln, um deren Befehlsgewalt in modernen Operationen zu pruefen, in der Anwendung der fortschrittlichsten Fuehrungs, Simulierungs und Kontrollsysteme. Aber das ist nicht alles. Zu diesen wichtigen Aufgaben muss man Fortbildungs und Qualifikationskurse fuer die Vorgesetzten hinzufuegen.

Die kontinentale Union zwischen Mythos, Idee und Realitaet

von Carmine Fiore, (S. 64).

Die europaeische Idee ist der Landepunkt einer umfassen-

den jahrhunderte, sogar jahrtausende dauernden Geschichte. Heute ist Europa sicherlich eine wunderbare und faszinierende Wirklichkeit, aber um sie effektiv zu vervollstaendigen, muessen einige wichtige Funktionen des politischen Lebens, wie gemeinsame Sicherheit und Aussenpolitik, erreicht werden. Diverse Fragen sind noch offen, trotzdem ist es bemerkenswert, wie weit der gemeinsame Weg bis her von einem Zusammenschluss gegangen wurde, der, in den menschlichen Angelegenheiten, Werte, Regeln, Institutionen und Kultur hervorgerufen hat.

Die dunkel Seite von Midway

von Paolo Feniello, (S. 112).

In wenigen Minuten liessen die Ambitionen des Landes der "Aufgehenden Sonne" der Zerstoe rung den Vortritt. Es war, als ob sich viele Fehler, alte und neue, im Feuer einer unerbittlichen Lupe konzentrierten, auf einem Schlag einen Krieg aendernd, den die USA nicht wollten. Der aber den amerikanischen Nationalismus wieder entfachte und "einen schlafenden Riesen weckte", laut der traurigen Befuerchtung des Admirals Yamamoto, nach dem Angriff auf Pearl Harbour.



Formato mediático para el terrorismo

por Giancarlo Bove, (pág. 2).

El empleo de la información, en las situaciones de emergencia, puede atenuar los efectos que los actos terroristas producen en la opinión pública. Hoy en día, este aspecto cobra particular importancia ya que la sociedad moderna es sensible a todo tipo de comunicación y, por ende, resulta particularmente vulnerable.

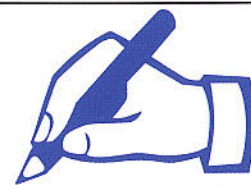
El síndrome del chantaje energético

por Giuseppe Romeo, (pág. 16).

Al supeditarse a la inestabilidad geopolítica de los países productores, las crisis energéticas ocurren con periodicidad. La radicalización del integrismo islámico es susceptible de complicar los escenarios, haciendo peligrar la estabilidad de enteras regiones, con el riesgo, además, de condicionar las políticas de suministro.

El mosaico bosniaco se descompone y se recompone **por Armando Novelli, (pág. 24).**

Las fuerzas de paz y las organizaciones internacionales



siguen resultando indispensables para asegurar el desarrollo socioeconómico ya que representan una fuerza de disuasión. Su tarea consiste en garantizar la seguridad y el desarrollo de una región que está tratando de recuperarse.

Clausewitz y la guerra asimétrica

por Ferruccio Botti,
(pág. 37).

Terrorismo, guerra de pueblos, tecnología. Las reflexiones del General Carl Phillip Gottlieb von Clausewitz apenas acusan el paso del tiempo y aun hacen pensar sin dejar de asombrar. La validez universal de su pensamiento – que se destaca en su tratado de estrategia militar “De la guerra” (Vom Krieg), publicado por primera vez en 1832 – invita a que el Occidente no considere como absoluta la aportación de la tecnología sino que le de su debida importancia al factor humano, eje de creatividad e ingenio, tanto en la vida como en los conflictos armados.

El redescubrimiento de la fortificación en campo abierto

por Claudio Berto, (pág. 46).
Las obras que antes competían exclusivamente a la infantería, hoy día se encargan, cada vez más a menudo, a pequeñas unidades equipadas del Cuerpo de Ingenieros o se adjudican a mano de obra local

especializada. Presentamos un panorama de la situación sobre la base de la experiencia adquirida en Afganistán.

La Escuela de guerra sigue la evolución de los tiempos

por Giovanni Di Federico,
(pág. 56).

El Centro de Simulación y Validación del Ejército pretende organizar y llevar a cabo ejercicios innovadores para Puestos de Mando, comprobando la capacidad de los mismos para desempeñar las operaciones modernas y adoptar los sistemas avanzados de Mando y Control y de simulación. Pero además de todo esto, cabe recordar los cursos de actualización y calificación para Cuadros.

La Unión continental: mito, idea y realidad

por Carmine Fiore,
(pág. 64).

La idea europeísta es el punto de llegada de una larga y compleja historia que duró siglos o, mejor dicho, milenios. Hoy día Europa es una hermosa y atractiva realidad a la que, sin embargo, le faltan algunas funciones importantes de la vida política, en particular en materia de Asuntos exteriores y Seguridad común. Muchas interrogantes siguen pendientes, pero cabe reconocer el largo camino recorrido por esta Unión en la historia de la humanidad, generando valores, reglas, instituciones y civilización.

La cara oscura de Midway por Paolo Feniello, (pág. 112).

En pocos minutos, las ambiciones del país del Sol Naciente cedieron el paso a la derrota. Fue como si los errores, remotos o cercanos, se concentraran en el foco de la implacable lente, transformando repentinamente una guerra que los Estados Unidos no querían, pero que había vuelto a animar el espíritu norteamericano “despertando a un gigante durmiente”, según las tristes previsiones que el Almirante Yamamoto reveló después de Pearl Harbour.



Terrorismo em formato mediático

de Giancarlo Bove,
(pág. 2).

A utilização das informações, nas situações de emergência, pode atenuar os efeitos que os actos terroristas causam na opinião pública. Este aspecto assume hoje importância, pois a sociedade moderna é sensível a cada tipo de comunicação e, portanto, particularmente vulnerável.



O síndrome de extorsão energética
de Giuseppe Romeo,
(pág. 16).

As crises energéticas têm um carácter periódico, enquanto são sensíveis às estabilidades geopolíticas dos Países produtores. A radicalização integralista islâmica pode complicar os cenários, pondo inteiras áreas a risco de destabilização, com o perigo de um efeito dominó capaz de condicionar, portanto, a política de abastecimentos.

Decomposição e recomposição do mosaico bósníaco
de Armando Novelli,
(pág. 24).

As forças de paz e a atenção das organizações internacionais são ainda necessárias para assegurar o desenvolvimento sócio-económico. Essas devem isentar uma função terrorística e garantir a segurança e o desenvolvimento de uma área que tenta resurgir.

Clausewitz e a guerra assimétrica
de Ferruccio Botti,
(pág. 37).

Terrorismo, guerra do povo, tecnologia. As reflexões do Major General Carl Philip Gottlieb von Clausewitz resistem ao assalto dos tempos e estão ainda à altura de fazer reflectir e admirar. A valência do seu pensamento – incluído no Tratado de Estratégia

Militar “Da Guerra” (Vom Kriege), publicado pela primeira vez em 1832 – convida o Ocidente a não considerar como absoluta a contribuição das tecnologias, mas a dar a justa primazia ao factor humano, verdadeiro fulcro de cada acção creativa e de engenho, na vida como nos confrontos armados.

A redescoberta da fortificação dos campos,
de Claudio Berto, (pág. 46).

Trabalhos que antes eram da específica competência da infantaria são hoje, cada vez mais, confiados a pequenas mas bem aparelhadas unidades de engenharia, assim como empreitados a mão d’obra local qualificada. Vejamos, portanto, uma panorâmica com base nas experiências amadurecidas no Afeganistão.

A Escola de Guerra evolui com os tempos
de Giovanni Di Federico,
(pág. 56).

O Centro de Simulação e Validação do Exército tem como fim organizar e desenvolver exercícios inovativos para Postos de Comando verificando as capacidades de conduzir as operações modernas, valer-se dos mais avançados sistemas de Comando e Controle e de simulação. Mas não é tudo. A estas importantes tarefas acrescentam-se a realização de cursos de actua-

lização e qualificação para os Quadros.

A União Continental entre mito, ideia e realidade
de Carmine Fiore, (pág. 64).

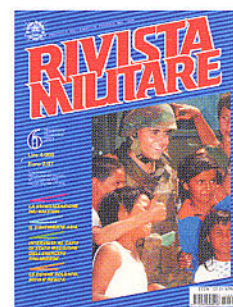
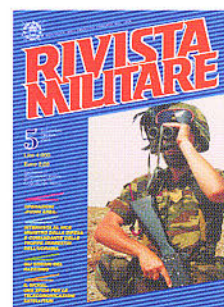
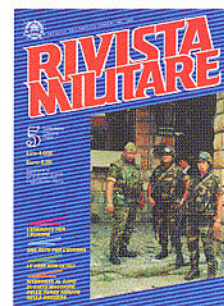
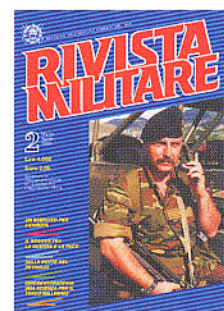
A ideia europeísta é o ponto de “desembarque” de uma história complexa que durou séculos, ou até milénios. Hoje a Europa é seguramente uma realidade esplêndida e fascinante, mas que para ser considerada afectivamente completa é preciso atingir algumas funções da vida política: a Política Estrangeira e de Segurança Comum (PESC). Várias interrogações estão ainda por resolver, mas todavia é notável o percurso cumprido, até agora, por uma agregação que, nas vicissitudes da humanidade, gerou valores, regras, instituições e civilizações.

O lado escuro de Midway
de Paolo Feniello, (pág. 112).

Em poucos minutos, as ambições do Sol Levante cederam o passo à derrota. Foi como se muitos erros, próximos e longínquos, se concentrassem no foco de uma lente implacável, mudando, de repente, uma guerra que os Estados Unidos não queriam, mas que tinha reacendido o sentimento nacional americano e “acordado um gigante adormecido”, segundo a triste previsão do Almirante Yamamoto expressa depois de Pearl Harbour.



THE EDITORIAL STYLE OF RIVISTA MILITARE



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